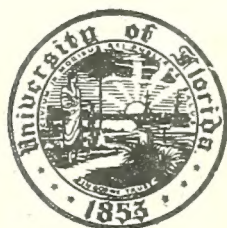


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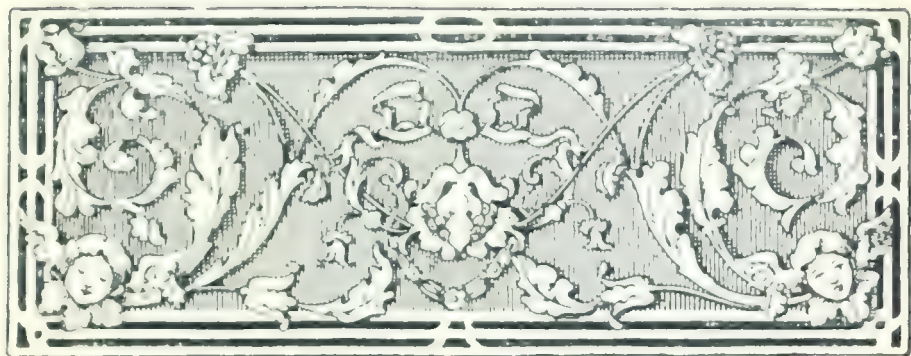
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REDMOND O'GALLAGHER, THE MARTYR- BISHOP OF DERRY

IN reading over the history of the Church in these kingdoms during the Elizabethan period we are struck with the similarity of the sufferings endured by our ancestors in the early days of the Reformation, with the account which St. Paul gives of the sufferings inflicted on God's servants in the Old Law. Indeed, one would think it was Elizabeth's victims that great Apostle was sketching, and that he wrote from Ireland instead of from Italy to the Jews in Palestine. What truer description of the lives of the Irish bishops and priests in the penal days could be given than that

They were stoned, they were cut asunder, they were tempted, they were put to death by the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins, in goatskins, being in want, distressed, afflicted; of whom the world was not worthy, wandering in deserts, in mountains, and in dens, and in caves of the earth.¹

It was a sad period—an anticipation of the days of Antichrist. In England the scaffolds reeked with blood; the dungeons were filled with the flower of the nobility; whilst the fiendish atrocities to which priests and bishops were alike subjected make one pause to inquire were the authors of these barbarities human. In Ireland it was still

¹ Heb. xi 37-38

worse; for here, to the greed of gain and hatred of the Church, was added that racial hatred which has ever existed since the days of the second Henry, and which at that period stirred to its lowest depths the savage nature of the British myrmidons. Their rulers urged them on to exterminate the 'mere Irish,' and wealth and honour crowned the murderer of the priest or the bishop. Altars were desecrated, churches were razed to their foundations, education banned, and innocent blood poured out, amid the scoffs and jeers of a brutal soldiery. Such, in Ireland, was the reign which in cruel irony has been called glorious, such the fate of those faithful servants of Christ who had the courage to profess themselves children of that Church whose centre is the See of Peter.

Raymund, or Redmond, O'Gallagher was a prominent figure in the Irish Church during nearly the whole of Elizabeth's reign, having been murdered only two years before that sovereign's death. He had been a bishop before she came to the throne, having been appointed Administrator of the see of Killala in 1545, two years before the death of Henry VIII., and consecrated bishop of that same see three years later. Redmond O'Gallagher was a native of the diocese of Raphoe, County Donegal, and was of noble family. The O'Gallaghers once held a conspicuous place in that county, and were the owners of extensive property. It was not, however, his nobility of birth that recommended him to the Holy See, but his character for learning, piety, and prudence. His appointment to administer a diocese whilst he was scarcely twenty-four, and his consecration at the unusually early age of twenty-seven, are proofs of his extraordinary qualifications and of the confidence reposed in him by the Holy Father. And that confidence was fully justified by his whole long career afterwards as administrator and bishop, covering in all a period of nearly fifty-six years. The following is a translation of the record of his appointment to the see of Killala:—

On the 7th November, 1545, the Holy See deputed as administrator, until he attain the twenty-seventh year of his age, in spiritual matters, of the church of Killala, in Ireland, then

vacant by the death of Richard Baird [Barrett], formerly Bishop of Killala, who died outside the Roman Curia, of happy memory, D. Raymund Ogaleubait [O'Gallagher], cleric of the diocese of Raphoe, aged twenty-four years or thereabouts, of noble origin; and then in his person makes provision for the same church, and appoints him as its bishop; tax, 11 florins.¹

Later on we shall get a glimpse of his zeal in the cause of discipline and religion whilst in that diocese.

After governing the diocese of Killala for twenty-four years—three as administrator and twenty-one as bishop—he was, in 1569, translated to the see of Derry. The following is the record of his translation:—

On the 22nd of June, 1569, the Court of Rome absolved D. Redmond Ogalehur, Bishop of Killala, from the bond of the church of Killala, and transferred him to the church of Derry, vacant by the death of Eugene Idocharti (O'Doherty), with the power of retaining the priory of Eachini, of the order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and all things annexed thereto, in the diocese of Killala; value, 21 marks sterling.²

A few years after his translation to Derry he was appointed vice-primate by the Holy See. The faculties then granted him are thus recorded in the *Secretaria Brevium* in Rome:—

To the Venerable Brother Redmund, Bishop of Derry, for his own diocese and for the entire province of Armagh, as long as the Venerable Brother Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, shall be absent from his diocese and the province of Armagh (13th April, 1575).

In 1580, O'Gallagher is mentioned in a Vatican list as a Bishop of Derry who had not taken the oath of allegiance. O'Sullivan Bear, in his *Catholic History*,³ refers to him as vice-primate. Relating certain events in the Elizabethan wars, he says:—

There were present some ecclesiastics, chief among whom was Raymund O'Gallachur, Bishop of Luci and Vice-Primate of Ireland, who absolved from the ban of excommunication those who passed over from the royal to the Catholic army.⁴

¹ Barberini and Vatican Archives.

² Barberini Archives. See Brady's *Irish Bishops*, and Rev. J. M'Laughlin's *Bishops of Derry*.

³ Chap. ix., B. iii.

⁴ The excommunication here referred to was that pronounced by Pius V. against Elizabeth and her adherents. Note by Dr. M. Kelly, in his edition of O'Sullivan.

An interesting reference to O'Gallagher occurs in a curious work, translated from the Spanish by Robert Crawford, M.A., and published during the past year by Elliott Stock, of 62 Paternoster-row, London. It is entitled, *Captain Cuellar's Narrative of the Spanish Armada and his Adventures in Ireland*. Cuellar was a captain in the Armada, and on the wreck of that ill-fated flotilla was cast upon the Irish coast, with many others of his countrymen. After narrating the hardships and perils he had passed through in Connaught and Ulster, he tells what happened to him in O'Cahan's country—the present County Derry. The English soldiers were everywhere searching for the unfortunate shipwrecked Spaniards; but they were making a special search for Captain Cuellar, who, they had discovered, was in the neighbourhood:—

Information about me [says he] had already been given to them, and no one passed by whom they did not ask if he had seen me . . . The boy was such a good lad that, upon learning this, he returned to his hut, and informed me of what had occurred; so that I had to leave there very early in the morning, and to go in search of a bishop who was seven leagues off in a castle, where the English kept him in banishment and retirement. This bishop was a very good Christian, and went about in the garb of a savage¹ for concealment; and I assure you, I could not restrain tears when I approached him to kiss his hand. He had twelve Spaniards with him, for the purpose of passing them over to Scotland; and he was much delighted at my arrival, all the more so when the soldiers told him that I was a captain. He treated me with every kindness that he could for the six days I was with him, and gave orders that a boat should come to us to take us over to Scotland, which is usually done in two days. He gave us provisions for the voyage, and said Mass for us in the castle, and spoke with me about some things concerning the loss of the kingdom, and how his Majesty had assisted them, and that he should come to Spain as soon as possible after my arrival in Scotland, where he advised me to live with much patience, as in general they were all Lutherans, and very few Catholics. The bishop was called Don Reimundo Termi (?) [Bishop of Times], an honourable and just man. God keep him in His hands, and preserve him from his enemies.

The translator fails to identify this bishop, and calls him

¹ Cuellar's term for a native of the country.

by the unmeaning title of 'Bishop of Times.' The word *Terri* is evidently a mistake for *Derrie*, as Derry was then usually spelled; and it is quite certain that the bishop was Raymond O'Gallagher, the then bishop of the diocese, who lived in disguise at this period in O'Cahan's country, and who, tradition says, used to tend sheep by day on the mountains, and visit by night the sick and dying of his flock. It may be interesting to readers of the *I. E. Record* to know that Captain Cuellar, with a number of other Spaniards, was soon afterwards, by the kindness of Sir James M'Donnell, sent in a boat from Dunluce to Scotland.¹

This same year, 1588, we have a letter from O'Gallagher to Cornelius O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor, and dated from Tamlaghtard, better known as Magilligan. This letter was found on O'Devany's person shortly afterwards, and in consequence he was imprisoned in Dublin, and kept in confinement for two years. Though liberated for a time, he was taken prisoner again, and ultimately put to death in the metropolis, in 1612. The letter was as follows:—

We, Redmond, by the grace of God and favour of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Derry and Vice-Primate of All Ireland, to the Most Reverend, our dear brother, Cornelius, Bishop of Down and Connor. Seeing that we cannot, without incurring imminent peril of life, make visitation of your territory, we, therefore, by the authority of Letters Apostolic and by the authority of the primatial dignity, by the purport of these presents, do appoint you in our stead for a full year from the date hereof, and for the same period we give and grant you power to absolve from episcopal and also from papal cases each and everyone who has recourse to you, obligations of conscience being safeguarded, and salutary penance in proportion to the fault being enjoined.

Given in the Parochial Church of Tamlaghtard, the 1st day of July, 1588.

R., Bishop of Derry and Vice-Primate.

Another letter of his, written some years after this, and addressed to Clement VIII., may be introduced in this

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., No. 3, n. 3, 1895.

place. It refers to the sufferings for the faith in Ireland, and the noble stand then being made against English power. It runs thus :—

I am confident your Holiness knows that our leading nobles—doubtless by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost—have made a courageous stand against the malicious oppression inflicted on them by the English, and have done so with a spirit and daring more than human. By their manful resistance in the battle-field they have baffled and foiled the English devices, their rancour and satanic rage. Yet every day brings changes more numerous than one could tell ; and so, to give our nobles greater courage, to strengthen them, and to make them steadfast in their glorious undertaking by the hope of succour, a person has come here, a little ago, from Spain for the purpose of making a report that will be relied on to his Catholic Majesty of the actual state of affairs. He is the bearer of this letter. I recommend your Holiness to have unhesitating confidence in his testimony. I ask you to do so, and to cast a kindly look on Ireland, always faithful to you—Ireland which now presents such a dismal appearance, so wretched and so mournful, suffering for so long a time, and suffering so many disasters at the hands of the heretics. The present opportunity is specially favourable. I am convinced it is a gift of God. I ask your Holiness to seize it at once, remembering that opportunity is usually bald on the back of the head. Make kindly provision as speedily as in your power for those who are your own dependents—yes, and the most faithful of all your dependents since Christianity came into the world. Do not disappoint myself and the bearer of my letter in the hopes we have formed and set our hearts on. I leave to him to tell your Holiness many other matters that need to be mentioned. And, taking into account what I know of his family, his diligence, his uprightness, his sincere and earnest zeal for faith and country, I beseech your Holiness to bestow some favour on him, to have no hesitation in granting him the dignity of N., thereby approving with your own authority the action I am taking in the present emergency.¹

Protected by the still powerful sept of O'Cahan, it would seem that O'Gallagher was all this time able to exercise his ministry with a certain amount of security. In a State Paper, dated 28th July, 1592, the following account of him is given :—

First in Ulster is one Redmundus O'Gallagher, Buishopp of Dayrie, *alias* Daren, Legate of the Pope and *custos* Armaghén,

¹ For the original Latin letters see Meehan's *Flight of the Earls*.

being one of the three Irish bishoppes that were in the Council of Trent. This bishopp used all manner of spiritual jurisdiction throughout all Ulster, consecrating churches, ordeyning priests, confirming children, and giving all manner of dispensacions rydeing with pomp and ceremony from place to place, as yt was accustomed in Queen Marye's days. And for all the rest of the clergy there, they use all manner of service there nowe as in that tyme, and not only that, but they have changed the tyme according (to) the Pope's new invencion. The said Bishopp O'Gallagher hath bin with diverse governors of that land upon proteccion, and yet he is suffered to enjoy the bishoprick, and all the aforesaid auctorities, these xxvi years past and more, whereby it is to be understood that he is not there as a man without auctority or secretly kept.¹

Though this statement is inaccurate in some of its details, and is considerably exaggerated, still it is important as showing the zeal and influence of O'Gallagher in Ulster at this period. It is not correct to say that he was one of the Irish bishops who attended the Council of Trent. The three who did attend, were Donald M'Congail, Bishop of Raphoe; Thomas O'Herlichy, Bishop of Ross; and Eugene O'Hart, Bishop of Achonry. Nor is it true to say, that he was legate of the Pope. He had merely received from him extraordinary jurisdiction to be exercised in the absence of the Primate, and hence in most documents of the time he is styled Vice-Primate. It is by no means likely that he was in the habit of 'rydeing with pomp and company from place to place,' for the English soldiers had gained a footing in O'Cahan's country at this time, and one of their great objects was to seize the Bishop who was regarded as their most powerful opponent. Though exercising his ministry, he did so disguised as a peasant, and under the protection of the chieftains who were not as yet entirely shorn of their power. Though residing, as a general rule, in O'Cahan's territory, we find that occasionally he dwelt in the city, and also at Fahan, on the shores of Lough Swilly. In a MS. paper in the State Paper Office, dated 12th April, 1601, and endorsed: 'The Description of Lough Foyle, and the country adjacent,' we find the

¹ See *Kilkenny Arch. Jour.* for 1856-7.

following entries :—‘ Three miles above Culmore stands the Derrie, where the bishop dwells, who is one of the sept of the Gallocars.’ And again : ‘ Over against Elloghe, in O’Dovgherdie’s country, is a castle and a church called the Fanne, but broken down synce our aryvall,—Here dwells the Bishop O’Galchar.’¹

Except occasional references to him, these are all the facts that have hitherto been recorded regarding him, till we come to the record of his death. That sad occurrence is mentioned by several authorities, but all are not agreed as to the year in which it took place. Dr. Burke, in a note to the eighteenth chapter of his *Hibernia Dominicana*, after recounting the names of many who had suffered for the faith, says :—

To these are to be added, deceased shortly after Elizabeth, Redmund Galcharius, vernacularly, O’Gallagher, bishop of Derry, who about his seventieth year being taken prisoner by heretical soldiers of the garrison who were scouring the country, and being pierced by them with many wounds, died in the year 1604.

O’Reilly, in his *Sufferers for the Catholic Faith in Ireland*, adopts, apparently without any inquiry, the chronology of De Burgho. O’Sullivan Bear gives the same date in enumerating various victims that were put to death for the faith under James, the year after his coming to the throne. ‘ Raymund O’Gallagher, Bishop of Derry or Luci, was slain by the English with two-edged swords, and beheaded about his eightieth year.’² Others give the date as 1602 ; but even this is not correct except in so far as the old style corresponds with the new. The date given by the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and by Donatus Mooney in his *MS. History of the Franciscans*, compiled in 1617, is the correct one. The annalists, under date 1601, say in their usual terse style : ‘ Redmund O’Gallagher, Bishop of Derry, was killed by the English in Oireacht-Ui-Chathain, on the

¹ See *Uist Jour. of Arch.*, vol. v. Though dated 1601, this paper was written at least a year before that.

² B. ii., chap. iv., *Cath. Hist.*

15th day of March' and Mooney writes : ' Redmund Galehur, martyr, died in 1601, the 8th of March, being an old man, and as was considered the oldest, by ordination, of all the bishops of Europe.'¹

It is strange that none of all these writers mention the place where he was murdered, except the *Four Masters*, and even they make only a vague reference to it ; yet on the strength of that reference some modern writers fix the place as midway between Limavady and Dungiven. Notwithstanding repeated inquiries, the present writer could never discover any reliable authority for this statement. He believes, however, that he can now fix the exact spot of the murder, and the burial of the martyred bishop, as well as give many details of his life not hitherto published. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is an unpublished manuscript of Dr. Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, in which he gives a tolerably good summary of the life of O'Gallagher, and furnishes, moreover, the details of his death, and where it occurred, with a minuteness which enables an investigator to fix almost to a certainty on the very spot where it took place.² Though some of the facts already given will of necessity be repeated in this extract from Lynch, yet even at the risk of repetition it seems better to give the text in its entirety. He writes as follows :—

We see from the Records at Rome that Redmond O'Gallagher, one of the clergy of the diocese of Raphoe, the son of Gilduff, was on the 6th Nov., 1545, when he was only twenty-four years of age, or rather somewhat less, created bishop of Killala, then vacant by the death of Richard Barret. The Records speak of Redmond as of noble family. It may well be that, as Pliny says about Macrinus, in merit he could compete with those more advanced in years, in whose dignity he was a partner. At any rate he was not the only person we read of, who for unusual merit was elevated before the age of thirty to the episcopal rank, whose progress in virtue far outstripped their

¹ See note to O'Sullivan Bear's *Cath. Hist.*

² The MS. is numbered 1445, is written in Latin, bound in two large volumes, and a note prefixed to it states that it was transcribed in 1863, by Mr. John Rathbone, from the original in the Bodleian Library. Its title is :—*Historia Ecclesiastica Hiberniæ or De Præsulibus Hiberniæ.*

progress in years. The Pope wrote to him in the year 1553. Beyond all that, it appears to me to be a powerful testimony to his worth, that during a period when the most of the bishops of Ireland, not only those that were appointed by the king, but those who were appointed by the Pope, were infected and corrupted by the guilt of the revolt of the State against the Church, Redmond, who had been made bishop by the Pope, when Henry VIII. was still reigning, faithfully fulfilled his duties as bishop of Killala during the reigns of Edward and Mary, and until far on in the reign of Elizabeth. The legislation of Edward against the faith never obtained power or validity in Ireland, or, at any rate, was not enforced in the distant parts of the country. It was told to me, that Redmond, strange to say, had detached from the see lands a farm, and conveyed it to his sister's husband. The time of this transaction is not mentioned, and I am of opinion that it took place (that is if ever it took place) during the reign of Edward. Redmond, seeing that Edward was making over the church lands to lay persons, preferred to have the farm in the hands of his sister than of a stranger, to whom certainly the king would give all the lands of the see of Killala that he could get hold of by open war or private violence. Accordingly Redmond is in nowise touched by the excommunication issued by Victor II., in the Council of Florence against those who alienate church lands; neither does he incur the rebuke of Peter Damian, that 'the reverence for the sanctuary is weakened when by alienation of this kind its ministers are in miserable want, when the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the pilgrim cry out: 'We are being cut off by the sword of hunger from the face of the earth;' adding that a bishop of Bologna lost the power of his speech for having alienated ecclesiastical property. Redmond's great zeal for the repression of heresy, and for the spread of the Catholic faith, was shown by his holding, in 1566, in conjunction with Andrew O'Crean, bishop of Elphin, and Eugene O'Hart, bishop of Achonry, a large assemblage of the clergy in the form of a provincial Council (at which, it appears, he presided as senior bishop), and they there passed a decree, that their observance in their full integrity of the decrees of the Council of Trent was of universal obligation. Later on provincial Councils were held to enforce the observance of those decrees on the subjects of these three dioceses.

On the plea that there was a suspicion of undue familiarity between Redmond and the wife of a certain man of the nobility, he was imprisoned, his goods confiscated, and himself exiled from his diocese by Sir John Burke, son of Oliver, who had obtained the dignity of the MacWilliam, and the presidency of lower Connaught, attached to that dignity, and who died in 1580; and by Sir Edmund Burke. So Sanders is correct enough in saying, that he was either imprisoned or exiled, not for any

edness, but that what he suffered, viz. that exile or imprisonment, was because he was a Catholic and a bishop; suggesting that what he wrote he had heard, and had no other foundation for believing it beyond the common proverb: 'There is usually truth in a rumour.' The misfortunes that befel the descendants of those who persecuted Redmond, seem to clear him of that wicked and malicious suspicion, especially when we take into consideration, that had a stain of so gross a nature attached to him, he never would have been translated to the see of Derry, or dignified with the title of Vice-Primate. I do not know the year in which he was translated, but he was bishop of Derry, when Gregory XIII., as we know, wrote to him, 6th June, 1575, the fourth year of his pontificate. In that letter the Pope gives instructions about promoting to holy orders and to benefices some persons who had been born out of lawful wedlock.

In Ulster, at any rate, the public exercise of the Catholic religion was at that time unmolested and prosperous. The princes and nobles of Ulster continued by force of arms to exclude heresy from their dominions. Now, Redmond, it seems, was the tower of strength of the Ulstermen and their bond of union, and to him was due the long continuance of their independence. At any rate, the heretics believed him to be the person who kept alive the war and kept up the spirit of the forces, for they singled him out as the one person for whose destruction all their efforts were to be combined.

Many a work he engaged in, in rooting up the thorns and brambles of heresy, and in planting the true vine of the Catholic faith; nor was his zeal confined to Ulster, for by a letter of 5th August, 1596, from Belhena, by virtue of his power as Vice-Primate, he appointed Bernard Macaghowan Vicar-General of Tyrone and Mayo, and John O'Dongal Guardian of Mayo.

The defeat of the Ulster forces left him unprotected—a mark for the enemy's vengeance. The following year, abandoned by Neil Garve O'Donnell, who (as Coppinger states) then took part with the heretics, Henry Docwra, with the Lough Foyle garrison, got on his track, and at last seized him in Cunnalia, an out-of-the-way hamlet about a mile from Derry, on the way which leads to Strabane, where there was a parochial church. A short time before the bishop had learned the arrangements the enemy had made for getting hold of him, and had in consequence hid himself in a bog, winter though it was; but the bitter cold and his enfeebled old age compelled him to slip into a house at the dead of night. On the approach of the enemy all in the house took to flight, except himself. Unable to fly, he hid himself among some sheaves of corn. The enemy having got up to the house, and having laid hold on a woman and boy, slaughtered them both, and went away. The people of the place then went into the house, and asked was there anyone there still alive. The

bishop, from his hiding-place, answered that he was still alive. One of the army scullions of the enemy, who was lurking close by, overhearing the voice, hurries off to his party with his utmost speed, urges them to come back, which they do without delay, fall upon the bishop, thus taken by surprise, mangle him with many a wound, and leave him lifeless. That was in 1602.

It is believed that God inflicted punishments on the authors of this foul murder; that is, Neil and Docwra; for Docwra was set aside, and Henry Folliat was made Governor of Ballyshannon in his place—an event which was miraculous, even in the eyes of the English, that the very man who regained Ballyshannon should be dismissed from being governor. Neil was so indignant that, after all his loyalty to the English, Rory O'Donnell should be set over him, that, rushing headlong to his own destruction, he took to himself the title of O'Donnell, and thereupon obtained a prolonged abode in the Tower of London, wherein he kept his abode till his death.

The bishop was buried in the graveyard of the parochial church I mentioned, at the side where the eastern window stood, the interior of the church having been desecrated.

From this passage we learn of the zeal of O'Gallagher in introducing the Tridentine regulations, and in enforcing the rules of morality and religion, a zeal which, no doubt, provoked the anger of the irreligious, and excited their malice against the saintly bishop. We know the lawless nature of some of the Irish chieftains, and the lax notions of virtue that prevailed among not a few; and woe to the cleric that dared to upbraid them for their vices. O'Gallagher, as Bishop of Killala, probably found it his duty to reprove some of those chiefs for their loose lives, or for their defection from the faith, and in return they determined to check his virtuous zeal, as the Arians of the fourth century did with the great St. Athanasius. They resorted to the same species of calumny as did the Arians, and added violence to their defamation; but God vindicated his innocence as He did that of Athanasius, and his fellow-bishops, as well as the Supreme Head of the Church, manifested their faith in his virtue by his promotion to the see of Derry. To this the Sovereign Pontiff soon afterwards added the dignity of Vice-Primate.

His labours in the cause of faith and fatherland, while Bishop of Derry, made him a tower of strength to the

Catholics of the north, and a terror to his enemies. No wonder, then, that the English incessantly sought his life. The O'Caahans and other chieftains of the district protected him as long as they had the power, but their territory had become the prey of the invader, and the life of the aged bishop was no longer secure in the mountains of Dungiven or Magilligan. His only safety was in flight. He was probably sojourning at his house in the city of Derry—for as we saw above he sometimes resided in the city, and sometimes at Fahan, as well as in the O'Caahan country—when he discovered the machinations of Docwra against his life. If he could escape to his native Tyrconnell he might elude the bloodhounds of Docwra, and obtain protection among his own kith and kin. This would seem to have been his object in taking the route he did when flying from the city. Lynch's minute description at this point enables us to follow the aged fugitive step by step to the spot where he met his doom. He went from the city, says Lynch, by the road that leads to Strabane. The only road then leading from Derry to Strabane was that on the western side of the Foyle, which passes through the towns of Carrigans and St. Johnston, and thence to Lifford. No bridge then spanned the river at Derry, and consequently there was no communication between the city and the eastern side of the Foyle, except by means of a ferry. To attempt to cross this ferry with the soldiers of the garrison on the look out for him, and with Protestants manning the ferry-boats, would have been sheer madness on the part of the bishop. Besides, the route was the very opposite to that he should have taken, if, as we suppose, he intended going to Tyrconnell.

Setting out by night, he reached a hamlet which, Lynch says, was about a mile from Derry, and where there was a parochial church. Here he at first concealed himself in a bog, but the intense cold induced him to slip into a house about midnight to get himself warmed. Now the only parochial church in that direction was the church of Killea, which was one of five rural churches which depended on and were attached to the great church in Derry. Killea is three

miles from the city; but we could not expect Lynch, a stranger to the locality, to know the exact distance. His meaning, clearly, is, that the place was a short distance from Derry. Evidently the place was well known to O'Gallagher, as he betook himself there for safety, and he felt he could trust himself in the cottages of the poor Catholics there. Killea corresponds exactly with Lynch's description. There was the bog in which he concealed himself at first. The bog is now exhausted, but in the present writer's early days it was still extensive, and supplied the entire neighbourhood with fuel. The church stood on a gentle slope above this bog, and its ruins were standing until a few years ago, when they were taken down, and the materials used in building a new wall around the graveyard. The latter is still used for interments. The church gives its name to the adjoining parish of Killea, which in the Protestant division is still a distinct parish, but in the Catholic division is amalgamated with a number of other small parishes to form what is called the parish of Taughboyne and All Saints. The parish of Killea is in the diocese of Raphoe, but the townland and church of Killea are in the diocese of Derry. The north-west Liberties, which extend three miles in every direction from the city, on the western side of the Foyle, were cut off from Donegal by Docwra, and added to the county of Derry. This explains the reason of the parish being at present in a different county from the church which gave it its name; and this too may explain the expression of the *Four Masters*, that O'Gallagher was killed in O'Cahan's territory, since the Liberties were now part of the county Derry. More likely, however, they took it for granted, that it was in county Derry he had been killed, since it was there he had generally dwelt during the time of his episcopate. The hamlet of which Lynch speaks, like most of our old Irish villages, has disappeared, though a number of houses are still scattered around the vicinity of the old church.

In Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* mention is made of two cairns in the townland of Killea, one of which, the

writer says, is in the bed of a rivulet called the 'Priest's Burn,' from a tradition, that a priest was killed on the spot. This, too, helps to indicate the place where O'Gallagher was slain; for from the testimony of a native of the place, now in his ninety-third year, the present writer has learned, that there was a cairn formerly at Killea Burn a few hundred yards below the church, at the edge of the bog, where he believes the hamlet stood which Lynch describes, and where the aged bishop was done to death by the brutal soldiers of Elizabeth.

If for nothing else this MS. of Dr. Lynch is of the utmost value as furnishing data for fixing on the place of O'Gallagher's martyrdom and burial, and for giving so many details of his life. The topography is so accurately described that no doubt whatever remains on the mind of the writer as to the spot where the saintly bishop fell and was interred. That he fell by Killea Burn, and was interred in Killea graveyard by the ruins of the old church, at the side where the eastern altar stood, seems to be beyond a doubt if we are to accept the history given by Lynch; and there is no reason for calling its accuracy into question. At the time of his martyrdom he was in his eightieth year, having been twenty-four at the time of his appointment to Killala, and having exercised jurisdiction for fifty-six years afterwards.

His was an eventful and fruitful episcopate. Ever battling for the Church, rebuking when necessary the vices of the great, even, as we have seen, at the risk of defamation and loss of liberty; supporting the weak, strengthening the wavering, bringing hope and consolation to the sick and dying, urging the chieftains to fight strenuously against the inroads of heresy, he was truly another St. Paul to the persecuted flock over whom he ruled, and a tower of strength to the Catholics of Ulster. His heartless and brutal murder was but one in the long, dark catalogue of crimes which characterized the reign of Elizabeth, but one sufficient in itself to mark an epoch. In the same month, two years afterwards, she followed him to her final account; but how widely different the death of the bishop and the death of the queen! The one, after a long and faithful stewardship in

the vineyard of the Lord, after preaching Christ's Gospel, and putting into practice its precepts, gives up his life for the Church and the faith which he had so long and so vigorously defended; the other, after a regime stained by every crime, after overthrowing the religion of her ancestors, murdering the innocent Queen of Scots, slaying the ministers of God's Church, assuming to herself the prerogatives of Christ's Vicar on earth, 'drunk with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus,' sinks at last despairing into the arms of death, not daring to invoke the name of that God against whom she had warred during life, nor permitting a prayer to be breathed by her bedside as she went before the judgment seat to receive her final sentence.¹

The murder of Redmond O'Gallagher was but the prelude to the martyrdom of a host of priests, both secular and regular, who were slain in Derry during the reign of James I. and his successors, till the catalogue was closed by the death of the Rev. Clement O'Colgan, O.P.P., who, after an imprisonment of two years, died for the faith in Derry jail, as late as the year 1704. If sword and flame, confiscation of property, outlawry of priests and bishops, destruction of churches and monasteries, could have destroyed Catholicity, it might well have been extinguished in the city of Columbkille and in the diocese of St. Eugene; but it still survived with that indestructible life which Christ promised to His Church on earth. The storm of persecution became exhausted by its own fury; fanaticism grew weary of its tyranny, and bigotry learned to be ashamed of its atrocities. Happier days began to dawn, and with them came the revival of religion and the reconstruction of its sacred edifices. Just like some valuable palimpsest, from whose page the skill of the modern chemist has effaced the writing of the later scribe, restoring thereby to the world the priceless characters first written on the parchment, so the purifying hand of time has obliterated

¹ For a description of the last days of this queen, see Dr. Lee's *Church under Elizabeth*.

from the Church of Derry the handwriting of evil men, and has restored to the light of day the beauty and glowing fervour of its ancient faith.

Redmond O'Gallagher has long since gone to his everlasting crown ; his heartless and cowardly murderers have passed to their account ; but the faith which they endeavoured to destroy, and for which he fought, the Church which they blindly hoped to crush, and for which he shed his blood, still live on, purified and strengthened by the ordeal through which they have passed. Ezechiel's vision has again been fulfilled ; for the Spirit of the Lord has breathed once more over the dry bones of the plain, and a new race has arisen to fill up for Mother Church in Derry the place of her martyred dead.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

THE CONTINUITY THEORY

BEFORE entering upon the subject of this essay, I think it will make my task lighter, if I begin by stating exactly what I am going to do. I am going to compare the Church of England as it existed before the sixteenth century with the Church of England as it exists to-day. I call the first the 'Pre-Reformation Church,' and the second the 'Post-Reformation Church.' But what kind of comparison am I going to institute? Am I going to prove that the one is true, and the other false? No. Am I going to prove that the one is a divine, and the other a human institution? No, nothing of the kind. My purpose is far more simple. I am going to prove merely that the one Church is not the other.

The issue is, therefore, very simple. The sole question before us is this: Is the 'Pre-Reformation Church' the same Church as the 'Post-Reformation Church,' or is it a different one? Is the faith professed by the English sovereigns and people in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries the same as that professed by the sovereigns and people in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries? Have the same doctrines and ecclesiastical government continued century after century, or has there been a rupture, a severance, a breaking away, a dislocation? In a word, has there been a distinct interruption, or has there been an unbroken continuity? We, as Catholics, answer emphatically that there has been a most decided interruption; while, on the other hand, certain of our Anglican friends declare with equal emphasis that there has not.

Take note that we are concerned with doctrine, faith, religious observance, and ecclesiastical government; not with mere external possessions. When pagan Rome was converted to Christianity the Christians, in many instances, transformed the pagan temples into places of

Catholic worship. But because they occupied the same territory, lived in the same towns, and retained the same buildings, we cannot upon that ground argue that there was any real 'continuity,' in doctrine or religious belief, between paganism and Christianity. So, for a like reason, when the Reformers took possession of the Catholic cathedrals and churches, and of the abbeys and the abbey lands, and clothed themselves with the spoils of the monasteries, we can no more argue that they were on that account of the same creed as the monks and priests whom they turned adrift, transported, or hanged, than we can argue that the wolf is of the same nature as the sheep, on the ground that, having slain the sheep, he now wears its fleece. He is still as much a wolf as ever.

We are perfectly well aware that the grand old English cathedrals, such as those of Bath and Wells, of Canterbury and Durham, of Gloucester and Hereford, of York and Ely, and Worcester, Lincoln, Salisbury, Winchester, and Norwich, and many more (though designed by Catholic artists, built by Catholic hands, and paid for by Catholic gold) have been appropriated by that Protestant Reformed religion, established by law, which King William and Queen Mary, and presumably all English sovereigns since, in their coronation oaths, have solemnly sworn to defend.¹

We are well aware that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, together with the moneys and emoluments, and the sums left as bequests for Masses, and many other things of a material and pecuniary value, which once belonged to the 'Pre-Reformation Church,' were taken away, and have now become the property of the 'Post-Reformation Church.' But the religion and faith of the 'Pre-Reformation Church'—that is to say, that which constitutes its very essence, its innermost spirit and life—have not descended to the English as a nation. The wolf

¹

CORONATION OATH, 1689-1702.

To King William and Queen Mary.

'Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion, established by law?'

'We will,' &c. — (*The Book of Prayers*. By Edgar Taylor, p. 215.)

has got the fleece. True ! But there still remains a mighty and essential difference between the wolf and the sheep. But how does it happen that all Protestants, as well as Catholics, are not agreed upon this point ? Well, let us see.

People read history very differently, according to the manner in which the facts may affect their own particular interests ; and we cannot but feel that, whether consciously or unconsciously, the upholders of the theory, which we are examining here to-day, are not impartial, but so strongly biassed in its favour as to think they see proofs even where none exist. Of such men may be said, with the alteration of a single word, what Shakspeare says of the jealous : ‘Trifles light as air are to the biassed (jealous) confirmation strong as proofs of Holy Writ.’¹

But is there a strong motive to maintain the continuity theory at any cost ? Well, I think we shall find there is. Indeed, Anglicans *must* cling to this theory, because it is essential to their position—I might almost say to their very existence. It may be an improbable theory, it may be an impossible theory, it may be a theory which history, loud and trumpet toned, denies and contradicts ; a theory derided and scouted by the overwhelming body of Christians throughout the world ; but it is essential to the position of the little local Church that defends it. Therefore, in mere self-defence, and in virtue of the natural instinct of self-preservation, these good people close their ears to every argument, and remain blind to the most unassailable evidence. They have ears, but hear not ; eyes, and see not, because they really cannot afford either to see or to hear. To do so would be to admit themselves in the wrong. To give up continuity is equivalent to affirm that their Church is less than four hundred years old ; it is implicitly to admit that it is not the Church of Christ, which was established in this land more than a thousand years earlier ; and, if not the Church of Christ, then, of course, not a true Church at all. Further, it is to

¹ *Othel.*, iii. 3.

admit that they have no real right to the doweries and emoluments and the ecclesiastical legacies and Church lands. No, no more than a supposed heir to a property has a right to that property when it is discovered that he is, after all, no true son, but only a bastard. The thought of these and many other consequences puts religiously-minded men in a position in which we can no more wonder at their clinging to any vestige of an argument, and to any shred or shadow of a proof, than we can wonder at a drowning man clasping and snatching at any floating straw or drifting weed that comes within his reach.

But, even in spite of all this, so clear and so irresistible is the evidence against the continuity theory, that the more clear-headed, learned, honest, and impartial of Anglicans themselves have felt obliged to admit that there has been really no true and real 'continuity' in the Church of England at all. They admit, in a word—and the admission being so contrary to their own interests is of quite exceptional value—that the Church of England, as now existing, is radically different from the Church of England of four hundred years ago—that, in a word, the present Church of England started into existence only as late as the sixteenth century, and was the creation of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

Now, it is not our purpose to try and force our own belief, however certain, down anybody's throat; nor need we accuse any individual of dishonesty because evidence which convinces others does not convince him. The law courts afford us innumerable cases of evidence completely satisfying eleven jurymen, and yet altogether failing to convince the twelfth. So it may be in the case of continuity. Now, there are at present in my mind theological reasons which, altogether independently of historical facts, absolutely satisfy me that the English Church of to-day is totally distinct from the English Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of Archbishop Chicheley; but I am not going to produce any theological arguments now. As there is not time for everything, I will confine myself to the evidences of history, and I will call up various weighty

witnesses. Nay more; in order to give my Anglican friends every advantage, I will pack my witness-box, and select my witnesses, not from among Catholics, who might be thought biassed against the continuity theory, but from among non-Catholics, and non-Catholics alone.

The first I will summon is Mr. E. A. Freeman, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, whom Canon Bright calls 'a great master of English history.' He witnesses as follows:—¹

England was the special conquest of the Roman Church, the first land which looked up with reverence to the Roman Pontiff, while it owed not even a nominal allegiance to the Roman Cæsar. . . . The English folk were first called to cast aside the faith of Woden, and to embrace the faith of Christ by men who came on that errand from Rome herself, at the bidding of the acknowledged father of Western Christendom.

I will now call upon the Rev. F. C. Warren, a recognised Anglican authority on the liturgy of the ancient British Church. He, like Freeman, emphatically testifies to the essentially Roman character and condition of the early English Church:—

Roman [he says] in origin, owing her existence to the foresight of one of the greatest Popes, and fostered at first by Roman missionaries and bishops, the Church of England had been constantly and loyally Roman in doctrine and practice. Her liturgical books, as well as her vestments, and church ornaments came direct from Rome, being sent from Gregory to Augustine. Her archbishops, from the very first, applied for and wore the pall.²

This is pretty strong evidence, as coming from an Anglican clergyman. But let us now dismiss him and call our next witness.

What has the Protestant historian, Child, to say on the subject? Turning to his well-known work, we come across the following:—

When Henry died, a complete revolution had been effected in the history of the Church. Instead of the Church *in* England, it

¹ *Engel. Hist.*, art. 'England,' pp. 277-278.

² Intro. to *Leofric's Missal*, p. 24. Rev. F. C. Warren.

had become in good truth, the Church of England; instead, that is, of an integral part of that great western province of Christendom, to which it owed its first conversion, and with which it had been one ever since, for nearly a thousand years, it had become for the first time in its history, a separate Christian community, of which little could be affirmed, but that, for the time being at any rate, it agreed with no other; that it retained an anomalous and decapitated form of Catholicism; and that, in practice, if not in theory too, it owed its doctrine as well as whatever of discipline it retained to its lay supreme head.¹

So much for Mr. Child. We will now ask his Lordship the Right Rev. Protestant Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Shorr, to state his honest conviction upon this interesting point:—

The Englishman [writes Bishop Short] who derives his blood from Saxon veins will be ungrateful if he be not ready to confess the debt which Christian Europe owes to Rome; and to confess that whenever she shall cast off these innovations of men, which now cause a separation between us, we shall gladly pay her such honours as are due to the country which was instrumental in bringing us within the pale of the Universal Church of Jesus Christ.

And further on Dr. Short admits that the existence of the Church of England, as a distinct body, and her final separation from Rome, may be dated from the period of the (Henry's) divorce.

This is an unequivocal testimony. If the English Church *separated* from Rome in Henry's time, then she must have been *united* with Rome before Henry's time. The historian, Gardiner, in his *Student's History of England*,² also states, that 'The English Church was in all outward matters regulated in conformity with that of Rome.'

Herzog affords us yet another testimony. In his *Encyclopædia of Theology*, article 'Church of England,' though he impartially states, that many Anglicans advance a claim to antiquity for their Church, he expresses his own opinion: 'Its history begins with the reign of Henry VIII., when breaking with the Pope, he was declared the head of the Church in his dominions.'³

¹ *Church and State in the Tudors*, pp. 264-5.

² Page 50.

³ *History of the Church of England to the Revolution*, 1668, p. 8.

We now call upon another witness, the learned author of a work entitled *Celtic Scotland*.¹

Now Mr. Skene testifies to the identity of doctrine and practice in the Roman and ancient British Churches in these words :—

Suffice it to say that during the Roman occupation the Christian Church in Britain was a part of the Church of the Empire. It was immediately connected with that of Gaul, but it acknowledged Rome as its head, from whom its mission was considered to be derived, and it presented no features of difference from the Romish Church in the other western provinces. We find it in close connection with the Gallican Church, and regarding the Patriarch of Rome as the head of the Western Church, and the source of ecclesiastical authority and mission, and with the exception of the temporary prevalence of the Pelagian heresy in Britain, we can discover no trace of any divergence between them in doctrine or practice.

Some of our antagonists would have us make a distinction between Protestantism and Anglicanism, but as the Archbishop of Melbourne truly observes : ‘ This distinction has no foundation in the history of the Reformation.’ The following statement of historical facts, written, not by Catholic, but by the Protestant historian Child, will satisfy every impartial reader. He says :—

It is difficult to study the actual facts of the sixteenth century history, putting apart preconceived ecclesiastical theories, without arriving at the conclusion that the English National Church was as completely the creation of Henry VIII., Edward’s Council, and Elizabeth, as Saxon Protestantism was of Luther, Swiss of Calvin, or of Zwingle.²

The history of the Church in England was continuous from the mission of Augustine, or, if we prefer it, from the Synod of Whitby, to the time when Henry VIII., upon a disagreement with the Pope about his divorce, cast off his allegiance to the Papacy. From that time to the present, with the short interval between the reconciliation under Mary and Elizabeth’s first Parliament, it has been severed and excommunicated by the great body of the Catholic Church ; and as the latter was before precisely that which it has continued since, it is clear that the former must have been something not the same. And it is not the mere retention of a few names and titles, used in a kind of ‘second

¹ Vol. ii., pp. 2, 7.

² *Church and State*, &c., pp. 272-4

intention,' and a few more or less amputated rites, which will ever make persons, intelligently instructed, believe that an establishment which obviously is a mere creature of a single state, is the legitimate and adequate representative of that imposing Western Church, which is older than any existing state in Europe, and grander than anything the world has ever seen, and which has been picturesquely described by an old writer as 'the ghost of the old Roman Empire,' sitting robed and crowned upon the grave thereof.¹

A fair consideration of the actual facts of the Tudor history serves to show that, a theory like that which prevails so widely at present, which represents the English Church in any other light than that of one (though it may, perhaps, be admitted, the greatest and most dignified) of the Protestant Churches which arose in the sixteenth century, is a novelty which took its very earliest rise some half century or more after the separation from Rome, as a direct consequence of Elizabeth's determination to give no quarter to the early Puritans, and which made little or no progress for another half century still. The evidence is simply overwhelming, which shows that, during the whole period from 1552 onwards, the English Church was considered by friends and foes alike to be, for all intents and purposes, one with the Swiss Churches of Zurich and Geneva.²

The truth upon this subject is so patent to the unprejudiced mind that, not in serious histories merely, but even in the daily press, and on the public platforms it is taken as a matter of course. An instance or two here will not be out of place.

Taking up a Protestant paper³ I came across an account of a meeting at which Sir G. Osborne Morgan, M.P., took the chair. Though a Protestant himself, and son of the Rev. M. Morgan, Protestant Vicar of Conway, Carnarvonshire, he nevertheless delivered himself in the following words :—

What was the Church of England as by law established? He would answer the question in the words of the highest legal authority in the land. 'The Established Church,' says the Chief Justice of England, 'is a political institution, established, created, and protected by law, absolutely dependent upon Parliament.' Why, every student of English history knew that

¹ Child, *Church and State*, pp. 272-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 272-4.

³ *The Manchester Guardian*, Sept. 21st, 1893.

if a very bad king had not fallen in love with a very pretty woman, and desired to get divorced from his plain and elderly wife, and had not compelled a servile Parliament to carry out his wishes, there would, in all human probability, never have been an Established Church at all. Last year, just before the General Election, he had stated this fact, upon which a reverend gentleman, Canon West, of Manchester, had offered £10 towards his election expenses if he could name the Act of Parliament by which the Church of England was established. He had named six of these Acts, but he never got his £10.

The baronet then went on to say that—

When the Established Church said, ‘Orthodoxy is my doxy, and heterodoxy is everybody else’s doxy,’ it could not claim, like the Church of Rome, a divine mandate, but only a Parliamentary mandate for the assertion.

The Puseyites of the last generation, or the Anglo-Catholics, as they called themselves, insisted that the Church of England was the only true Catholic Church, and that the Church of Rome was nothing but a corrupt and heretical departure from the same primitive Church. But when they came to look around them, and saw from one pulpit a man preaching Calvinism and another Deism, and found that their only protection against their errors was a human tribunal—*i.e.*, the Privy Council, upon which Jews and infidels might sit—everyone of them who had a grain of honesty in his nature went over with Cardinal Newman to the Church of Rome—a Church which, at least, rested its claim to infallibility on something higher than an Act of Parliament or a judicial committee.

I will now make an extract from a Protestant London daily.¹ In a conspicuous leader, this influential paper expresses its opinion in these outspoken words:—

The Anglicans may still persist in patronizing the Roman Catholics as a new set of modern dissidents under the old name. It is the sort of vengeance which, under favourable circumstances, the mouse may enjoy at the expense of the elephant. If he can mount high enough by artificial means, the smallest of created things may contrive to look down on the greatest, and to affect to compassionate his want of range. For purposes of controversy the Anglican could talk of himself as a terrestrial ancient of days, and regret the rage for innovation which led, not to his separation from Rome, but to Rome’s from him. So might the pebble, if determined to put a good face on it, wonder what had become of the rock, and recite the parable of the return of the prodigal to the Atlas range.

¹ *The Daily News*, Sept. 19th, 1893.

Thus far we have quoted merely the serious judgment of a few among the many Protestant bishops, clergymen, historians, and ecclesiastical authors, as well as the common press and platform utterances, which sometimes indicate more clearly than history, the common-sense view of any question before the public mind. Now, we shall not call up any more living authorities, for they can, at best, but declare what the result of their study of the Reformation period may be, and what conclusions they have come to; but I will turn to simple, undeniable contemporary facts. I am going to invite you, my readers, to pass your own judgment upon these facts, and ask you candidly whether these facts support the continuity theory, or whether they utterly destroy it. As the very touch-stone, I will select the attitude of the early English Church to the Vicar of Christ, the Pope.

(A.) English history tells us that in 1245 the English bishops and clergy, assembled in convocation, wrote to Pope Innocent, and in their letter, which anyone who understands Latin can read for himself, assured him that the 'said kingdom of England was specially devoted to the Most Holy Roman Church;' and, further, that amongst the glories of the 'English Church' was the fact that she was 'a special member of the Most Holy Church of Rome.' They add that they themselves are 'devoted sons of the Most Holy Roman Church.'

(B.) About the same year the nobles of England sent an address to the Pope, complaining of the monetary exactions of the Curia, in which they protest in these words:—

Our mother, the Roman Church, we love and cherish with all our hearts, as our duty is; and we seek her honour, increase, welfare, with all the affection of which we are capable.

They also declare that the King of England is not 'the head' of the Church, but 'a most dear son of the Roman Church.' Now, let me pause here to ask, will the representative of the continuity theory assert that men who wrote and spoke these words were not 'Roman Catholics'? Does he mean us to believe that a Church can be 'a special

member of the Most Holy Church of Rome,' and yet not Roman Catholic? Or does he expect us to hold that the clergy and nobles of England were not Roman Catholic, although they themselves declare that they are 'faithful and devoted sons of the Most Holy Roman Church'? We want a plain, straightforward answer.¹

(C.) The English Primate, Arundel, in 1413, with the advice and assistance of convocation, drew up the following profession of faith, to be used as a test to the Catholic creed, as then professed in England, against the doctrines of the Lollards. We retain the old spelling:—

Christ ardeyned Seint Petir the Apostell to ben His Vicarie here in erthe, whose See ys the Church of Rome, ordeyning and graunting the same power that He gaf to Petir should succede to all Petir's successours, the wychh we now callyn Popes of Rome, by whos power in Churches perticuler special be ordeyned prelates as archbysshopes, bysshopes, curates, and other degrees, to whom all Chrysten men ought to obey after the lawes of the Church of Rome.²

If Archbishop Arundel, writing to his clergy, had but declared that 'the Pope hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England,' the Anglican of to-day might claim him and the English Church of that period. But, since he did nothing of the kind, since, in plain truth, he said precisely the opposite, and what every Roman Catholic in England says and believes at this moment, will he explain how the Primate and Convocation were not Roman Catholics?

(D.) In 1427 the Bishops of England addressed a letter to Pope Martin V. on behalf of Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been accused at Rome. Now, hearken to their words, and say are they the words of genuine Roman Catholics or of Anglicans. They run as follows:—

Most Blessed Father, one and only undoubted Sovereign Pontiff, Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, with all promptitude of service and obedience, kissing most devoutly your blessed feet, &c.

¹ Matthew Paris, pp. 992 and 930, edit. 1571.

² This test declaration may be seen in the record of Convocation in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii., p. 355.

They then proceed to defend their Archbishop, and in doing so bear witness that 'the Archbishop of Canterbury is, Most Blessed Father, a most devoted son of your Holiness and of the Holy Roman Church.' Nay, more; they declare that—

He is so rooted in his loyalty, so unshakable in his allegiance, especially to the Roman Church, that it is known to the whole world, and ought to be to the city of Rome], that he is the most faithful son of the Church of Rome, promoting and securing with all his strength the guarantees of her liberty.

Again, will our continuity friends explain how a man can be 'the most faithful son of the Church of Rome,' so rooted in his loyalty to her that 'his allegiance is known to the whole world,' and yet not be a Roman Catholic? The bishops add that 'they go down upon their knees to beseech the Pope's favour for the Archbishop, and in doing so declare that they are 'the most humble sons of your Holiness and of the Roman Church.'

(E.) So much as regards the bishops. Let us now appeal to the University of Oxford. That renowned seat of learning, at the same time, wrote to the Pope, declaring itself the 'handmaiden of your Holiness,' and adds:—

We, with united hearts, undoubtedly recognise you as the one Sovereign Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ upon earth, and the most true successor of St. Peter.

Recalling the favours the University had received from the Pope, it adds:—

Thence on bended knees, and prostrate with all obedience, at the feet of your Most Holy Papacy, from our hearts we pay you the tribute of our thanks. Casting ourselves, Most Blessed Father, at your blessed feet, with the utmost humility.

They then entreat that the Pope will not listen to any accusation against the Archbishop, and in their turn bear witness that 'he is a trusty son of your Holiness and of the most Holy Roman Church.' Bear in mind that this is not the sentiment of a mere individual, or of an ignorant body, but of the picked men of the greatest university in England. The letter is signed: 'The most devoted sons of your Holiness, the Chancellor and the unanimous body of the

Masters of the University of Oxford.' Such was the language of the men whom we are asked by certain Anglicans to believe were not Roman Catholics!

(F.) Finally, Archbishop Chicheley himself wrote at the same time to the Pope, addressing him in the following terms:—

Most Blessed Father, kissing most devotedly the ground beneath your feet, with all promptitude of service and obedience, and whatsoever a most humble creature can do towards his lord and master (*domino et creatori*), &c., &c.

He then assures the Pope that, he has been at all times most faithful to the Apostolic See,' and that there is not a 'scintilla' of grounds for the rumours spread against him. He adds:—

Long before now were it not for the perils of the journey and the infirmities of my old age, I would have made my way, Most Blessed Father, to your feet, and have accepted most obediently whatsoever your Holiness would have decided.¹

Imagine the present Archbishop of Canterbury writing in such a strain to Leo XIII.! Will our continuity friends kindly and frankly declare whether the above is the speech and attitude of a member of the present Church of England, or of a Roman Catholic?

(G.) Or, take the following letter, not from bishop, nor priest, nor university, but from the dread King and Sovereign of England himself, and say is it the letter of a Roman Catholic King or of an Anglican king. It was written nearly a hundred years before the letter just quoted viz., A.D. 1339 (*An. Regni xiii. Edward III.*). The King addresses the Pope in these terms:—

Let not the envious information of our detractors find place in the meek mind of your Holiness, or create any sinister opinion of a son who, after the manner of his predecessors, shall always firmly persist in amity and obedience to the Apostolic See. Nay, if any such evil suggestion concerning your son should knock for entrance at your Holiness's ears, let no belief be allowed it, till the son who is concerned be heard, who trusts and always intends

¹ Wilkins, vol. iii., pp. 471-486.

both to say and to prove that each of his actions is just before the tribunal of your Holiness. PRESIDING OVER EVERY CREATURE, WHICH TO DENY IS TO MAINTAIN HERESY. And, further, this we say, adjoining it as a further evidence of our intention and greater devotion, that if there be anyone of our kindred or allies who walks not as he ought in the way of obedience towards the Apostolic See, we intend to bestow our diligence (and we trust to no little purpose), that, leaving his wandering course, he may return into the path of duty, and walk regularly for the future.

Alluding then to some supposed unkindness on the part of the Pope, the King thus continues:—

That the Kings of England, our predecessors, those illustrious champions of Christ, those defenders of the faith (*jude athletas*), those zealous asserters of the right of the Holy Roman Church, and devout observers of her commands, that they or we should deserve this unkindness, we neither know nor believe. And though, for this very reason, many do say (we say not so) that this aiding of our enemies against us seems neither an act of a father nor a mother towards us, but of a stepmother; yet notwithstanding we constantly avow that we are, and shall continue to be, to your Holiness and your seat a devout and humble son, and not a stepson.

He speaks also of ‘the pre-eminence of your sacred dignity,’ and in another place of—

Your Holiness, who best knows the measure of good and just, and in whose hands are the keys to open and to shut the gates of heaven on earth, as the fulness of your power and the excellence of your judicator requires . . . We being ready not only from your sacred tribunal, which is over all, humbly receive information of the truth, &c.

In his reply Pope Benedict XII. says:—

Being desirous that you should follow the commendable footsteps of your progenitors, kings of England, who were famous for the fulness of their devotion and faith towards God and the Holy Roman Church, &c.

In King Edward III.’s letter to Pope Clement, the Holy Father is styled ‘by divine Providence, Chief Bishop of the Holy Roman and Catholic Church.’ The King not only addresses the Pope ‘Most Holy Father,’ and ‘Your Holiness,’ but speaks of him as ‘supplying the place of the

Son of God on earth,' and 'having the care of the souls of *all* Christians,' &c.¹

Now if a king of England could indite such a letter as that, and express himself in such terms, and yet not be a Roman Catholic, then, all I can say is, no Roman Catholic ever yet existed either in England or out of it.

(H.) For several centuries before the Reformation, centuries during which the Pope was the Supreme Court of Appeal for the English Church, and decided hundreds of disputed ecclesiastical elections, the majority of the bishops in every see were appointed summarily by the Pope, who issued Bulls of provisions for this purpose. During that period every Archbishop of Canterbury, and every suffragan bishop took solemnly and publicly on the day of his consecration the oath of allegiance to the Pope.

Whoever reads over the oath will find that it contains the following passages, passages which, it appears to me, knock the bottom out of the continuity theory altogether.

I [name], Archbishop of Canterbury, will be from this hour henceforth faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the Holy Apostolic Roman Church, and to my lord the Pope [name] and to his canonical successors. Neither in counsel, or consent, or deed will I take part in aught by which they might suffer loss of life, or limb, or liberty. Their counsel which they may confide to me, whether by their envoys or their letter, I will, to their injury, wittingly disclose to no man. The Roman Papacy and the royalty of St. Peter I will be their helper to defend and to maintain, saving my order, against all men. When summoned to a synod I will come, unless hindered by a canonical impediment. The Legate of the Apostolic See I will treat honourably in his coming and going, and will help him in his needs. Every third year I will visit the thresholds of the Apostles, either personally or by my proxy, unless I am dispensed by Apostolic licence. The possessions which pertain to the support of my archbishopric I will not sell, nor give away, nor pledge, nor re-enfeoff, nor alienate in any way, without first consulting the Roman Pontiff

(I.) A plain and very sure evidence of the Romanism

¹ Pages 126, 130, *History of Edward III.*, by J. Barnes, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1668. Sir T. Sykes Library.

of the English Church in the same period is the fact, that during the trials for heresy, the test approved and applied by the English bishops, and convocation as the touchstone of orthodoxy was a formula in which the person was made to declare their adherence to the Catholic faith 'according to the determination of the Church of Rome.' These words may be seen over and over again in the process of the fifteenth century. A similar test is also inserted in the form for the abjuration of heresy, drawn out in the Exeter Pontifical, used at the same period.

Will any Anglican say that a Church that was ready to send men to the stake who would not accept the Catholic faith 'according to the determination of the Church of Rome' was not Roman Catholic?

If, indeed, we wish to know whether the generations of Englishmen and women who lived and died here before the Reformation were or were not Roman Catholics, how are we to find out?

Surely the simplest thing to do is to ask the people themselves. If we wish to ascertain what religion a man professes we just question him. We think he ought to be the best authority upon what he himself believes: if he is not, who is? And we feel that his free and serious statement upon the point, ought to be decisive. For instance: were my supposed Anglican objector to tell me, as no doubt he would, that he is 'a member' of the present English Church, or that he is a 'faithful and devoted son' of the present Church of England, I and everyone else would know precisely what he means, and no one would dream of doubting him. But, if further, we were to stand and hear him actually swear a solemn oath of allegiance to the Established Church, our certainty on the point would be doubly certain.

Now if we put this question to the English nation before the Reformation, we shall find, as I have already pointed out, that in Parliament, in Convocation, in the Universities, the King, the Lords, the Bishops, the Clergy, on behalf of themselves and their people, declared in 1215, as well as at other epochs, that they were 'the faithful and devoted

sons of the Holy Roman Church ;' and that the Church in this country was a 'special member of the Holy Church of Rome.' Why will not the Anglican of to-day accept their *own declaration of their own belief* ? He believes they were Catholics ; he hears them testify that they were 'members,' and 'sons,' and 'most devout sons' of the Church of Rome. Now, will anybody explain how a man can be a Catholic, and a member of the Church of Rome, and yet not a Roman Catholic, or will he have the hardihood to deny that they were Catholic ? No, he cannot ! Will he deny that they were 'members' and 'sons' of the Church of Rome ? Impossible, unless he contradicts his own words, and practically tells whole generations of Englishmen, that he knows all about their religion far better than they do themselves ! Will he then persuade us that it is possible to be a Catholic and not a member of the Church of Rome ? If so, I certainly, for one, would not care to carry such a brief before the common sense of an English jury. Nor is this steadfast declaration of the English nation in any sense a 'fugitive utterance,' as some Anglicans try to make out. We find it in documents which just precede the Reformation. We find it in the declaration made by the kings, Parliament, bishops, and University of Oxford in 1427. We find it in the records of Convocation in 1440. We find it again in the declaration of the King, Parliament, bishops, and clergy in 1245. We find equivalent expressions in the letters of Peckham, Beckett, Anselm, and Lanfranc. And if anything more plainly still, in the dutiful letter of the Anglo-Saxon King, Kenulf, in which (long before the existence of the false Decretals, to which our continuity friends love to refer), he declares himself the 'son of His Holiness the Pope, whom he embraces in all the strength of *obedience*.' Is our continuity friend still incredulous ? Then let us take the long line of bishops and archbishops in every see, for centuries, who come one by one, swearing the oath of allegiance to the Pope, and to the 'Church of Rome.' If this host of English bishops cannot be believed, *even upon their oath*, as to the fidelity to the Roman Church, and if such a declaration does not mean 'Romanism,' then I

really fail to see what kind of testimony would avail to convince him. To crown this, we have the tests adopted by the bishops and clergy in Convocation, by which the Church in England refused to recognise any man as a Catholic unless he 'assented to the Roman Church,' and received all the articles of the Catholic faith, 'according to the determination of the Church of Rome.'

We Roman Catholics feel that this is Roman Catholicism. If it is not, will somebody tell us what it is? Nor was this a 'fugitive utterance;' for we find it not only repeated again and again in the documents of Convocation, but in a standing form in the English ritual (*vide* the Exeter Pontifical), and it therefore took its place in the permanent usage of the Church life of the country.

It may be well to remark here, that much is made by some of our antagonists about the disputes concerning what is known as the 'statute of provisors,' an important episode of governmental friction between the English Parliament and the Court of Rome. But it must be borne in mind that the Act never received the assent of the bishops. The archbishops formally entered their protest on the rolls of Parliament against it. Over and over again, Convocation petitioned for its repeal. The English Crown at the treaty of Bruges practically recognised the Pope's right to provide bishops, and the English kings themselves frequently petitioned the Pope to exercise this right. Finally, so much was the statute a dead letter, that as a matter of fact the Popes provided far more bishops after the passing of the statute than they did before it.

We do not expect educated and honest men to descend to the childish plea of the mere Church Defence lecturers, whose practice is to pass off cases of friction between England and the Roman Curia, as proof that England was not Roman Catholic. No doubt, English Roman Catholics, in those times, complained of and resented the heavy monetary exactions of the Papal Court, and the intrusion of foreigners. But so should we, had we been in their place, and we should have held, that we were not one whit less loyally Roman Catholic for doing so. Besides, any

reflective mind would naturally ask, 'If there be any weight in this argument, where is it to stop?' Where, throughout the whole of Christendom, is the Catholic nation to be found which has not had its quarrels with the Roman See? France, and Spain, Hungary, Germany, Florence, Venice, and Naples, and Genoa: who has not heard of their numerous conflicts with Legates and Bulls, and Roman excommunications? Every historian and politician knows that such elements enter into the staple of the history of the most loyal Catholic nations. Catholic England was, of course, no exception; or, if an exception at all, an exception only in the sense of being, if anything, somewhat more patient, forbearing, and reverential and devoted towards the Holy See than the continental nations, and somewhat more favoured by Rome in return, as Archbishop Peckham himself tells us. If this fact of friction can prove that a nation is not Roman Catholic, it would also prove, that there never was, and never will be such a thing as a Roman Catholic country at any time, or any place, in Europe, or out of it, and consequently that the Roman Catholic Church never existed at all. When the *Ecclesia Anglicana* (the technical term which Rome still uses to denote the province of the Catholic Church which lies in England) protests, in the thirteenth century, and at other times along the line of her history, that she is a 'member of the Church of Rome,' will someone be good enough to tell us why she should be disbelieved any more than the *Ecclesia Gallicana*, the *Ecclesia Hispanica*, the *Ecclesia Florentina*, or the *Ecclesia Neapolitina* of the same period? In a word, it amounts to this. Are we to believe the modern Anglican, who says that our ancestors were not Roman Catholics, and loyal sons of the Roman Church; or are we to believe the generations of pre-Reformation Englishmen themselves, when they protest that they *were*, and when their bishops for centuries come forward to attest the fact upon their solemn oath before the Church and before the country?

In conclusion, I will put to any favourer of the continuity theory three simple questions:—

1. For more than four centuries before the Reformation,

did, or did not the bishops and archbishops of the English Church publicly swear an oath of *obedience* and allegiance to the Roman See?

2. Are, or are not Catholic bishops and archbishops who swear *obedience* to the See of Rome, Roman Catholics?

3. If the bishops and archbishops of the English Church for centuries before the Reformation were Roman Catholics, is it, or is it not absurd to maintain that the English Church was never Roman Catholic?

Are these sufficiently plain questions, and is it unreasonable to expect equally plain answers?

The action and oath-taking of the whole of the bishops of the Church in this country for four centuries is a tangible fact and testimony. Let us then keep fast to the point. I want the objector to fix his attention on those four hundred years, and then to say straightly—Yes or No—were those bishops who took the oath for those four centuries, Roman Catholics or not? And if not, then explain how a man can be a Catholic, and in sworn obedience to (not in mere communion with) the Roman See and not be a Roman Catholic?

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

PHOENICIA AND ISRAEL

THE natural advantages of Phœnicia having been such as we described, the people who now occupied it were in every sense well qualified to make good use of such conveniences as the land afforded. Their great source of power as a nation was their navy. Cradled as they were on the shores of the Erythraean sea, they were accustomed from very early years to a life on the ocean, and the name of the 'world's first sailors' is quite their due. They, and they alone, seem to have possessed a navy at a time when other great powers, such as Egypt and Assyria, could not build, much less efficiently man, a fleet of vessels. Their migration from the shores of the Persian Gulf did not extinguish these tastes, and their new homes only tended to foster them more. Their skill as sailors and navigators earned for them the respect of more powerful nations, who made use of them when conducting expeditions by sea, though the Phœnicians themselves did not use their fleet so much to acquire new territorial possessions, except when founding some fresh colony, as for the development of their trade. That the Egyptian monarchs made use of their fleet we have good proof in the fact that in those places where we know Phœnician colonies existed, we find also relics of Egyptian domination which date back to the time of the latter country's greatest influence abroad, namely, to the reigns of Thothmes III. and his successors of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. Such is the case at Cyprus, also along the north coast of Africa and among the islands of the Ægean Archipelago. This idea is confirmed by the fact that Egypt had at that time no fleet of her own, and yet supported a large fleet upon the Red Sea, the navigation of which is very difficult; many years later too we find the Bible recording that: 'King Solomon made a fleet in Asiongaber, which is by Ailath on the shore of the Red Sea in the land of Edom. And Hiram

sent his servants in the fleet, that had knowledge of the sea.'¹

It is probable then that the Egyptian sovereigns availed themselves of the services of these skilled navigators, and by their means opened up trade with Yemen, and the almost fabulous Ormuz and Ophir, which were such sources of wealth to the potentates of those days. Their merchants thronged the markets of Tyre, as the prophet tells in his description of the glories and riches of the city: 'The men of Dedan were merchants in tapestry for seats. Arabia, and all the princes of Cedar, they were the merchants of thy hand; thy merchants came to thee with rams, and lambs, and kids. The sellers of Saba and Reema, they were thy merchants; with all the best spices and precious stones, and gold, which thy set forth in thy market.'² The power which thus accrued to Phœnicia can easily be imagined. They became the great carriers of the world, the trade of all the great nations passed through their hands; there was no other power to compete with them; they were welcome everywhere, for, as we have seen, they did not seek territorial aggrandisement, but only commercial influence; they brought wealth, ease, and refinement wherever they went, and the surrounding nations depended almost exclusively upon them for the luxuries of life. When Sidon fell and Tyre took her place, the latter's wealth and magnificence became the wonder of the world, and Ezechiel thus describes the fittings of her vessels: 'With fir-trees of Sanier they have built thee, with all thy decks for the sea; they have taken a cedar from Libanus to make thee a mast; they have cut thy oars from the oaks of Basan; and they have made thee benches of Indian ivory, and cabins with things brought from the islands of Italy. Fine-broidered linen from Egypt was woven for thy sail to spread on the mast; blue and purple from the lands of Elisa were made thy covering. The inhabitants of Sidon and Aradians were thy rowers; thy wise men, O Tyre, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal and the wise men thereof furnished mariners for the service of thy

¹ 3 Kings ix, 26, 27.

² Ezech. xxvi. 20-22.

various furniture, all the ships of sea and their mariners were thy factors.'¹ Tin, the metal requisite for making bronze, was only to be obtained through the hands of the Phœnicians. Babylon, it is true, had her own native supply; but their intercourse with Babylon was difficult, the distance was great, and caravans were at the mercy of the roving desert tribes. The Phœnicians devoted their energies to opening up new sources for the supply of this precious metal, and then quest led them to the shores of the Euxine, and thus commenced their immense trade with Armenia, and the Caucasus. Spain too was visited, and mines opened there, while the search for the same metal drew them in after years to our own Cornwall.

Nor while their ships were thus busy at sea, were they idle on land. Jerusalem, according to Rabbinical tradition, is the centre of the earth, and be this as it may, the Holy Land was certainly the centre of the then inhabited world. Day by day caravans filed forth from Tyre and Sidon, and the Phœnician cities; some wended their way southwards, passing through Palestine and Egypt, or, turning aside at Jerusalem, crossed the burning desert to the south-east and directed their steps to Arabia, carrying spices, perfumes, and precious stones, as long ago we know the Midianite merchants did when they bought Joseph and sold him into Egypt. Others, again, leaving Phœnicia would pass through Damascus, and halting at Palmyra, would strike thence across the desert for the Euphrates, and so find their way to Nineveh and Babylon; while a third party would go Northward, and entering Hamath would turn aside to the land of the Hittites, to Tipsah on the Euphrates, till they came to Armenia and the shores of the Black Sea. Even India was not unvisited, but yielded its quota to their markets. Ingots of gold and bars of silver, rare and precious woods, strange animals, apes and peacocks, spices and perfumes, cloth and tapestries, ivory in the shape of huge elephant tusks, and other trophies, constituted their trade. Nor must we omit slaves, whom they supplied to

¹ Ezech. xxvii. 5-9.

the surrounding countries. Circassia, then as now, yielded a rich harvest in this respect, and the beauty and grace of the Circassian maidens ensured a high price to their Phœnician captors.

And we must not imagine that these great merchants were merely the carriers of other nations. They had their own wares and their own produce to barter. Glass has been claimed as their invention, though this can hardly be, since we find it mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions which date back so early as the fourth and fifth Dynasties. But though we may not cede to the Phœnician the glory of having first invented a commodity without which we should now find life hardly tolerable, we can yet safely and fairly say that in the hands of these unrivalled artists, glass became a medium for obtaining the finest possible results in design and colouring. Certain processes for the production of variegated patterns are said, indeed, to have perished with their inventors, and those who are learned in such matters affirm that the relics of Phœnician glass-work which remain to us, surpass in elegance of design and beauty of colouring the best work of the great Venetian glass-makers. They seem to have possessed certain secrets of their art, which were handed down from generation to generation, and kept as a precious deposit—an heirloom perhaps—in certain families, just as the Scriptoria and colouring-rooms of the monasteries jealously guarded their secret processes and quaint recipes from the vulgar gaze, with the result that no modern art can give us stained glass which for richness of tint and fixedness of colour may vie with the work of our cunning predecessors. For embroidery too and tapestry work, the Phœnician women were famous in Homer's time. The poet often mentions Sidonian work as of an especial value, an offering fit for the gods. Thus Hecuba offers Minerva a garment embroidered by Sidonian women:—

She meanwhile

Her fragrant chamber sought, wherein were stor'd
Rich garments by Sidonian women worked.

Again, the tin which they imported so largely was not

¹ *Iliad*, vi. 334-336 (Earl of Derby's translation).

destined merely for Egypt, nor to fashion weapons of war for the use of their less peaceably-disposed neighbours, for they themselves were expert workers in all kinds of metals, particularly bronze. It might seem from the words of Ezechiel that it was the peculiar province of Carthage to supply Tyre with the various ores required in this branch of the arts. 'The Carthaginians, thy merchants, supplied thy fairs with a multitude of all kind of riches, with silver, iron, tin, and lead.'¹ For a long time the Phœnicians seem to have been the sole providers of bronze implements, and statuary, and ornaments wrought in this metal together with bronze vessels and instruments, were exchanged by them in lands which had not yet emerged from the comparative thralldom of the stone age. Nor were they less expert in carving ivory; and many beautiful examples of their skill in working in this material have been discovered in the islands of the Mediterranean; monuments of their work both in bronze and ivory may be seen in the Vatican at the Louvre.

These commercial instincts of the Phœnicians had two main results. One we have already noticed, viz.: the establishment of a vast naval power, whose rule over the waters was well-nigh despotic; the other, the natural outcome of the former when used by a great trading power, was the gradual formation of a series of colonies at a comparatively short distance from each other, and bound to the mother city by the ties of mutual support, and the bonds of commerce. These colonies were spread over the whole littoral of the Mediterranean, and, though at first merely small trading stations, became in time the nuclei of great cities and commonwealths such as Utica and Carthage. The great work, however, which they achieved, though all unconsciously, was the civilization of the Western world. The spread of the arts which they practised so assiduously, and the gradual diffusion of the more luxurious commodities of life, exerted a softening influence upon the rude nations of the West. Greeks and Romans, Gauls and Britons, all alike came under the sway of these bold sailors and merchants,

¹ Ezech. xxvii. 12.

till bit by bit, first one barrier then another melted away, new modes of thought, new ideas of the good and beautiful replaced the rough and uncouth manners of the inhabitants of the Morea and Italy, preparing them for the day when Rome and Athens, not Thebes or Tyre, Nineveh or Babylon, should be the centre; indeed, disregarding for the moment all supernatural ends, we may look upon this as the special purpose for which the Phœnicians were raised up. What would have become of the arts and treasures of Babylon, Nineveh, Thebes, and Memphis, had not the Tyrian sailors disseminated them abroad? It was through them that the nations dwelling on the Northern coast of Africa or peopling the isles of the Ægean Sea became more amenable to the softening influences of literature and art. Sculpture and architecture, embroidery and weaving, found not only a home among the Phœnicians, as in Egypt and Assyria, but also a ready channel through which they might diffuse themselves abroad amongst the rude and still unpolished peoples of the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, their skill as navigators enabled them to penetrate into portions of the world which had hitherto been unknown to the peoples of the East. For many years, indeed, they had confined themselves to the Mediterranean and to the Red Sea; they seem to have had a strange fear of passing the Pillars of Hercules, and for a long time the rivalry subsisting between Tyre and Carthage prevented the sailors of the former city from prosecuting their efforts in this direction; but their genius for discovery and exploration led them to face dangers, which the mere love of gain could never have overcome, and we find them exploring for a considerable distance along the western coast of Africa, in spite of the rough and heavy seas to which they were probably but little accustomed.

This then was the nation whose future destinies were to be so closely linked with those of the Israelites, and we have given at some length the foregoing account of what we may call their physical and commercial history, because we felt that a knowledge of this lends an additional interest to that portion of their domestic history with which we are immediately concerned.

At the time of the Exodus, the Phœnician towns were evidently at the height of their power; Josue speaks of 'Great Sidon . . . and the strong city of Tyre,'¹ and though these cities were assigned to the tribe of Aser, it seems doubtful whether the latter was not rather subject to his formidable vassals: 'Aser, his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield dainties to kings,'² prophesied Jacob; while Moses said of him: 'Let him dip his foot in oil;'³ words which hardly imply those warlike qualities requisite for the conquest of Tyre and Sidon. The relations subsisting between Phœnicia and Israel are of a very different kind from those which at different times prevailed between the latter country and the surrounding nations. Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, when they interfered in Jewish affairs, were always masters, and always claimed the rights of suzerains over the chosen people. Philistia and Syria, by turns conquerors and conquered, and when conquerors hard taskmasters, were never really subject to the Hebrews; if the latter rallied under some one of their numerous Judges, the invader was merely driven back, the Israelite did not conquer him and sell him into slavery, as they did the peoples of Moab, Ammon, and Midian. These latter, indeed, generally appear in a state of subjection, incomplete indeed, and not inconsistent with a smouldering discontent which showed itself in an occasional raid into their neighbour's territory when bloodshed and rapine marked their route. But of a very different kind was the relationship of Phœnicia to Israel. The former never domineered over the Israelite, nor was she ever his superior. Her influence upon him was of a totally different stamp. Rivalry there must always have been between the two nations, but war was not a Phœnician pastime, nor was territorial aggrandisement her aim. If she warred against Judæa, her caravans might be cut off on their way to Ormuz and Ophir, and her intercourse with Egypt by land might be seriously affected; hence the two peoples remained on friendly terms, at least in outward appearance. But at the bottom of all this external show, there lay, at least on the part of the Phœnicians, a

¹ Jos. xix. 28, 29.

² Gen. xlix. 20.

³ Deut. xxxiii. 24.

deep-seated hatred which betrayed itself when Jerusalem lay humbled in the dust before Nabuchodonosor. Tyre, though the fallen city's ally against the Babylonian, could ill conceal her joy at the awful destruction of the ill-fated city, and her ill-timed exaltation brought down upon her the terrible denunciation of Ezechiel: 'Because Tyre hath said of Jerusalem: Aha, the gates of the people are broken, she is turned to me; I shall be filled, now she is laid waste: therefore thus saith the Lord . . . she shall be a drying-place for nets in the midst of the sea.'¹ And this hatred cannot have sprung from commercial jealousy; rather the contrary, for Jerusalem bought wealth to Tyre as all the other nations did: 'Juda and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants with the best of corn, they set forth balm and honey and oil and rosin in thy fairs.'²

What, then, was its origin? If we read the Book of Josue attentively we think the clue to this deadly enmity will appear. The Holy Land was promised to the Israelites, with the proviso that they should destroy the Chanaanites from the land, and the Book of Josue is little more than a list of Israelitish successes against them: the abominations practised by these nations had roused the wrath of the Lord, and He had determined to extirpate them; the Israelites, with Josue at their head, were but His humble instruments; and hence He said to them: 'Hear, O Israel: Thou shalt go over the Jordan this day, and shall possess nations very great and stronger than thyself . . . say not in thy heart when the Lord shall have destroyed them in thy sight: For my justice has the Lord brought me in to possess this land, whereas these nations are destroyed for their wickedness. For it is not for thy justice and the uprightness of thy heart, that thou shalt go in to possess their land; but because they have done wickedly they are destroyed at thy coming in.'³ One after another their kings were slain, and their people put to the sword: 'All the kings,' that Josue slew, 'thirty and one.'⁴ And who were these Chanaanites? We saw at the outset that they were

¹ Ez. xxvi. 5-5.² Ez. xxvii. 17.³ Deut. ix. 1-5.⁴ Jos. xii. 24.

one division of that large body which emigrated into Palestine from the shores of the Erythraean Sea. The Phœnicians formed the other division of this body; they settled on the sea-shore between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, while their companions chose the plain for their dwelling, and were cut off by the sword of the Hebrews. Thus the Chanaanites whom Josue slew were own brothers to the Phœnicians.

Now we see the cause of the hatred which rankled under the external friendliness of the Tyrian and the Jew. Though the Phœnicians had themselves escaped, yet the fear of the Hebrews had fallen upon them as upon all the other nations: 'Now when all the kings of the Amorrlites, who dwelt beyond the Jordan westward, and all the kings of Chanaan who possessed the places near the great sea, heard that the Lord had dried up the waters of the Jordan before the children of Israel, till they passed over, their hearts failed them, and there remained no spirit in them, fearing the coming in of the children of Israel.'¹ The roving tribes of the desert were then as now the carriers and postmen of the country. Here to-day, there to-morrow, coming and going mysteriously, living from hand to mouth, and shifting their quarters according to the supply of forage and water, they made themselves acquainted with everything that was doing, and we can well believe that the news thus transmitted from one scout to another, and passed on from camp to camp and from tribe to tribe, was strangely distorted by the time it had gone the round. The Amalecite would hear, as he hung upon the skirts of the wearied bands, how the Hebrews had been fed miraculously with bread which came down from heaven; he would hear of waters gushing from a rock in a place which he had always known to be parched and arid, but which now tempts him to give its fortunate possessors battle, and claim it for his own; while lastly, some straggler would tell him of the marvellous scenes on Mount Sinai, and of the promises made to the people; they were going to claim a land which they said

¹ Jos. v. 1.

was theirs by right of promise from God : they were to drive out and put to the sword all its occupants, because they had offended against that same God, and their coming was to be the signal for fear and horror and dread which should fall upon all their foes. Thus would the tale pass like lightning from mouth to mouth, growing daily with each successive victory gained by the Israelites. 'I know,' said Rahab, 'that the Lord hath given this land to you : for the dread of you has fallen upon us and all the inhabitants of the land have lost all strength.'¹ And as the list of the slaughtered kings and pillaged towns daily swelled ; as the danger and the terror came nearer to Phœnicia ; as they heard of now one familiar tribe, now another, falling into the hands of the invader, how deadly a hatred, begotten of fear, would they conceive for this seemingly ruthless destroyer whose power was evidently supernatural, whose sword seemed to know no dulness, whose heart no pity ; who slew women and children like sheep and oxen, who levelled towns to the ground after one day's siege, or blew his trumpets and gained an entrance into the city over its prostrate wall.

But Josue's successes came to an end at last ; the want of rest and repose, the hitherto unknown joys of a country flowing with milk and honey enervated the Israelites, and they settled down to the enjoyments of their new possession ere their work was completed. The Chanaanite by the sea-shore had escaped his doom, and henceforward was to dwell side by side with the destroyer of his brethren. Generation after generation would pass away, but can we think that the story of that night of horror would fade from the Phœnician heart ? 'Who are the Israelites ?' would the Phœnician child ask. And the answer would be the oft-told tale of the Exodus, of the crossing of the Jordan, and of the slaughter of the tribes ; garnished it would be, doubtless, with strange and fanciful additions, but still a tale sufficient to kindle the flame of hatred in the Phœnician heart, sufficient to make the Tyrian of many years after rejoice in the fall of Jerusalem. A contributor to Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopædia*

¹ Jos. ii. 9.

mentions a Phœnician inscription which runs as follows: 'We are those who fled before the face of Joshua the robber the son of Nun.' Another inscription is given by Suidas: 'We are the Canaanites whom Joshua the robber persecuted.' There seems to be some doubt regarding the authenticity of the latter; but even so, the two are interesting as bearing witness to the reality of the terror inspired by the Israelite invasion, a terror which was, doubtless, part of the punishments intended for them by Almighty God as a penalty for their crying offences.

And now Phœnicia has a part to play: 'An angel of the Lord went up from Galgal to the Place of Weepers, and said, I made you go out of Egypt, and have brought you into the land for which I swore to your fathers; and I promised that I would not void my covenant with you for ever, on condition that you should not make a league with the inhabitants of this land, but should throw down their altars; and you would not hear my voice. Why have you done this? Wherefore I would not destroy them from before your face, that you may have enemies, and their gods may be your ruin.'¹ Phœnicia was to be a thorn in the side of Israel, an instrument in the Lord's hands, slowly but surely working out the punishment which His erring people had incurred. It was not to be by force of arms; it was not to be by intriguing against her with foreign enemies; it was not to be by cutting off her supplies, or by destroying her trade with the surrounding nations; it was not to be by harassing guerilla warfare; but it was to be by the consuming canker-worm of idolatry, the seeds of which they planted in the Israelitish heart. Though it is certain that all the surrounding nations had contributed their share towards the corruption of Israel, whose children had been initiated into the rites of innumerable strange gods, yet to none was this leavening with heathen superstitions so directly due as to the Tyrians and Sidonians. They thus revenged themselves upon the destroyers of their brethren; but they were the all-unconscious instruments of the offended God of Israel. He had put life and death before

¹ Judges ii. 1-3.

them: 'I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing. Choose, therefore, life that both thou and thy seed may live.'¹ And they chose death.

How, then, was this brought about? Shortly after the fall of Sidon, which we have described as taking place in the year 1209 B.C., the Phœnician towns entered into an offensive and defensive alliance against the Philistines. Of this league Tyre gradually assumed the hegemony, a position which she was to retain for many years to come. It is from this time that her influence upon Israel dates. In the year 1015 B.C., when Solomon was preparing to carry out his father David's behest, and build the temple so long promised to the Lord, he made a commercial treaty with Hiram, King of Tyre, who had been a friend of his father and himself, sought this alliance with Solomon.² Perhaps he was led to this by the increased power of Israel, for Solomon's dominions now entered from Ailath on the Red Sea to Tipsah on the Euphrates, and the kingdom was at the height of its commercial fame and military renown. For the Phœnicians, however, the strip of land constituting Phœnicia proper was sufficient: the seas were their inheritance, and their indifference to territorial possessions in Palestine was shown by Hiram's disregard for the gift which Solomon made him in return for his assistance in the building of the temple. The king offered him twenty cities in Galilee, but when the Tyrian monarch came to look at them, 'they pleased him not, and he called them the land of Cabul (displeasure) unto this day.'³ A cursory reading of the Third Book of Kings might tempt us to think very little of this famous friendship as affecting the future of Israel, but readers of the Bible must have been struck by the seemingly sudden and inexplicable reversion of the people to idolatry at the mere call of Jeroboam; and, perhaps, the clue is to be sought in this friendly alliance between Solomon and Hiram. First of all we are told that over one hundred and eighty thousand men were employed

¹ Deut. xxx. 19.
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² 3 Kings v. 1.

³ 3 Kings ix. 12, 13.

in the forests of Lebanon, cutting down trees and hewing stones for the intended building; and as Solomon was occupied in building during the best part of his reign of thirty-nine years, we can safely assign twenty-five years as the period during which this fellowship lasted. Besides this we read of united fleets of the two nations trading in the Red Sea, and even visiting Tharsis together;² and further, Phœnician and Jewish tradition have it that Solomon at this time married one of Hiram's daughters. Does not such an intimacy as this explain the ready response to Jeroboam's call? Nay, was not this apostacy the natural result of so deep and so persistent a leavening with idolatrous notions and superstitions?

The curse comes upon King Solomon because he has worshipped Astarte, the goddess of the Sidonians; adversaries are raised up against him, and the end of his reign is sorrow and affliction. Meanwhile Hiram dies, and a period of wild anarchy succeeds. Usurper after usurper strives to establish a new dynasty in Tyre, until at last Ethbaal, priest of Astarte, places himself upon the throne, and succeeds in transmitting it to his son. Juda and Israel too are torn asunder, and living at feud with one another; Jeroboam dies, and after some years there succeeds to the throne of Samaria a man whose wickedness was to surpass even Jeroboam's: 'Achab, the son of Amri, did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him.'³ The advent of Achab marks the flood-tide of Phœnician influence over Israel. He cemented the already existing alliance with Tyre by marrying the impious Jezabel, daughter of Ethbaal, and from that time onward his career was one of crime and idolatry, than which, excepting, perhaps, that of Manasses, we have none worse depicted for us in the pages of Scripture. 'He did more to provoke the Lord, the God of Israel, than all the kings that were before him.'⁴ And so universal was the idolatry which these two companions in iniquity encouraged by their example, that the Prophet Elias, who seems to have been especially raised up to combat their evil influence, could cry

¹ 3 Kings v. 13, 16.

² 3 Kings ix. 27, and x. 22.

³ 3 Kings xvi. 30.

⁴ 3 Kings xvi. 33.

to the Lord: 'The children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant, they have destroyed Thy altars, they have slain Thy prophets with the sword, and I alone am left, and they seek my life to take it away.'¹

And what was this idolatry which exercised so peculiar a fascination for the Israelites? Was it connected with a ritual more gorgeous or more marvellous than that of the law? Was it more joyous in its celebration, or better calculated to appeal to the senses than the religion of Jehovah? With our tastes and ideas so different from those of the Jews of old, it is hard, perhaps, to give an absolutely fair answer to this question, but from the little we know of the Phœnician religion we should be inclined to give a decidedly negative reply. Baal-worship means the worship of Baalim or Gods, for Baal is a Hebrew word meaning 'master,' and each god was a master or Baal in the sense that each ruled in his own particular sphere of influence. This sphere of influence is sometimes philosophical, sometimes religious, but more often merely local. Hence we hear of Baal-Phegor, Baal-Tsour (Tyre), Baal-Sidon, and even of Baal-Zebub (the Lord of Flies). All these Baalim were, however, but personifications of one Primordial Deity, who at Tyre was known under the name of Melkarth. This name Lemormant thinks to be merely a corruption of מלך-ערא, Melek-Erath, the king or Baal of the city. Melkarth retains this name merely as the tutelar deity of the city, but according as he assumes other functions so he assumes other names, and we hear of Baal-Chon (the Lord of Life), and of the awful Baal-Moloch (the Lord of Destruction). The rites and ceremonies of this Baal-worship seem, with few exceptions to have been of a very gloomy description. Fanaticism and superstition were the order of the day, and, as we see in the contest between Elias and the prophets of Baal, the latter's votaries were compelled to cut themselves severely, while many of the gods were thought to demand from their devout clients frequent and terrible scourgings.

One rite, however, stands out from amidst the surrounding gloom, and excites our attention by the poetical myth with which it is connected. Famous amongst the sidereal gods of the Phœnicians stands Adonis or Thammuz. According to the legend, he is beloved by the goddess known as Baalith; but at the end of spring, when summer killed the spring, Adonis was slain, funeral gatherings took place, women wept, and lamented for Adonis, and offered funeral baked meats to the goddess until the god was brought back to life. Again he died in the autumn, when the autumn killed the summer, and at this season, in order to aid the people in their fantastic devotions, the priests took advantage of a curious phenomenon, frequently observable during the year, but more especially during autumn: for then the rivers were at flood, and, charged with the rich red soil of the hill country, poured their seemingly blood-stained waters into the sea, tinging the azure waves of the Mediterranean with blood, for many miles down the coast. This was the blood of Adonis, and consequently lamentations for his untimely fate occupied the time of flood, till the waters at the river's mouth regained their normal colour, and the priests declared that the god had risen again and rejoined his bride. Upon this announcement a scene of licentious revelry replaced the gloomy celebrations of the preceding days, and the whole country round was given up to orgies of the wildest and most revolting description. Such was the story of Adonis, and the ceremonies connected with his worship are alluded to by the prophet Ezekiel: 'And he said to me, If thou turn thee again, thou shalt see greater abominations which these commit. And he brought me in by the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which looked to the north; and behold women sat there mourning for Adonis.'¹ But this legend, which has some of the glamour of poetic imagery thrown around it, stands out by the way of contrast with the surrounding abominations. Fire was supposed to be the principle of many of their deities, and hence arose the

¹ Ezek. viii. 13, 14.

awful sacrifice to Moloch, which Milton so powerfully describes :—

First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parents' tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol.

It is awful to think that so hideous an idol should ever have reared its ghastly head near to God's temple in Jerusalem !

This, then, was the gloomy religion which the Phœnicians, combined indeed with other nations, introduced into Israel : and it is hard to understand how so awful, so depressing, and so licentious a form of worship can ever have taken hold of a religious-minded people like the Hebrews. Terrible indeed was the denunciation fulminated by the Lord against the guilty couple who had led all Israel astray : 'And of Jezabel also the Lord spoke, saying : 'The dogs shall eat Jezabel also, in the field of Jesrahel. If Achab die in the city, the dogs shall eat him ; but if he die in the field, the birds of the air shall eat him. Now, there was not such another as Achab, who was sold to do evil in the sight of the Lord, for his wife Jezabel set him on.'¹ But the evil was not to cease with them. If Israel was steeped in Baal-worship ; Juda had as yet escaped comparatively unscathed, though tainted, indeed, by the idolatry introduced by Solomon. But in an evil day, Joram, the son of Josaphat married the daughter of Achab and Jezabel.² He was headstrong and wilful, but Jezabel's daughter had inherited all her mother's wickedness, and, if possible, a double share of her strength of character. In both these daughters of Tyre we see the same domination over their husbands : the weak Achab was led on by Jezabel, the headstrong Joram was ruled by Athalia : 'He walked in the ways of the kings of Israel as the house of Achab had done, for his wife was a daughter of Achab, and he did evil in the sight of the Lord.' Baal-worship is established, the temple is profaned, the sacrifice ceases, the whole land groans under the curse of

¹ 3 Kings xxi. 23-25.

² 4 Kings viii. 18.

³ 2 Paralip xxi. 6.

idolatry. But worse is to follow, Joram dies and is succeeded by Ochozias his son. 'He also walked in the ways of the house of Achab, for his mother pushed him on to do wickedly.' He, however, met his death at the hands of the Syrians; and his mother, worthy daughter of Jezabel, added to the already long list of her crimes by a butchery which has but few rivals in the blood-stained history of oriental despotism.² 'Athalia, his mother, seeing that her son was dead, rose up and killed all the royal family of the house of Joram.' She then established herself upon the throne, and for six years was free to indulge her idolatrous tastes till she met her well-merited death at the hands of Joiada, the High Priest, who had sheltered Joas, the son of Ochozias, when he escaped the slaughter of his brethren.³ Such were the evils which this Tyrian alliance had brought upon the chosen people. The curse, as foretold long ago, had come upon them:—'If you will embrace the errors of these nations that dwell among you, and make marriages with them, and join friendships; know ye for a certainty that the Lord your God will not destroy them before your face, but they shall be a pit and a snare in your way, and a stumbling-block at your side, and stakes in your eyes, till He take you away and destroy you from off this excellent land which He hath given you.'⁴ The day of retribution was coming on apace. The second Assyrian Empire was daily gathering strength, Salmanaser and Sargon would soon be before the walls of Samaria; the terrible name of Sennacherib would soon strike terror to the heart of Ezechias, and Jerusalem was preparing for Nabuchodonosor and Babylon.

To return to the history of Tyre. From the fall of Sidon, in 1209 B.C., to the foundation of Carthage, in 872 B.C., may be reckoned the period of Tyre's greatest glory. But just as Sidon yielded to the growing importance of her daughter, so Tyre, in turn, paled before the splendour of Carthage. The history of the foundation of Carthage is briefly as follows: King Ethbaal, as we have seen, had succeeded in founding a dynasty which endured for four generations. The

¹ 2 Paralip. xxii. 3.

² 2 Paralip. xxii. 10.

³ 2 Paralip. xxiii. 16.

⁴ Jos. xxii. 12, 13.

third of these was that of Mathan, who died leaving two children, Pümelion and Elissar: the former is better known as Pygmalion, the latter as the famous Dido of the *Aeneid*. Their father had wished them to reign conjointly, but this the democratic party in the state refused to allow, and seated Pygmalion on the throne to the exclusion of his sister. The latter married, but her husband was shortly afterwards slain by her brother's orders, and Elissar, in fear of a like fate, fled with great numbers of the aristocratic party to Cambe in Africa. Cambe had been founded a few years before by Sidon, but was as yet undeveloped owing to the flourishing condition of the neighbouring Tyrian colony of Utica; it was now, however, to be changed into the historical city of Carthage, which name is probably a corruption of *ἡνίκη*—New City. From this time Tyre's importance gradually waned: she was still rich and opulent for many years, but Carthage was a rival power in the heart of her colonies.

Hitherto the only troubles which we have seen interfering with the happiness and prosperity of Phœnicia have been either periods of revolution and anarchy amongst themselves, or occasional predatory incursions on the part of the Philistines. With the Egyptians the Phœnicians always managed to remain at peace, even when the former marched year by year through Palestine to fight against the warlike Hittites on the Orontes; for they never despised the easy though ignoble means of pacifying such formidable foes, and prompt submission with large payments from their treasury always enabled them to rest in security. But a power now comes upon the scene which is to change the destinies of the nations. About the year 900 B.C. the kingdom of Assyria awoke from the state of lethargy in which it had so long lain, and its kings began a career of conquest which lasted for close upon three hundred years. Year after year the barbarian monarch would cross the Euphrates at the head of his army and direct his steps to Syria or Palestine or Asia Minor. Towns were burned and pillaged, cities levelled to the ground, and whole peoples carried off into a cruel captivity. About the year 880 B.C., Assurnazipal,

the reigning monarch, turned his attention to Phœnicia and exacted a heavy tribute from the cities of the district in silver and gold, steel and bronze, besides implements of iron, curious woods and rich stuffs. From that time till the end of the Assyrian Empire, Phœnicia was forced to acknowledge its sovereignty, with the exception of one short interval; and when Nineveh crumbled away, its place as the 'hammer of nations,' was taken by Babylon, whose king, Nabuchodonosor, wreaked a fearful vengeance upon the luckless Tyre for refusing to pay the tribute yearly demanded of her. From the year 720 B.C. the history of Tyre is practically the history of her sieges; and perhaps no city in the world, not even excepting Troy, ever endured such terrible blockades or defied for so many years the efforts of a beleaguering army. In that same year, 720 B.C., the famous Sargon appeared before the city walls. The other Phœnician cities, and even Palae-Tyrus itself, the portion of the city which stood upon the mainland, bowed before the invader, and even helped him in his assault upon the island citadel. Perhaps the reason of this defection may be sought in the hegemony of Tyre: she may, as head of the league, have exacted a deference and submission which galled upon the neighbouring towns. But, though everywhere else successful, and fresh from the storming of Samaria, which his predecessor Salmanasar had been besieging for nearly three years, Sargon was not so successful here. For five years his armies encompassed the beleaguered city, but the island-fortress defied all his efforts, and the baffled monarch was at length compelled to draw off his forces and retire discomfited. A few years afterwards, however, the city succumbed before the terrible Sennacherib, who stormed the city in the year 700 B.C. Elouli, the same king who had so successfully withstood Sargon twenty years before, threw himself into his citadel, and prepared to defend it with the same vigour as he had shown against his assailant's father; but the assault of Sennacherib overwhelmed him, and the unhappy island was compelled to surrender. Sidon, as soon as the avenger had departed, claimed the hegemony which she had lost more than six hundred years before, and after a few years

she ventured to refuse the annual tribute demanded by the Assyrian Court; but the reigning monarch, Assurbanipal, stormed the town and decimated the inhabitants.

But Tyre, though beaten, was not destroyed. She still retained her fleet, and Sennacherib would seem to have treated her with leniency. Her trade and her wealth remained to her, and she pursued her commerce beyond the seas with the same ardour as before. Yet the end of her disasters had not come, she had still to endure a siege which surpassed all its predecessors in severity. The despotism of Nineveh had been succeeded by that of Babylon, and from the year 609 to 588 B.C. the Chaldeans kept up a continual succession of incursions into Palestine; until finally, in 588, they took Jerusalem and carried its inhabitants into captivity. Jerusalem had leagued with Egypt and Tyre against the oppressors, and Nabuchodonosor was bent on the destruction of the coalition. As soon, therefore, as he had crushed Judæa, he turned his arms against Tyre. Ezechiel had prophesied the siege with all its horrors, for Tyre had rejoiced at her rival's fall, and therefore the wrath of God was directed against her: 'Behold, I will bring against Tyre, Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, the king of kings. . . . and he shall set engines of war and battering-rams against thy walls, and shall destroy thy towers with his arms . . . with the hoofs of his horses he shall tread down all thy streets; thy people he shall kill with the sword, and thy famous statues shall fall to the ground. They shall waste thy riches, they shall make a spoil of thy merchandise; and they shall destroy thy walls, and pull down thy fine houses; and they shall lay thy stones, and thy timber, and thy dust, in the midst of the waters.'¹ For thirteen years the hapless city resisted all the efforts of the besiegers, but the end came at last. According to ecclesiastical historians Nabuchodonosor succeeded in taking the city in the year 574 B.C.; but Chaldean accounts, which the Greek historians follow, say that the mighty Assyrian found the task beyond his power, and had to retire from before the walls as Sargon had

¹ Ezech. xxvi. 7-12.

done more than one hundred years before. Ezechiel, however, distinctly prophesied the capture of the city by Nabuchodonosor, as we have seen, and St. Jerome states it explicitly in his introduction to his commentary upon that prophet. At the same time it may be pointed out, that one passage in Ezechiel would seem to imply that the city was taken after all by the Assyrian monarch: 'Son of man, Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, hath made his army to undergo hard service against Tyre; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled; and there hath been no reward given him nor his army for Tyre, for the service that he had rendered me against it.'¹ It is quite certain that Nabuchodonosor would not have in any way spared the city or its unfortunate inhabitants if he had once penetrated within its walls after such a lengthy and exhausting siege; and hence it may be well supposed that the city was so impoverished as to afford little or no booty to the expectant soldiery.

It has been even suggested that an earthquake resulting in the total, or at least partial submersion of the city, similar to that which took place in the year 1837, bore an important part in the reduction of the place; and certainly the prophet's words would seem to bear this out: 'For thus saith the Lord God, when I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited, and shall bring the deep upon thee, and many waters shall cover thee;' ² and again: 'Now thou art destroyed by the sea, thy riches are at the bottom of the waters, and all the multitude in the midst of thee is fallen.'³ This would explain why Tyre yielded no reward to Nabuchodonosor—'thy riches are at the bottom of the waters.' But Ezechiel's prophecy does not end with the capture of the city by the Assyrian, as St. Jerome seems to have expected, when he remarked with astonishment, that in his days, Tyre, in seeming defiance of the prophet, was the most beautiful city in Phœnicia. The destruction of the city by the sea may be only now accomplished, and certainly, in spite of her reverses, Tyre seemed possessed of a hydra-like vitality which only the incursion of the sea could crush. In the year 538 B.C., she came under the Persian domination,

¹ Ezech. xxiv. 18.² Ezech. xxvi. 19.³ Ezech. xxvii. 34.

and though possessing only a shadow of her former greatness, she was still comparatively free and wealthy; she even ventured to rebel against Xerxes when he wasted the Phœnician fleet in his attack upon Greece; but the Persian despot at once crushed the revolt and punished the city, Sidon, which had joined with Tyre, suffering severely. Two hundred years later we find the indomitable city ready to stand another historical siege at the hands of Alexander. He succeeded in taking the stronghold by filling up the intervening sea with a gigantic mole; he then garrisoned it with a body of Carian soldiery, who made such good use of the immense strength of its naturally impregnable position, that eighteen years later it was hotly besieged and equally stoutly defended by Alexander's rival generals. From this time we hear but little of Tyre till the time of our Lord. But how sad a change is revealed by St. Luke's words in the Acts! How terrible a fall! How awful a fulfilment of the prophecy! Accustomed to domineer over Jerusalem and the neighbouring cities, the canker-worm of pride had eaten its way into her heart: 'Thy heart was lifted up with thy beauty; thou hast lost thy wisdom in thy beauty;'¹ the prince of Tyre had said: 'I am God, and I sit in the chair of God in the heart of the sea,'² but now he hails his Idumean conqueror with fulsome praise: 'It is the voice of a god.'³

And so the glory of Tyre gradually waned. In the time of the Crusaders it lived to endure yet another siege, but has since dwindled away, till, in the year 1837, it was almost completely submerged by the inrush of the sea consequent upon an earthquake. Some forty years ago but little remained beyond a few scattered fishermen's huts, whose owners unconsciously fulfilled the ancient prophecy: 'She shall be a drying-place for nets in the midst of the sea, because I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.'⁴ 'What city is like Tyre, which is become silent in the midst of the sea?'⁵

HUGH POPE, O.P.

¹ Ezech. xxviii. 17.

² Ezech. xxviii. 2.

³ Acts. xii. 22.

⁴ Ezech. xxvi. 5.

⁵ Ezech. xxvii. 32.

THE ORIGIN AND CONSERVATION OF MOTION¹

WHAT a grand idea of motion must arise in the mind of a man who watches the sun and the innumerable other orbs in the heavens and fancies that all are revolving round him ! But cruel astronomy tells him that, though magnificent, it is all a dream ; that it is he that moves with the earth while it spins round on its axis ; and that the apparent motion of the heavenly bodies is, consequently, a mere illusion. One solid fact, however, he has got : the earth moves on its axis. Other real motions, also, he may find in sufficient abundance to enable him to paint anew, as it were, a lasting picture of far greater grandeur than the one that was shattered. The earth, in company with the other planets, moves round the sun ; and it is not unlikely that the solar system is only a unit in a grand sidereal or cosmic system revolving round some undiscovered centre. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are violent motions and proofs of more violent motion in the earth's interior. And on the earth's crust what an amount of motion is discernible ! The restless waves and the resistless tides show forth most convincingly the motion of the illimitable sea. What a cycle of motion there is in the water that rises in vapour from the ocean, falls in soft flakes of beautiful crystals on the ground, is melted, and again carried off to its source ! The storm that dashes the angry breakers against the rocky shore, and the cyclone that tears up trees and overthrows houses in its course, proclaim that there can be considerable motion even in the impalpable air. In the vegetable world what an amount of motion there is in the unceasing production and decaying of plants ! What a flow of motion there is in the springtime, and what an

¹ *Motion: Its Origin and Conservation.* An Essay by the Rev. Walter McDonald, D.D., Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Browne & Nolan, Ltd., Nassau-street, Dublin.

ebb in the autumn! Who can count the motions, or even varieties of motions, of animals? And, then, in each animal and plant there is another cycle of motion from the time matter is taken in as food until it is discharged as waste. All this science tells to the disillusioned star-gazer, as if to compensate him for the vision of glory she dashed from him. She tells him, moreover, that the several chemical and physical phenomena of gravitation, electricity, and the rest, are all modes of motion, and that even the most unsuspected and quiescent particles of matter are simply seething with motion. And, above and beyond all, there is the motion of man, who not only moves, but is master of his motion. Everywhere and in everything motion may be discerned. What is the nature and origin of motion, and how is it kept on? These are the main questions discussed in the volume under review.

It must not be supposed that Dr. McDonald's book is a condensation of the various physical treatises, with a little metaphysics thrown in to give consistency, and that consequently one need only obey the index to find a convenient explanation of any physical phenomenon such as capillary attraction or the Röntgen rays. Motion, in general, is the subject of the essay, not the particular kinds of motion. These, however, are frequently referred to either as illustrations or to serve as the basis of an argument. The term motion has two meanings. In its wider sense it means any change of state or condition; in its stricter and ordinary sense it means merely change of place. As all other motions are either founded on or analogous to local motion, the consideration of the latter alone is regarded as of fundamental importance. Accordingly the author restricts the inquiry; though, indeed, as may be expected, he frequently passes the bounds he has set himself.

How, then, is motion to be accounted for? To answer this question two theories are propounded—the dynamic and the kinetic. It would be a mistake to assume that these names are well known in the schools, and that a formal comparison of their merits is to be found in every hand-book of scholastic philosophy. Dr. McDonald, in

contrasting them, has, to a large extent, broken new ground. He has, at all events, given a name to the theory he advocates. This theory he outlined in a paper read at the International Catholic Scientific Congress, held at Freiburg last August. After the newspaper accounts appeared he had ample reason to complain, with Mr. Balfour, that the title of his essay had attracted more notice than the contents. Everybody was inquiring what a *kinetic theory of activity* meant. One curious wight from the antipodes even went so far as to ask: 'Who was Kinetic?' The reprint of the paper in the October issue of the I. E. RECORD disclosed to the lonely traveller and all other inquirers the inmost nature of the kinetic theory.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat here the expositions of the rival theories. The question at issue is: Is there in nature, corresponding to the idea of force, an active capacity not merely notionally, but really distinct, on the one hand, from the motion it causes, and, on the other hand, from the substance and its quality? All Catholic philosophers, except, perhaps, a few followers of Descartes, agree that substance, qualities, and motion have a real existence. The only controversy is about the existence of 'force.'

In writing this essay Dr. McDonald had two objects in view. He wished, of course, to prove that the kinetic theory is true; but his primary object was to show, that it is not opposed to Catholic teaching; and that, consequently, the door of the Church is not to be shut against men of science who are driven, or fancy they are driven, by scientific investigations to hold that there is no such thing as force. There is, unfortunately, too great a tendency to brand with some severe censure all with whom we cannot agree. The stern legislation of the Church is an indication of the extent to which this tendency prevailed even in the holy men who carried on the controversy *De Auxiliis*. Whether Dr. McDonald has proved his theory or not, he has shown, at least, that it is not uncatholic, and that anyone who will be censured for holding it will suffer in excellent company; for, by an examination of several passages from Aristotle and St. Thomas,

he shows, that the great masters of philosophy did not believe in the existence of a reality called force. Clearly the passages cannot be cited and examined here. One extract, however, must not be omitted. It is the distinction of Ferrariensis which is so useful in explaining and defending the kinetic theory:—

God causes the act of the will immediately with an immediateness of virtue, but not with an immediateness of *supposit*, as has been already shown with regard to the other faculties. On the other hand, the will causes the same volition immediately with an immediateness of *supposit*, but *not with an immediateness of virtue*.

Some persons may be tempted to despise Ferrariensis as an obscure theologian; but the present Supreme Pontiff commends him specially as a channel through which the pure stream of St. Thomas's doctrine is transmitted to succeeding generations. The above extract is found in page 70; the preceding page contains the same truth worded differently by St. Thomas himself. The distinction made by Ferrariensis is so clear, to anyone who knows the meaning of the technical philosophical terms employed, that explanation is unnecessary. His manifest meaning is, that just as God creates the substance and its faculty, so, too He puts into them the motion in virtue of which the substance is moving. The actual motion, then, is immediately from God and the creature, but with the difference already indicated. Fr. Dummermuth's attempt to explain the distinction from a dynamist's point of view only strengthens one's convictions that Ferrariensis clearly believed in the truth of the kinetic theory. From the testimony of the physical experts and witnesses cited in the seventh chapter, even dynamists ought to be convinced that, at least, modern scientists are against them. The word 'force' is almost banished already from scientific terminology, and 'potential energy' is fast sharing the same fate. The undoubted tendency is to reduce all physical activity to kinetic energy, or energy of motion. Hence Dr. McDonald has done good service in informing men of science, that they are merely returning to the

teaching of the Angelic Doctor; and that, accordingly, even the most conscientious Catholic scientist may pursue his investigations on these lines without fear of incurring theological censure.

Apart from the weight of authority, ancient, mediæval, and modern, in favour of the kinetic theory, there is a great profusion of what may be called intrinsic arguments scattered throughout the essay. The publication of some of these reasons in the Freiburg paper makes it unnecessary to advance proof here, except for form's sake.

In the first place, then, the very simplicity of the kinetic theory ought to recommend it considerably, especially to those who respect the principle of parcimony, or 'Ockham's razor,' as it is sometimes called: 'Beings are not to be multiplied beyond necessity.' Unless the existence of a being is evident to some one of our faculties, it must be proved; and unless valid proof be forthcoming nobody ought to assert that the being exists. Now, force is surely of this class. None of our faculties tells us of its existence. Its ardent advocates may be beguiled into the belief that consciousness is a witness in its behalf; but they are mistaken. Its existence, then, must be proved; a case must be made out in its favour. To establish the kinetic theory one has only to rebut that case.

Dynamists would say that if there is nothing in the acting agent but its substance and faculty, created by God, and its motion, infused by God, occasionalism must be admitted, and the freedom of the human will cannot be defended; and, consequently, there is a manifest necessity for something in addition, namely, force. In reply it is urged that the admission of force militates very strongly against one of the most important dogmas in theology, namely, the universality of the immediate Divine concurrence with second or created causes in their actions. Thus though introduced for the purpose of smoothing away difficulties, it is naughty enough to excite new troubles. Is not semi-pelagianism as false as occasionalism? Moreover, the charges against the kinetic theory cannot be sustained; for according to that theory bodies really act efficiently, and

man may act freely. As an agent exists by the being God has given it, why may it not act by the motion God has given it? We get our bodies and souls from God, yet we call them our own. The motion, too, that God gives us we may call our own. Hence as we truly are, we truly act. Where, then, is the occasionalism or the Calvinism? One may be assisted in forming a judgment in this matter by reflecting on the distinction of Ferrariensis, and by meditating on the words of St. Paul, Phil. ii. 13, "For it is God who worketh in you both to will and to accomplish according to *His* will."

The charge of destruction of human liberty is equally unfounded. What is required for liberty? In this case, as in the case of force, consciousness may, like a most obliging witness, give, or appear to give, information suggested by the questioner. Hence we ought to be on our guard. From a consideration of the free act of the will we might easily be led to believe in the existence of a cluster of subsidiary acts, and from frequently thinking over them we may be convinced that consciousness testifies to their actual existence. May it not be that the charge of destruction of liberty that is levelled against the kinetic theory is based on a misleading analysis of the free act itself? What, as a matter of fact, is required for liberty? Is not the agent acting freely when at each moment of his action he may cease to act? If that be so, the kinetic theory certainly does not clash with the doctrine of human liberty. Minor counts in the indictment against it may be easily disposed of. Where, then, is the necessity for this mysterious entity called force? Notwithstanding all its persistence, it does not stand the application of the old Franciscan's 'razor.'

In proving and rendering intelligible the received doctrine of the positive conservation of all things by the Creator, the kinetic theory has a great advantage over its rival. One of its upholders would have no difficulty in giving the desired reply to the question of St. Paul (1 Cor. iv.) : 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' A reservation need not be made in favour of the actual exercise of that active capacity called force. An examination of the Divine

concurrence, too, is rendered less perplexing when one is spared the necessity of inquiring how God immediately concurs with the creature in that something, whatever it is, contributed by that same active capacity.

The only other argument that need be discussed is the argument from resistance. The argument is given at length in the October number. The reasons given, together with the authority of Aristotle, St. Thomas, and Suarez, ought to place beyond doubt the proposition that resistance is due, not to motion, but to absence of motion; so that, if a body were perfectly immovable, it would offer absolute resistance. How, then, can resistance be a force? Just imagine the very perfection of active capacity exerting all its energy in doing absolutely nothing!

But someone may say Dr. McDonald's argument was wide of the mark. Formal resistance clearly is not a force; dynamists could not say that; they can only mean that the complex phenomenon—the rebound—is caused by force. Let us summon as a witness Father Tillman Pesch, one of the most recent and most outspoken of the dynamists. In the *Institutiones Philosophiæ Naturales*, vol. i., n. 69, this *scholion* is found:—

All forces of (inorganic) bodies are conveniently reduced to three: *sistive force* (cohesion, expansion, resistance, elasticity, repulsion), *conserving force* (inertia, reactio), *communicative force* (chemical affinity, attraction, impulsion).¹

This evidence of Father Pesch, this enumeration of resistance, cohesion, and elasticity, as three distinct forces, drives home and clinches, as it were, Dr. McDonald's argument.

Almost innumerable points in the essay call for special notice. There is scarcely an interesting question in theology, philosophy, or what some persons would call the philosophy of physics, that is not referred to. A volume would be required for even a brief survey of them all. Only a few can be selected, and the consideration of these must be very meagre.

¹ Schol. 2. Omnes vires corporum (anorganicorum) ad tres apte revocantur *vim sistivam* (cohesio, expansio, resistentia, elasticitas, repulsio), *vim conservativam* (inertia, reactio), *vim communicativam* (affinitas chimica, attractio, impulsio).

Theological questions, such as the physical causality of the sacraments, may be left to theologians. To them, too, may be entrusted an appropriate response to the strictures passed in the 8th chapter, especially on moral theologians, for their treatment of that "most shamefully ill-used" word, occasion. The ultimate explanation of motion—God creates a body now, now, &c., or here, here, &c., in adjacent moments or places, as it were—seems to reduce motion to mere resultance. This conclusion, however, is not the genuine view of the author, for he repeatedly insists on the reality of motion—the 'form in flux' of St. Thomas.

His notion of moral causes, and the explanation of physical phenomena that arises from that notion, are, to say the least, wonderfully novel. According to the ordinary acceptance of the term a moral cause is one that causes an effect through the medium of the *free-will* of another agent, *i.e.*, by persuading, threatening, or otherwise inducing a *free* agent to produce the effect. In Dr. McDonald's view anything that may have a *right* may be a moral cause, and everything, and perhaps even nothing, may have a right. An example from page 230 will make the view and its application clearer. The question is—how is the reflection of light to be explained?—

We find . . . it is a question of right. Now, of these rights there are two: one in the vibrating ether to continue to exist somewhere; the other in the mirror, to exclude the ether from its place. . . . (God) is bound to act in such a manner as will secure to both substances the rights He gave to each.

In the next page he explains this seemingly ridiculous use of the term right:—

Conservation is *natural*, and therefore *due*, in some way, even to brute matter. . . . If a vibration or a mirror may have something *due* to it, it has the same thing undoubtedly in some way as its *right*.

Even granting the lawfulness of using the term right in this sense, what does the explanation of the phenomenon amount to? Simply this:—It is natural to the ray of light to go on in its course: it is natural to the mirror to block the way; hence God must reflect the ray of light. Not

merely that, but God sends back the ray of light in such a manner that the incident and reflected ray have a common plane with the *normal* to the reflecting surface, and both make equal angles with that normal. Surely this solution merely leaves the question as it found it.

This same doctrine of rights is applied to solve another difficulty. All Catholics hold that this material universe is limited in extent; actual space, therefore, is finite:—

Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds;
This be thy just circumference, O World!

On the other hand, according to the kinetic theory, motion is never converted into potential energy or into force; whenever a body in motion strikes another body, the two form one for the time being; the motion of the first passes into the second, which then has motion in itself. Whether it will move with molar or molecular motion after that, depends on its *qualities*; but move it will, assuredly. Thus motion is never lost; it is always conserved by the Prime Mover. When this motion arrives at the 'just circumference' of the world, what happens? Is the motion lost? or does the moving mass protrude beyond the *bounds*?

No, answers Dr. McDonald, and rightly; but his reason seems queer. The 'pure space' beyond is endowed with impenetrability, resists the vibrations, and back they go, as from a most perfect reflector, with undiminished vigour 'to journey through the aery gloom,' until they are again repelled at some other point of the impassable 'circumference.' The ultimate reason of this is, of course, the decree of the Creator and Conservor of the universe. As a more proximate reason the impenetrability of 'pure space' is useless; for 'pure space' is nothing, and how can nothing sustain an accident? In exploring the mystery of the Eucharist Dr. McDonald confounds 'pure space' with 'real space.' In the Eucharistic species there is actual extension, and therefore real space. The impenetrability of 'pure space' is not an explanation of the extraordinary phenomenon described above. Impenetrable nothingness

is a fine expression, but it has no meaning. A more satisfactory explanation may, perhaps, be derived from an inquiry into the optical phenomenon known as *total reflection by refraction*.

The finiteness of the space allotted to this review is an insuperable obstacle to the working out of that explanation, as well as to the consideration of several most interesting subjects discussed in the essay, such as the production of forms accidental and substantial, the nature of vital actions, the temporal beginning of mechanical motion, the possibility of an infinite series, and its effect on the dynamists' proofs of the existence of God.

The reader may not embrace the author's conclusions; he may even regard them as not merely unproved and opposed to the traditional teaching of the schools, but as utterly subversive of the most sacred and fundamental truths. He cannot, however, deny that the attempt to harmonize the immutable great truths of religion with the findings of the physical sciences is a noble work; that it was undertaken in obedience to a noble and most charitable motive; that extensive research, prolonged labour, and vigorous, penetrating thought were lavished upon it; that an earnest desire, at all hazards, to discover and embrace the truth is manifested from beginning to end. Neither can he withhold a tribute of gratitude to one who made him think for himself, not merely by force of brilliant example, but by taking him by the hand, as it were, and in a simple, familiar, almost colloquial style, leading him, confident and undismayed, into a consideration of the most profound and perplexing problems that can engage the attention of the human mind. He must be very exceptional, too, if he can lay down the essay without regret, or without giving expression to an ardent wish that the distinguished head of the Theological Faculty of Maynooth may, at no distant date, favour him with another intellectual treat by publishing his views on some one of the many subjects of interest, that, like nuggets in a gold mine of surpassing richness, are met with in such abundance in this remarkable volume.

M. BARRETT.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

COMMUNION OF THE SICK

REV. DEAR SIR,—With reference to the concluding remarks of your reply to ‘*Sacerdos Americanus*,’ in the November issue of your valuable journal, may I ask what construction ought to be put on No. 54 of the Acts and Decrees of the Synod of Maynooth.

In virtue of the 3rd Statute of the Dublin Dioc. Synod of 1879, the old rule or principle, ‘*de S. Viatico ministrando*,’ as given in Dublin Dioc. Synod of 1831, seems to have been modified or abrogated to make room for the above No. 54.

As the old text of 1831 clearly embodied one of the opinions of theologians—allowing Communion but once a-week—the *communior opinio*, says St. Alphonso, the only admissible one according to de Lugo, the question seems to me to arise, which of the remaining more benign opinions—three, I think—might more likely be understood as aimed at, and thus recommended in practice to the Dublin priests, secular and regular, under the Synodal enactment (No. 54) now in force ‘that Communion or Holy Viaticum may be given, not only once a week, as formerly, but *iterum et saepius*,’ *positis pomendis*, of course.

I beg you, therefore, to kindly give your readers the advantage of some statement on the above.

NEMO.

The Statute of 1831, to which our correspondent refers, was promulgated in all the dioceses of the Dublin province. It was as follows :—

Durante eadem infirmitate, Eucharistia, semel tantum, per modum Viatici administrari debet; sed singulis hebdomadis, infirmis dari potest per modum communionis, etiam non sint jejuni, si adhuc in periculo mortis versentur. (See ‘*Statuta Diocesana, per Provinciam Dublinensem observandum*,’ etc., p. 95.)

It will be observed that there is question of those who, during a long illness, remain in danger of death—*adhuc in periculo mortis versentur*. Two things are laid down in

connection with the administration of the Eucharist to such persons—(1) In the same illness, i.e., *in eodem periculo mortis*, the Eucharist should be administered once, and once only, *per modum Viatici*, i.e., with the special form assigned in the Ritual for the administration of the Viaticum; (2) the Eucharist might be afterwards administered—*etiam non jejunis*—once a week—not, it would appear, more frequently—*per modum communionis*, i.e., with the ordinary form, as long as these same persons remained *in periculo mortis*.

It may be assumed that the Synod of Dublin fairly reflected the common teaching of the time; but the question is now of purely speculative interest. A distinct departure from the teaching of 1831 was made at the Plenary Synod of Thurles, in 1850. Among the decrees of the Synod of Thurles we read:—

In eadem infirmitate, si longius protrahitur, parochi saepius sacro Viatico aegrotos reficiant, cum illud iterum et saepius licite dari possit. (Decreta Syn. Plen. Eps. Hibern. apud Thurles 1850.)

The Plenary Synod of Maynooth, in 1875, repeated this decree unchanged. And, of course, the decrees of these Synods have, as our correspondent points out, since found a place in various Diocesan Synods, and have moulded the universal practice of this country.

As against the Synod of 1831, the Synods of Thurles and Maynooth clearly convey, in the decree above quoted, that the Viaticum may, in the same protracted illness or danger of death, be administered, not once only, but frequently—*iterum et saepius*. In the later Synods, too, it will be remarked that the restriction insinuated in the clause ‘*singulis hebdomadis*’ is omitted. No time is defined for lawfully repeating the administration; it merely said, *saepius licite dari possit*; and, lastly the words used in the decrees of Thurles and Maynooth—‘*parochi saepius sacro Viatico aegrotos reficiant*,’ might seem to indicate that, while danger of death lasts, Communion *should* be administered, not in the ordinary form, but *per modum Viatici*. However, many theologians hold—for no solid reason that we can see—that Communion should be administered *per modum Viatici* only once in the same danger

of death. According to this teaching, once the Viaticum has been administered, Communion—whether the recipient be fasting or not—should be administered with the ordinary form *Corpus Domini*, &c.

How often may Communion be given to those in danger of death? The Synod of Maynooth says, *sæpius dari potest*, and leaves the confessor to determine how often, according to the needs and dispositions of the sick person. The confessor must, therefore, rely on his own judgment. He should remember, however, that Communion should be more freely conceded to persons at the hour of death than during life. Moreover, he is perfectly safe in giving even daily Communion to the sick person, if he thinks that the devotion of the sick person is such as to render so frequent Communion profitable. In giving Communion so frequently the confessor may be acting against the opinion of certain theologians—even modern theologians; but he will have amply sufficient authority in his favour, and he certainly will violate no law, divine or ecclesiastical. Lehmkühl puts the whole matter briefly and well:—

Durante periculo, toties quoties devotio et dispositio poenitentis hoc suadit, S. Communio eodem modo [*i. e.*, aegroti non jejuno] repeti potest, jejuni neglecto. Neque quod aegrotus, quum sanus erat, S. Communionem non tam frequenter sumpsit, ratio est cur etiam nunc, modo satis dispositus sit, raro ad eam admittatur (ii. n. 161).

NOVEMBER OFFERINGS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I should feel grateful for an answer to the following question:—

To what return are clergy bound who receive from their people 'November offerings'? In some parishes it is announced that people may send in the names of deceased friends to be specially commemorated on All Souls day. An offering is always expected to accompany the names sent in, and in some cases the sum of such offerings is very considerable. To what are the clergy receiving these offerings bound? Is it enough to offer the Mass on All Souls day? Or should other Masses be offered, and if so what proportion should the number of Masses bear to the offerings received?

SACERDOS.

The conditions on which these November offerings are

given and accepted are, we believe, regulated in some dioceses by local legislation. Such laws, wherever they exist should, of course, be respected. But, apart from special local legislation, the clergy should let their people clearly understand what return may be expected for offerings made. Needless to say, the undertaking given should be faithfully and scrupulously fulfilled. Further than this there is no obligation.

It may be interesting to give here a reply of the Congregation of Propaganda, 30th July, 1877, to a question very similar to that of our correspondent. We quote from *Collectanea Cong. de Prop. Fide* :—

. . . Invaluit consuetudo ut pro unica Missa, quae in die commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum cantatur, fideles contribuant pecuniam. Summa autem pecuniae sic collecta ordinarie tanta est ut plurium centenarum missarum eleemosynas facile exaequet. Inter eos qui pecuniam hoc modo contribuant, plurimi sunt de quibus dubitari merito possit utrum eam hoc modo collaturi forent si rite edocerentur animabus purgatorii, quas sic juvare intendunt, melius provisum iri si tot Missae pro iis licet extra diem commemorationis omnium fidelium celebrarentur. Quot juxta taxam diocesanam continentur stipendia in summa totali sic contributa ut erroneae opinioni occurratur, in quibusdam diocesibus statuto synodali tantum est ut nisi singulis annis praevia totius rei explicatio populo fiat, missionariis eam fidelium pecuniam pro unica illa Missa accipere non liceat. Quae . . . precor ut . . . ad dubia sequentia respondere dignetur (1) utrum praedicta consuetudo absolute prohibita sit. Quod si negative (2) utrum tolerari possit casu quo quotannis praevia diligens totius rei explicatio populo fiat. Quod si affirmative (3) utrum si timor sit ne missionarii praeviam illum diligentem eamque plenam totius rei explicationem populo praebant, vel populus non satis intelligat, Ordinarius istam consuetudinem prohibere possit et missionariis injungere ut, pro tota summa contributa, intra ipsum mensem Novembris tot legantur vel cantentur Missae quot in ea continentur stipendia pro Missis sive lectis sive cantatis. Quod si affirmative (4) utrum ob rationem quod Missae illae intra ipsum mensem Novembris legendae vel cantandae sint, Ordinarius consuetum Missarum sive ligendarum sive cantandarum ob stipendium pro aequo suo arbitrio pro illis Missis possit augere.

S. Cong. . . rescribendum censuit : nihil innovetur ; tantum apponatur tabella in Ecclesia qua fideles doceantur quod illis ipsis eleemosynis una canitur Missa in die commemorationis omnium fidelium defunctorum. — (*Id. Collect. Cong. Prop. Fide*, n. 893.)

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—Dr. MacCarthy having made a second attack on *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*, I have again to solicit the editorial indulgence while I reply. In doing so I shall not mould my manners to *his* model. I shall continue, in what I have to say, to give him his name. He, however, not to dwell upon the general discourtesy of his tone, has never once given me mine, but perseveres in the designedly (though feebly) offensive substitute for it to which I drew passing attention in my previous article. Evidently the opinions of a mere layman are of sovereign indifference to Dr. MacCarthy; yet I cannot help observing that his studied disregard of all politeness is a defect in his constitution as a critic that has very often been remarked upon in the past, and one, too, that redounds, whatever *he* may think of it, more to his own discredit than it does to the disparagement of the various writers, myself the latest and least distinguished of the number, upon whom he has, from time to time, vented his spleen and his bad grammar.¹

With some curiosity I have been asking myself in what way can I have contributed to arouse the initial ire of Dr. MacCarthy, for *he* is the originator of this controversy, and began it with regrettable taste and temper. The same question is being put to me by my friends among the clergy. I know not what to answer. I am unconscious of any manifestations of ill-will towards Dr. MacCarthy. I refer to him in my book as ‘the learned Dr. MacCarthy.’² There is nothing uncomplimentary in that. In

¹ As a sample of Dr. MacCarthy’s grammar, take the following from his review of the *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes:—‘Thereby, however, he has let slip an opportunity which those foreigners which he fawns upon so would (if they had the wit to perceive it) give a deal to perceive it, give a deal to possess.’ ‘Foreigners which’!!! The ‘it’ after ‘perceive’ is an ungrammatical redundancy; and the sentence would have stumbled less had he placed the ‘so’ before ‘fawns.’ See the I. E. RECORD, 3rd series, xii., p. 155: Dublin, 1891.

² *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*, p. 93: Dublin, 1897.

no manner do I run across him in it. Can it be—but, surely, it cannot—that he became angry with me when he found me tacitly preferring (as some critics do openly) the Oxford Edition of the *St. an. Missal* to that for which he is himself responsible? Be this as it may, my little volume, undertaken in the interest of the faith, has earned Dr. MacCarthy's contempt: and I must only console myself with the reflection that cardinals, archbishops, bishops, &c., have condescended to put pen to paper to commend it. As to any practical effect that has so far resulted from Dr. MacCarthy's strictures, all I can say is, that he has sent up my sales by hundreds. For this I am his not ungrateful debtor. As an advertising agent I pronounce him a success.

And now to consider the substance of his last communication.

The Bobbio Missal is again prominent. To keep matters clear, the point in debate may be repeated. It is this: Is it, or is it not, allowable to adduce that ancient document as evidence of the dogma of the early Irish Church? As the foundation-stone of an argument for the affirmative, I, in the November I. E. RECORD, brought forward Dr. MacCarthy's admission: 'The Bobbio [*sic*] Missal, in transcription, was the work of an Irishman.' He now complains, as of something serious, that I gave no indication of what appears in the next paragraph to that from which I quoted. It is this: 'But it does not follow, because the writing is Irish, that a MS. was written in Ireland; much less upon Irish subjects. In the present case the Mass of St. Martin and the names introduced into the Canon tell as plainly as the most explicit Colophon that the Missal was drawn up for a church in Gaul.' I must confess that I fail to discern how, or in what particular, I have misrepresented Dr. MacCarthy. Take his belief that the Bobbio Missal is of Gaulish origin. That was made sufficiently manifest by me, along with my own assent to the proposition, when I said, in the November I. E. RECORD: 'My critic contends (p. 167) that the Missal in question "was drawn up for a church in France, most probably in Burgundy." Be it so. I am sure I have nothing to say to the contrary. I am so far of his opinion, as my *Appendix* shows.' On this point, then, there has been no misrepresentation of Dr. MacCarthy. As to the rest of the unquoted matter, I had, and could have, no object in suggesting, as Dr. MacCarthy's opinion, anything contrary to what is therein expressed: for it certainly formed no part of my argument, for the propriety of appealing to the

Bobbio Missal as an indication of early Irish faith, that the Bobbio Missal, because of its Irish writing, 'was written in Ireland;' neither did it form any part of my argument that the Bobbio Missal is 'a MS. upon Irish subjects.' For the moment I have no interest in ascertaining where the MS. was written. *Parvo contentus*, I am satisfied to have the broad fact admitted *that the writing in the MS. is Irish*. On that I base the conclusion that the doctrine traceable in the Bobbio Missal is in perfect harmony with ancient Irish doctrine. I am not prepared to picture Irish monastic scribes, even in vinous Burgundy, where the scribe of the Bobbio Missal wrote, as utterly indifferent to what theological scripts they employed their pens upon, like printers, who care not to what description of religious works, Catholic or Protestant, they lend their type, or as at all disposed to perpetuate documents which they could not but consider pernicious and heretical, if the contents were in doctrinal opposition to what they had learned in Ireland to regard as the true faith. The soundness of the principle thus implied, namely, the writing in certain ancient ecclesiastical MSS. being Irish, the dogma inculcated in them is the same as that professed by our early forefathers, is very easily brought to the test. What is entirely to the present purpose, it is triumphantly confirmed in the individual instance of the Bobbio Missal itself; for there is not a single dogmatic point, such as the Canon of Scripture, the Petrine privileges, the reality and efficacy of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, prayer for the dead, invocation of saints, devotion to our Blessed Lady, veneration of relics, &c., on which the text of that famous Missal has been copiously extracted in my book, that is not equally established there, as Irish faith, by direct quotations from what, for distinction sake, I shall call *home material*, to the relevancy of which even the captiousness of Dr. MacCarthy might be invited to take exception.

To continue to afford proof of the propriety of citing the Bobbio Missal as evidence of Irish doctrine, though further proof is, perhaps, not really necessary, a strong presumption that this MS. was actually used at the celebration of Mass by Irish clergy (though out of Ireland) is found in the fact that on one of its folios the name 'Munubertus' is written, and on another 'Elderatus;' the first a Latinised Irish name; the other a Latino-Hebraisation (meaning the Servant of God) of the name

of St. Deicolus, or Deicola, one of the twelve companions who accompanied St. Columbanus from Ireland to Gaul, to share in his apostolic labours.

I had said, in my November article, that the Bobbio Missal was in use at Bobbio itself, where for a long time there were always Irish monks: and Dr. MacCarthy, I thought, would not have traversed either statement. But he traverses the first one, and appeals to Mabillon to maintain his opinion. The same Mabillon, however, will inform him that the name 'Bertulfus' is to be read on one of the folios of the MS., and he (Mabillon) believes this Bertulfus to have been the Abbot of Bobbio of that name who ruled the monastery in the middle of the seventh century.¹ I take this circumstance to denote temporary possession of the MS. by Bertulfus, and as suggestive of a reasonable presumption that the Missal was in use at Bobbio, at least in his time. Nor is it at all certain that Mabillon thought anything to the contrary. When Mabillon says that the Missal was not *ad usum monachorum Bobbiensium*, he may only have meant to convey that it was not for Bobbio that the Missal was *drawn up*. He extends his view to other monasteries, and gives his reasons. But the probability of *use* by the Bobbio community is not thereby absolutely excluded. Mabillon, it is to be noted, employs the same expression, *ad usum*, when he expresses his opinion as to the locality that the Missal, he believes, was *drawn up for*, namely, the Province of Besançon, containing the monastery of Luxeuil, one of the foundations of St. Columbanus, A.D. 590 or 591, from which the saint proceeded to found Bobbio, A.D. 612 or 613.² And now here is a question which I should very much like Dr. MacCarthy to answer. For what purpose was this Missal brought from Luxeuil to Bobbio, by some disciple of

¹ 'BERTULFUS alicubi legitur in ora folii cujusdam, quem putamus esse ipsum Bertulfum loci abbatem medio sæculo septimo. In alio folio ELDERATUS. item in alio MUNUBERTUS.' See Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 276: Paris, 1724.

² 'Cujus porro provincie fuerit hoc Missale, non obvium est definire. Forte ad usum erat Provincie Maxime Sequanorum, id est Vesontionensis, in qua situm est Luxoviense monasterium, unde Columbanus Bobbium migravit. Favethuic conjectura Missa de sancto Sigismundo rege Burgundionum. Certe hic codex non fuit ad usum monachorum Bobbiensium. Nihil enim in eo de sanctis Bobbiensibus, Columbanus, ejusque discipulis. Nihil item de rebus monasticis; non benedictio Abbatis, aut monachorum; non benedictiones pro monasterii officinis, in ejusmodi libris monasticis usitatæ.' See Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 276: Paris, 1724.

St. Columbanus, perhaps the Burgundian Bertulf,¹ if *not* to be used at Mass? To be made a mere curiosity of? To be tossed into the *armarium* as a thing of lumber? Surely not. And as to the absence of any reference in the Bobbio Missal to monastic matters, that may be accounted for by supposing, with Dr. Lanigan, that it was 'a general Missal for the clergy both secular and regular; and in such case there was no necessity for specifying monastic matters, or introducing into it the name of St. Columbanus, &c. Besides, that copy was probably written before the death of St. Columbanus.'² The latter circumstance is strongly borne out by some parallelism of idea and language, between the Missal and St. Columbanus, which I place in the notes.³

In the opinion of Dr. O'Connor, the Bobbio Missal was a portable Missal, employed by the Irish missionaries of Luxeuil and Bobbio in their labours among the Burgundians and Lombards.⁴ 'Be this as it may,' says Dr. Lanigan, 'we may be sure from its having been copied by an Irishman, that it was used by Irish priests.'⁵ With what object in view, I ask, does Dr. MacCarthy differ radically, not partially only and on a secondary point as I do from some of them, from the O'Conors, the Lanigans, the Morans, the Malones, the Healys, the Greiths, and seek to deprive the Irish Church of its powerful testimony?

And now for another matter. Before passing away from this portion of the subject, I am curious to know from Dr. MacCarthy,

¹ 'De hoc eximio Missale, unum et idem sentiunt ambo [Mabillon and Ruinart]. Sacramentarium esse, sive Missale, *ante annos mille exaratum*, quod e Luxoviense S. Columbani Monasterio Hibernico, a quodam S. Columbani Discipulo allatum fuit Bobium, sæculo VII^{mo}, forte a Bertulfo, qui fuit tertius, post Magistrum Columbanum, Monasterii istius Abbas, et *Missale fuisse portatile ad Sacra in ipsis itineribus celebranda.*' See O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Epistola Nuncupatoria, i., p. cxxx.: Buckingham, 1814-1826.

² Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iv., p. 373-374: Dublin, 1829.

³ From the Bobbio Missal (*italics mine*):—'*Oremus Dominum dilectissimi nobis, quia amara nobis adveniunt tempora & periculosi approxinant anni. Mutantur regna, vocantur Gentes.*' See Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 371: Paris, 1724.

Compare with the Epistle of St. Columbanus to Pope Boniface the Fourth:—'*Dominus appropinquat, et prope jam in fine consistimus inter tempora periculosa. Ecce conturbantur gentes, inclinantur regna.*' See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxxx., col. 277; Paris, 1863.

⁴ 'Ex dictis satis constare opinor, Codicem Bobiensem de quo agimus, esse *Missale Portatile* Hibernorum Luxoviensium et Bobiensium, qui exeunte Sæculo VI., fidem Christi Burgundiis et Longobardis predicavere.' See O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, Epistola Nuncupatoria, i., pp. cxli.-cxlii.: Buckingham, 1814-26.

⁵ Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii., p. 336: Dublin, 1829.

who carps so hypercritically at some of my translations from the Latin, whether, in the passage which he produces and translates from Mabillon on the Bobbio Missal, *Nihil enim in eo de sanctis Bobiensibus* is satisfactorily rendered, as to its full meaning and point, by—‘For there is nothing in it of Bobio’ [*sic*].

A word also on the orthography of ‘Bobbio.’ I had put it to Dr. MacCarthy whether ‘Bobio,’ the spelling which characterises his essay *On the Stowe Missal*, has the sanction of Italian writers, who are the proper judges of what it ought to be, seeing that the place is in Italy. In the tail-end of a note he mentions ‘Bobiensis,’ ‘Bobiensibus,’ and ‘Bobio’ (the ablative, in the case specified, of ‘Bobium’), and, in a faint voice, says:—‘Note the single *b*; never *bb*.’ But the Latin language, though the parent of the Italian, is not to be allowed to decide how Italian place-names are to be written, any more than the Anglo-Saxon language, the parent of the English, is to be allowed to decide how we ought to spell the names of localities in England; otherwise, we should all commence to write ‘Theocsbyrig’ for ‘Tewkesbury,’ ‘Gypeswic’ for ‘Ipswich,’ ‘Med-wæge’ for the ‘Medway,’ ‘Medweagestun’ for ‘Maidstone’ (enough of itself to give one the typhoid fever), ‘Scrobbes-byrig’ for ‘Shrewsbury,’ ‘Searsýsbyrig’ for ‘Salisbury,’ and demonstrate our pedantry in five hundred similar ways. I append a couple of extracts from Italian books, just to show how Bobbio is written.¹ It would be a veritable puzzle to discover a single Italian work in which the name appears as ‘Bobio.’ In practice, Dr. MacCarthy now admits his error. He spells Bobbio correctly all through his last letter, except where he is translating from Mabillon, and then, with amusing inconsistency, he reverts to the single *b*—I suppose, in hazy compliment to his author’s Latin.

St. Cummian’s Penitential is Dr. MacCarthy’s next point. Its authorship is matter of doubt. A Vatican MS. of the ninth or tenth century attributes it to St. Cummian the Tall, referring to it as *inquisitio Acumiani Longii* [*sic*]², and this St. Cummian

¹ ‘Fra’ monaci ancora vi furono alcuni che coltivarono a questi tempi gli studi sacri: e un monastero singolarmente si rendette sopra gli altri illustre, dico quello di Bobbio, etc.’ See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, iii., pp. 189-190: Milano, 1822-26.

‘Bobbio—Città della Liguria cisappennina, frammezzo le Alpi Cozie distante circa quaranta miglia da Pavia,’ etc. See D’Avino, *Enciclopedia dell’ Ecclesiastico*, i., p. 376: Torino, 1863-66.

² Moran, *Essays on the Origin, Doctrines, and Discipline of the Early Irish Church*, p. 252: Dublin, 1864.

wrote in Ireland. Some authorities give it to St. Cummian the Fair. Nevertheless—for argument sake—I am not unwilling to assume that this Penitential was composed by another St. Cummian—the St. Cummian who, at seventy-five, went to Bobbio, and died there at upwards of ninety-five, somewhere in the reign of Luitprand, King of the Lombards, A.D. 711-744,¹ and that the Penitential, so far, is ‘continental in its origin and application.’ What then?

Granting all this, and granting too that extracts are given in it from Penitentials which are not Irish, may it not be cited as illustrating the nature of ancient Irish doctrine and discipline? Though possibly the production of an exile, is it not still that of a typical Irishman? Or is a religious work, penned (say) by Cardinal Moran in Sydney, even with some Antipodean application, to be no indication whatever of what the Irish ecclesiastics of to-day, and Irish Catholics generally, adhere to as the faith? I certainly fall short of the sublimated intelligence that could appreciate an argument which, on the score of irrelevancy, would seek to shut out this or any analogous evidence. The Bobbio St. Cummian, when he proceeded to the Continent, an old man, and wrote this Penitential, if he really did write it, did not then, surely, learn for the first time to recognise the Sacraments of Confirmation and Penance, the utility of praying for the dead, the necessity of clerical celibacy, the use of altar-cloths, or any of the other doctrinal and disciplinary points upon which its testimony is quoted by me, and which are all equally substantiated, as in the case of the Bobbio Missal, by citations from what has already been denominated *home material*.

With regard now to a certain correspondence which is to be traced between portions of St. Cummian’s Penitential and the Penitential of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 668-690, it in no way affects my position—again for the sake of argument—to allow that St. Cummian took extracts from Theodore. This, apparently, could not well be true of any but the Bobbio St. Cummian. The opinion, however, may be mentioned—an opinion not unknown to Wasserschleben, and held by Theiner, Kunstmann, Cardinal Moran, and others—that matters were another way about, and that one of the St. Cummians—some say St. Cummian the Fair, some St. Cummian the Tall—was the

¹ Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, pp. 64-65: Halle, 1851.

unnamed Irish author whose *libellus* was among the sources of Theodore's Penitential, according to the ancient preface of that Penitential itself.¹ This is made probable by the fact that in the seventh chapter of the first book of Theodore's Penitential, following a series of canons almost literally agreeing with enactments in the Cummiian Penitential, there is this ancient annotation:—*Ista testimonia sunt de eo, quod in præfatione dicimus de libello Scottorum, in quo, ut in ceteris, aliquando inibi fortius firmavit de peccatis, aliquando vero lenius, ut sibi videbatur, modum imposuit pusillanimis.*²

As a proof that heresy was not unknown in Ireland when St. Cummiian's Penitential was drawn up, and that I was justified in citing St. Cummiian's canons in token of how heretics were regarded, I, inasmuch as dispute prevails as to which of the three St. Cummiians wrote the Penitential, in giving some extrinsic references to heresy and heretics, purposely made those references sufficiently elastic to fall in with the life of all. If however, Dr. MacCarthy now believes that the Penitential belongs to the seventh century rather than the eighth, why has he not dealt with the Roman letter, written in 640, in which the appearance of the Pelagian heresy in Ireland is referred to? Why has he not even ventured to parade the good old stock answer, that the native Annals, &c., are silent on the subject? But, doubtless, he knows better than to submit such a rebutting argument to a serious trial of its worth.

He next glances at the St. Gall *Ordo* of Penance. Of this there is another copy among the Irish MSS. at Basle. In August, Dr. MacCarthy asserted that this *Ordo* was 'purely Anglo-Saxon.' As a matter of notoriety, the form is one that was pretty general. The Anglo-Saxons had not the monopoly of it. Now, he allows that the writing in the St. Gall *Ordo* is Irish. The Irish, it should almost seem, according to him, were always copying Missals, *Orlines*, &c., which they never used themselves! He still insists that I have libelled our forefathers. Why? Because the *Ordo* alludes to incestuous practices. But I adverted to the

¹ 'In istorum quoque adminiculum est, quod manibus vilitatis nostre divina gratia similiter prævidit, quæ iste vir ex Scottorum libello seiscitasse quod diffamatum est, de quo talem senex fertur dedisse sententiam, ecclesiasticus homo libelli ipsius fuisse conscriptor.' See Wasserschleben, *Die Bekehrung des heiligen Columbanus*, p. 18; Halle, 1851.

² Wasserschleben, *Die Bekehrung des heiligen Columbanus*, p. 191; Halle, 1851.

fact that the forbidden degrees were not always sufficiently observed in Ireland; that marriage with the widow of one's brother was not unknown; that this Jewish practice was condemned in an ancient Irish Synod; hence toleration of it must have previously characterised *some* of the Irish clergy; that its lawfulness was maintained by a certain heretical bishop, a countryman of ours;¹ that disregard of spiritual affinity constituted incest; and Dr. MacCarthy makes not the least attempt to meet all this, or to show now where the libel comes in.

It is to make up for this evasion, perhaps, that the typographical errors of my book are again well to the front. Excluding the last two pages, which contain the Irish Litany, the little volume is as clear of faults of the press as I believe most books are usually found to be; and I explained, as far as I am called upon to explain, how those that do exist in it arose.

Few objects are beneath the notice of Dr. MacCarthy, who seems to have been tracking my footsteps very closely. He now produces three mistakes in pagination, two of which were already known to me; and there my impeachment stands. If he could even discover the grave total of one per cent. of such slips in over eleven hundred minute references, it would be still no great matter. Page 258 for 257; page 237 for 257; page 120 for 220, are errors which anyone might fall into; and Dr. MacCarthy may magnify and make the most of them. I would only say, of him, what Gibbon says, in regard to some similar petty oversights objected to by that historian's critic, the Rev. H. E. Davis:— 'I sincerely admire his patient industry, which I despair of being able to imitate; but if a future edition should ever be required, I could wish to obtain, on any reasonable terms, the services of so useful a corrector.'²

We turn now to the question whether Bishop O'Coffey is to be considered Archbishop O'Murray's father, on the strength of

¹ Lest Dr. MacCarthy should deny that Clemens was a bishop, I quote a distinguished Church historian:—'Bei einem andern Widersacher, dem Irländischen Bischof Clemens, mit welchem sich jene Synode zugleich beschäftigte, zeigte sich eine ungleich grössere Besonnenheit; ihm war die Kirche, wie sie damals im alttestamentlich theokratischen Principe erschien und wirkte, anstössig.' See Alzog, *Universalgeschichte der christlichen Kirche*, p. 400; Mainz, 1844.

See also the characterisation of Clemens in O'Hanlon, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vi., p. 173: Dublin, n. d.

² Gibbon, *A Vindication of some Passages in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 16: London, 1779.

the term *athair*, applied to him in the *Annals of Ulster*. The surnames being different, it has been suggested that O'Murray may have been the Archbishop's mother's name; but proof was challenged by me, that in the Ireland of the twelfth century, children, especially sons, ever received or took their mother's name instead of their father's. None is forthcoming. Dr. MacCarthy, like others, is unable to supply any. He lays it down, however, that had the *Annals of Ulster* intended to convey that Bishop O'Cooley was only Archbishop O'Murray's fosterer or tutor, they would have employed not *athair*, but *aite*, a word which lives under the form of *aide* in the spoken language. As if languages that have words for 'fosterer' and 'tutor' do not sometimes express that office by the very same word as that by which they denote a father in the full parental sense! Take the Latin. I place a remarkable example of *pater*, in its secondary signification, in the notes; extracted from a sermon in which St. Gaudentius of Brescia introduces the name of his patron and predecessor in that see, Philastrius, who, certainly, was not his natural father.' Does Dr. MacCarthy mean to intimate that *athair*, the Irish for the male parent, is never used *except* to signify an actual progenitor? Like its equivalent in other languages, is it not, for instance, applied to a priest? My view of the point being at least probable, why does Dr. MacCarthy impugn it? And what, I am curious to divine, is his special object in wishing, so strenuously, to give Bishop O'Cooley a son?

At page 104 I said:—'Public confession is alluded to in some of our ancient canons;' and to this statement I attached a reference to the Penitentials published by Wasserschleben. It appears in the foot-notes as follows:—*Irreum anni triduanus in ecclesia sine cibo et potu et somno et vestitu sine sede et canticum psalmorum cum canticis et oratione horarum et in eis XII. geniculationes post confessionem peccatorum coram sacerdote et plebe post votum*. This passage I produced for the sake only of the concluding portion, which establishes what I affirmed. Dr. MacCarthy

1 'Quonam ergo hęc spectat tractatio? Nempe ut vestra dilectio evidenter intelligat, quanta vis meam compulerit parvitatē arduis obsecundare pręceptis, atque aperire os meum sub tantorum pręsentia sacerdotum, & maxime post illam venerandę memorię *pater* aut (ut illic mine Philastrii eruditissimam vocem) etc. See *Sancti Gaudentii Brevis Episcopi Sermones*, pp. 158-159: Augsburg, 1757.

2 'Ἀδᾶμ, gen., Ἀδᾶμ, a father, a general title by which the clergy are addressed in Ireland.' See O'Donovan, *Supplement to O'Reilly's Irish-English Dictionary*, s. v.: Dublin, 1864.

now entertains himself with a gratuitous criticism of the ancient *Arrea* or *Commutations* themselves. '*Triduanus*,' he says, 'is a vox nihili in this case;' and he substitutes *triduum* from another copy, a Paris *codex*. *Triduanus* is simply a scribal corruption of *triduana*, a three days' fast.¹ He then goes into what he takes to be conveyed by the entire passage—a matter not dwelt upon by me at all. From *sine vestitu* he conceives that a year's penance was to be commuted by standing three days in a church without clothing, and says:—'One has heard of gods and goddesses standing naked in the open air; but to read of Christian men and women in that condition in a church somewhat strains one's trust in the informant.' That informant, however, is neither myself nor the *Arreum*: it is Dr. MacCarthy's own imagination. I see, like Lowell's 'John P. Robinson he,' that they don't 'know everything down in Judee.' A little light may be advantageously let in on the subject. In the document quoted, *sine vestitu* no more means *naked* than plain *nudi* itself does, which, let me inform Dr. MacCarthy, is to be sometimes met in ancient decrees of penance.² It only implies—not in the ordinary array. In what condition then? The public penitent might be (1) either partially stripped, of which we have instances, or (2) clad in a penitential vesture. This last is what is conveyed by the Paris version of the *Commutations*, which reads that he was to stand in the church *cum vestimento circa se*. Now, from the words *cum vestimento circa se*, meaning that the penitent was to stand in the house of God *with a garment around him*, I might just as well foolishly gather that when he was *not* in the church, or was about his daily avocations, he wore *nothing at all*, as Dr. MacCarthy that he was *entirely naked*, or, at least, is

¹ Ducange exemplifies *triduana* (tridui jejunium) from St. Jerome. See his *Glossarium Medicæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, viii., p. 182: Niort, 1883-87.

Biduano, from *biduanus*, a similar barbarism for *biduana*, is found in the *Synodus Aquilonalis Britannicæ* in Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, p. 103: Halle, 1851.

² Carpentier, in his Supplement to Ducange, gives the following from an episcopal document dated 1221:—'Robertus et Herveus publicam Penitentiam faciant *nudi* (italies mine) et discalciati, virgas in manibus portantes ad processionem in ecclesia Carnotensi in instanti Ascensione Domini, et per manum episcopi Carnotensis vel sacerdotis, secundum consuetudinem ecclesie accipiant disciplinam,' etc. It is plain, however, from another decree which he quotes, containing the words *discalciati et nudi, braccis tantummodo retentis*, that public penitents were not absolutely naked, and that *nudi*, wherever it appears alone, is to be interpreted with a modification. See Ducange, *Glossarium Medicæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, vi., p. 384: Niort, 1883-87.

represented as *entirely naked*, in the sacred edifice, because it is stated in the other copy of the *Arreum* that the penitent was to appear there *sine vestitu*. Both expressions amount to the same thing—divested of his customary raiment and in penitential garb.

Following the above, exception is taken to my manner of dealing with the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal. It exhibits, I am told, my 'textual recension and grammatical knowledge.' Here is the entire passage referred to, agreeing, to a comma, with Mabillon's printed text¹ of the Missal in question:—*MEMENTO ETIAM DOMINE, & eorum nomina, qui nos precesserunt cum signo fidei & dormiunt in somno pacis. Commemoratio defunctorum. Ipsis & omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis, & pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur, per Christum dominum nostrum.*' This I translate thus:—'Remember also, O Lord, the names of those who have gone before us with the sign of faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace. [*Commemoration of the Dead.*] To these, and to all resting in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

As verbs of remembering and forgetting sometimes take an accusative case,² Dr. MacCarthy can hardly object to my rendering *Memento nomina*, 'remember the names,' on the mere score of grammar. But he pronounces *nomina* a rubric. Well, the great Benedictine Mabillon, who edited the Bobbio Missal, was as learned a rubricist as Dr. MacCarthy, and evidently *he* did not consider *nomina* a rubric in this case. His punctuation, to be seen above, is against any supposition that he did: besides, we have the fact that he in no way distinguishes the word *nomina*, or marks it out from the text by either italics or brackets. The real rubric is at the end of the sentence, i.e., *Commemoratio defunctorum*. This, and this alone, he italicizes. To him, moreover, all the recensional details belong. I am satisfied to have a Mabillon on my side, and a Dr. MacCarthy against me.

My rendering of *Quorum meritis precibusque concedas ut in omnibus protectionis tue muniamur auxilio per Christum Dominum nostrum*, 'To whose merits and prayers grant that we may be

¹ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i. pt. ii., p. 281; Paris, 1721.

² On such a point it is superfluous to quote an authority: nevertheless, see Donaldson, *Complete Latin Grammar*, p. 279; Cambridge, 1867; also additional examples, in Andrews, *Latin Lexicon*, s. v. *memini*; London, 1875.

defended with the help of Thy protection in all things, through Christ our Lord,' is then carped at. 'To whose merits and prayers,' it is said, should be 'By whose merits and prayers.' Well, in point of Latin grammar, it might be either. In point of the sense, too, it might be either. But if there is any superiority as between the two versions, mine, if I mistake not, has it. The protection asked for is granted us *by* God, and *to* the merits and prayers of the saints. *To* their merits and prayers means—in consideration of them.

In 'Sunday within the Octave of Easter,' the word 'within' (p. 220) crept in inadvertently.

Dr. MacCarthy criticises me for saying: 'The mode of computing Easter is an astronomical . . . question.' He might as well have quoted me in full, and given the three words which he represents by three dots. What I said (p. 41) was this: 'The mode of computing Easter is an astronomical, not a theological question.' He adduces Ideler to tell me that Easter is computed by cycles, as if I had never mentioned such things. At p. 42 I say, speaking of the variation of the old Irish Easter from the Roman: 'It was occasioned by using different cycles; the Celtic and British Churches calculating the paschal date by a discarded system—the cycle of 84 years—while Rome, and the Christian world in general, proceeded by a cycle of 19 years, which was more astronomically correct.'¹

Does Dr. MacCarthy hold that astronomy has nothing whatever to do with Easter, as he finds fault with my characterisation of the question? Dr. Lingard agrees with me. He says: 'The time of Easter was not a theological question; it could be solved only by astronomical calculation.'¹ Dr. Lanigan, too, says: 'It was a dispute of mere astronomical calculation, similar to that between the abettors of the Gregorian, or new style, and those of the old one. Neither faith nor morals were in any wise connected with it.'²

There are one or two other points in Dr. MacCarthy's criticism upon which I might say something; but this letter is, perhaps, already too long. For the present, then, I must postpone my observations.

¹ Lingard, *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, i., p. 381: London, 1845.

² Lanigan, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii., p. 67: Dublin, 1829.

In conclusion, and to place facts in their legitimate light, I am not the aggressor in this controversy. My book was undertaken in response to numerically strong and influential solicitation; and I have never, in my experience, heard of a work, written in defence of Catholic truth, that was assailed, on such trivial grounds, by a Catholic priest before. Reliable authorities among the clergy have been pleased to say, since this correspondence began, that my small volume fills a void for which even the learned Dr. MacCarthy, in his life-long literary labours, has made no provision.—Yours, &c

JOHN SALMON.

DOCUMENTS

LEO XIII. TO GOD AND THE VIRGIN MOTHER

DEO ET VIRGINI MATRI

EXTREMA LEONIS VOTA

Extremum radiat, pallenti involvitur umbra
Iam iam sol moriens ; nox subit atra, Leo,

Atra tibi : arescunt venae, nec vividus humor
Perfluit ; exhausto corpore vita perit.

Mors telum fatale iacit ; velamine amicta
Funereo, gelidus contegit ossa lapis.

Ast anima aufugiens excussis libera vinclis,
Continuo aethereas ardet anhela plagas ;

Huc celerat cursum ; longarum haec meta viarum
Expleat oh clemens anxia vota Deus !

Oh caelum attingam ! supremo munere detur
Divino aeternum lumine et ore frui.

Teque, o Virgo frui ; matrem te parvulus infans
Dilexi, flagrans in sene crevit amor.

Excipe me caelo ; caeli de civibus unus,
Auspice te, dicam, praemia tanta tuli.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CARDINAL WISEMAN. By Wilfrid Ward. London: Longmans, Green & Co. Two Vols.

As a full review of this work is being written for the February number of the I. E. RECORD, by the Rev. William Barry, D.D., we need not do more at present than to express the very great satisfaction with which we have read every page of the two volumes. For Catholic readers, no more fascinating work has issued from the press for many a year. The biography of the great Cardinal could not have been entrusted to abler hands. Men might have been found to write the Life of Wiseman, who could do justice to him as an ecclesiastical ruler and prince of the Church, but who would be incapable of appreciating other aspects of his character, his proficiency in oriental studies, his deep theological knowledge, his interest in archaeology, in art, in science, in literature, his intercourse with men of distinction at home and abroad, his wide range of sympathies and broad views on all matters that stirred the passions and the interest of his cotemporaries. Mr. Ward seems as much at home in dealing with one phase of the Cardinal's life as with another. He embraces them all in these two volumes; and, we think, we could not recommend to our readers a more enjoyable occupation during their leisure hours of the new year than the perusal of a work which brings out in such striking relief the noble figure of the man who fought the battle of the Church in England at one of the turning-points of its existence. We can also promise those who read the biography that their admiration will not be confined to Cardinal Wiseman, but that, in its own measure, it will extend as unreservedly to Mr. Ward.

J. F. H.

THE IRISH DIFFICULTY, SHALL AND WILL. By Gerald Molloy, D.D., D. Sc. London, Glasgow, and Dublin: Blackie and Son.

As the greater part of this work has already appeared in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, it needs no introduction to our readers. The proper use of 'shall and will' has exercised the minds of English grammarians since English grammars were

invented ; but, as Dr. Molloy justly remarks, there was no book in which the subject was treated with any approach to completeness. This can certainly be said no longer ; and we are much mistaken if Dr. Molloy's interesting volume does not remain for future ages a standard work on the subject not only for Irishmen but for Englishmen as well. There are some people, it appears, who think that Irishmen have no difficulty in the employment of these auxiliaries. We imagine that these are just the people who would profit by a careful perusal of the volume before us. Their public utterances might gain something by the study in correctness if not in elegance of diction. Again, we are told that Dr. Molloy's elaborate treatment of the subject tends to confuse the minds of those who endeavour to get at the root and cause of the difficulty. Such people are, it must be admitted, rather easily confused, and we fancy that Dr. Molloy will not be greatly surprised at their trouble. Anyone who reads the work in a spirit that is not captious, even though the author were entirely unknown, should admit that it is the production of an accomplished scholar. In precision and correctness of expression, as well as in the elegant and dignified manner in which the author deals with a subject so dry we have a fine example of literary refinement. A careful perusal of the numerous quotations from the best authors will of itself be an admirable help to all except to those who are above such aid. How far the latter can afford to dispense with Dr. Molloy's assistance their readers are possibly better judges than they are themselves.

We are happy to think that this is not the only work of the learned Rector of the Catholic University which first appeared in instalments in the pages of the I. E. RECORD. Nobody, of course, will think of comparing a study which has been only one form of literary recreation indulged in persistently for many years with the important volume on *Geology and Revelation* which first appeared in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, and made Mgr. Molloy's name known and honoured in the schools of many countries besides Ireland. We are, nevertheless, thankful for the fruits of grammatical investigation as for the earlier and more precious fruits of scientific and theological study ; and we are convinced that our readers at home and abroad will ever welcome anything that comes from one whom they have so many reasons to honour and revere.

J. F. H.

BIBLIA SACRA JUXTA VULGATAE EXEMPLARIA ET CORRECTORIA ROMANA DENUO EDIDIT, DIVISIONIBUS LOGICIS ANALYSIQUE CONTINUA SENSUM ILLUSTRANTIBUS ORNAVIT
A. C. FILLION. Paris: Letouzey, Ané & Cie.

WE have given the title of this work in full, because it indicates at once the scope and method of Professor Fillion in preparing this edition of the Latin Vulgate. Each of the sacred books is divided into parts, sections and paragraphs, in accordance with what Professor Fillion, after consulting the best commentators, considers to be the logical division of the book. Thus, to take as an example the Gospel of St. Matthew, the book is divided into an introduction and four parts. The genealogy of our Lord constitutes the introduction (i. 1-17); the first part deals with the infancy and private life (i. 18-ii. 23); the second, with the public life (iii. 1-xx. 31); the third, with the last days of Jesus, or week of the Passion (xxi. 1-xxvii. 66); the fourth, with our Lord's resurrection (xxviii. 1-20). Each of these divisions is so clearly marked that the reader cannot fail to perceive at once the broad outlines of the Gospel history. Then the parts are subdivided into various sections, and these again into well-defined paragraphs, with a marginal indication of at least the pith of each paragraph.

No one can fail to see how much better, at least for the ordinary student, this arrangement is than that usually adopted in editions of the Vulgate. The summaries usually given at the heads of chapters are often jejune, and generally of small utility, while the bold division into chapters instead of sections frequently breaks the continuity and mars the sense. We are glad also to see that Fr. Fillion discards the mischievous practice of beginning each verse with a new line, as is the case in the ordinary editions of the Vulgate, as well as in our Catholic English Version. If only the recognised numbering of the verses is retained, such a practice is wholly unnecessary, while it undoubtedly tends frequently to obscure the logical connection. In the poetical books and parts the verses are so printed by Fr. Fillion as to exhibit at once the Hebrew parallelism, the most distinctive feature of Hebrew poetry.

The labour involved in preparing an edition of the Vulgate like that before us, is much greater than might appear at first sight. A careful analysis of every book of the Bible implies much study and thought, and we are sincerely glad to find that Father

Fillion's labour has been appreciated. The present is the fourth edition in ten years.

It goes without saying that there is room for much difference of opinion as to the propriety of some of the paragraphic divisions ; but in no case, as far as we have been able to see, is any division adopted that is not supported by good authority. Occasionally, as, for example, in the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, one might fairly expect in the margin a clearer indication of the editor's views ; but, on the whole, the work is well and conscientiously done, and will help much to a better understanding of God's inspired word. J. M'R.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. By A. E. Breen, D.D.

THIS is an important contribution from the New World to Catholic Biblical literature. The author, Dr. Breen, is Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, New York. The work is a royal octavo volume of 606 pages ; and, with the exception of Biblical antiquities, which are not mentioned, discusses the various subjects that we should expect to find dealt with in a General Introduction. The nature and extent of inspiration, the question of the Canon of the Old and New Testament, the history of the original texts and of the various ancient versions of the Bible, the origin and authority of the Vulgate, the history of modern English versions, the various senses of Scripture, and how to find them—all these questions are discussed fully, fairly, and reverently, yet with an American independence that does credit to the honesty and judgment of the author.

The treatment of the Canon is particularly full ; but considering that the work is intended for a class-book, it would have been much better, in our judgment, if the author had contented himself with summarizing results regarding the Canon, and published the extended treatment of the subject, with the numerous quotations, in a separate volume. In a work of 606 pages we should hardly expect to find 340 pages devoted to this one subject, especially if the work is to serve as a class-book.

On page 33, in the treatment of the question of *Obiter Dicta*, there is some confusion, to which we feel it our duty to call attention. The author raises two questions—1. Whether *Obiter Dicta* are inspired. 2. Whether *it is of faith* that they are inspired. The first question he rightly answers in the affirma-

tive : but when he comes to discuss the second question, strangely enough, it is the first question he raises again, and again he answers in the affirmative. Had he really dealt with the second question—that is, whether the inspiration of *Obiter Dicta* is of faith—the whole context and the authorities he quotes approvingly, force us to believe that he would have answered in the negative.

We cannot agree with the author that ‘the Deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament primarily existed in the collection of the Jews of Palestine.’ If they did, why were they afterwards excluded? It cannot have been on account of their Messianic character, for it has been truly said that a single psalm often contains as much that is Messianic as all the Deuterocanonical books taken together. In the chapter on English Versions we are surprised to find that no mention is made of the two Catholic translations of the New Testament, by Drs. Nary and Witham respectively. The former was published in London, in 1705, and the latter at Douay, in 1730, as may be seen by a reference to Dr. Dixon’s General Introduction. We trust these omissions will be supplied in a second edition, for our Catholic English translations are so few that we can ill afford to pass by any of them unnoticed.

Naturally so large a work is not entirely free from slips and misprints, but those that occur are of trifling importance. Thus, in the note on p. 55, the Apostolic Constitutions are referred to the second century, while from the note on p. 122 it might be supposed that the author is doubtful whether they are earlier than the third century. It is, of course, owing to an oversight that the *Prologus Galeatus*, or helmeted prologue of St. Jerome, is spoken of, in p. 145, as the *Prologus Galcaticus*.

Notwithstanding the points to which we have thought it right to direct attention, we welcome the work as one of considerable value, the result of much conscientious labour, and a decided boon to Catholic students.

J. M’R.

THE LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE, BISHOP AND DOCTOR. A Historical Study. By Philip Burton, C.M. Third and enlarged edition. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 5s.

TEN years have now elapsed since this ‘Historical Study’ first appeared. In the meantime it has had a large circulation,

and has engaged a large share of public patronage. Two editions having been exhausted, the author has, with commendable zeal, undertaken and accomplished the onerous task of bringing out a new and enlarged edition to meet the demands of an ever-growing circle of readers. A work that has been accorded so signal a mark of general approbation scarcely needs any critical notice, so that we feel we shall best do our duty in emphasizing its claims to a still warmer reception at the hands of an admiring public.

St. Augustine's personality has a distinct and decided charm peculiarly its own. The study of his varied and versatile career appeals to us with an almost fascinating interest. With varying feelings we follow him through the strange vicissitudes of his strange life: from innocent childhood to sinful boyhood; and, again, from a boyhood steeped in degrading excesses to a manhood elevated by faith and ennobled by virtue. In its way, nothing can be more interesting than to read how the erring youth became the brightest ornament of the Church, the greatest of her doctors, and the most vigorous defender of her doctrines. From the back-ground of the early fathers, St. Augustine stands forth in high relief, first and foremost of that noble band, unsurpassed in the penetrating subtilty of his genius, and unrivalled in the fervour and glow of his faith. In portraying, then, such a subject our author has found a theme worthy of his powerful pen. And it is but paying him a well-deserved compliment to say that he has acquitted himself in a manner eminently successful. He brings to the accomplishment of his design a ripe scholarship, a sound and impartial judgment, and a deep research, calculated to render his biography thoroughly appreciative. Not only has he a mind well stored with the details of St. Augustine's life, and well informed by personal observation, as to all its manifold surroundings; but he has also a keen insight into the history of the age in which the saint played so prominent a part, a mastery of the nature of the heresies he had to combat, and a grasp of the spirit that ruled in the early African Church. On the face of it, Father Burton's volume bears evidence that it is the outcome of a philosophic mind. He weighs his facts carefully, but he does not forget to put their circumstances into the scales also. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the biography is the intimate knowledge which Father Burton displays of the voluminous

writings of St. Augustine. The number and aptness of quotations given lead us to believe that he must have made a life-long study of these beautiful works. And here we may invite attention to the rules he lays down (pp. 330, 331) for correctly interpreting the great Doctor. If these rules were observed many of the gross misrepresentations of St. Augustine's views and writings would be effectively obviated. In an additional chapter, which has not appeared in the earlier editions, the author criticizes St. Augustine's views on the Bible. To many this will not be the least interesting portion of his readable book.

We are grateful to Father Burton for supplying us with such a charmingly written biography of a saint that holds a high place in all Christian hearts, and we wish his book a still larger share of popularity than it has yet secured.

P. M.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN MISSION TO THE GREAT MOGUL. Or
The Story of Blessed Acquaviva and his Companions in
Martyrdom of the Society of Jesus. By James Goldie, S.J.
Dublin: M. H. Gill & Co. London: Art and Book
Company.

WHILE the Spanish conquests in America opened a way for the introduction of Christianity into the New World, the arms of Portugal in the Indian Peninsula afforded a means for the evangelization of that benighted land. Under King John III. of Portugal, St. Francis Xavier preached the Gospel to the Indians, and all Europe rejoiced in the marvellous success that attended his labours. When the grave closed over the remains of that glorious missionary, his apostolic spirit still lingered in the breasts of many of his brothers in religion, and there were several members of the great society to which he belonged, whose one great desire and ambition in life was to convert the heathen or win a martyr's crown in the attempt. Accordingly, in the sixteenth century missionary volunteers were numerous. Scarcely a ship left the southern ports bound for India that did not include among its passengers some few souls whose mission was to illumine those that sit in the darkness of unbelief. To such a class belonged the Blessed Acquaviva and his four martyred companions, whose history is graphically described in these pages under notice. Descended, nearly all of them, from

the very first families of Italy, they renounced the world for the seclusion of the Society of Jesus, and, burning with a thirst to win souls from infidelity to God, they became missionaries, a district in India being appointed them as the seat of their operations. With what zeal they worked in this vast vineyard ; with what fearless intrepidity the Blessed Acquaviva penetrated into the heart of the mighty empire, and even to the court of the Great Mogul ; how the five were appointed to a dangerous position in Salsette ; and how, in fine, they were here brutally murdered by the fanatic Brahmins, we leave our readers to glean from the very beautiful and pathetic narrative of Mr. Goldie. The cause for the martyrdom of these five missionaries was pleaded as early as 1598, but it was early in 1893 that the process was completed, when the Congregation decreed the beatification might take place.

A word of thanks is due to the writer of this instructive history for preserving these honoured names from oblivion, and to the publishers for the neatness and taste displayed in the bringing out of the book.

P. M.



TARA, PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN¹

MY purpose—at least my main purpose—in selecting this subject for my address this evening is to create and foster in the minds of the students of this college a deep and abiding love for the historic sites and ancient monuments of our native land. In the highest sense of the words, you are the heirs, and you ought to be, as it were, *ex officio* the custodians, of the historic monuments of the Gael. It would be strange, indeed, if the British Parliament should deem it its duty to preserve many of these monuments at the public expense, and that an Irish priest should be either ignorant of their history, or show himself indifferent to their defacement or destruction. No man can do more than a priest to aid in their preservation, and every sentiment of genuine patriotism, of national honour, and even of professional zeal, should move him to aid in the noble work of illustrating the history and guarding the integrity of these ancient monuments, which are at once eloquent witnesses of our vanished glories in the past, and hopeful emblems of a higher national life in the not distant future.

Now, my young friends, of all the historic sites in Ireland, there is no other that can at all approach the Hill of

¹ Lecture delivered to the students of Maynooth College, Nov. 2, 1887.
FOURTH SERIES, VOL. III.—FEBRUARY, 1898.

Tara, either in antiquity, in historic interest, or in the variety and suggestive significance of its ancient monuments. If we are to accept, even in substance, the truth of the bardic history of Ireland—and I see no good reason to question its substantial truth—there was a royal residence on the Hill of Tara before Rome was founded, before Athena's earliest shrine crowned the Acropolis of Athens; about the time, perhaps, that sacred Ilium first saw the hostile standards of the kings of Hellas. But before I sketch the history of the Royal Hill, I must first tell you something of its physical features, which alone have remained, through all the changeful centuries, unchanged and unchangeable.

I. PHYSICAL ASPECTS

Tara is not a high hill, its elevation above the sea being only about five hundred feet. It is rather broad and flat-topped, with gently sloping declivities. Still it commands a far-reaching prospect of surpassing beauty. On the north-east the hill of Skeen rises to the sky-line, and shuts out a wider view of the swelling plains beyond; but on every other side the prospect from Tara, of a fine summer's day, is one of enchanting loveliness. Nearly the whole of the great limestone plain of Ireland lies in view, with all its varied scenery of grassy plain, and deep embowering woods, and noble mansions peeping through their sheltering foliage. Then there are the towers of Trim, and the silvery windings of the Boyne, stealing, serpent-like, through sunlit meadows, with glimpses of the hoary walls of Bective and Columcille's ancient shrine, whose sweet-toned bells once tolled across the fertile fields and populous villages, where herds of cattle now roam in what is almost a primitive, though still a rich and grassy wilderness. Then, far away to the south-east, the Wicklow mountains rise up like giant ramparts against the blue of the sunlit sky. The smoke of Dublin shrouds its spires in the distance. Beyond Dundalk the hills around Cuchullin's ancient home are distinctly visible. To the north and north-west the peaks of Cavan and Monaghan are well defined against the sky, while to the south and south-west the isolated hills of the great

plain rise in solitary grandeur, with the immense range of Slieve Bloom on the southern horizon, which the men of old regarded as nature's barrier between the Hy-Niall and the warriors of Leagh Mogha. It is difficult to get anywhere else in Ireland, except, perhaps, from the Hill of Usnach, in Westmeath, and that is somewhat similar, a prospect to equal the view from Tara Hill in extent, in variety, in picturesque beauty, and historic interest. You may get grander and wilder scenes, but nothing more attractive to the eye, or more suggestive to the mind, than the matchless landscape revealed from the summit of Tara Hill.

It is no wonder, then, that the fertility of the soil, and the beauty of the prospect from Tara Hill, attracted the attention of even the earliest colonists in Ireland. These ancient men of barbarous times, in one thing, at least, showed far more taste and judgment than the cultured people of this nineteenth century. They chose for their dwellings and strongholds the breezy summits of fertile hills, which at once gave them health and security, and above all a far-reaching vision of picturesque grandeur. No doubt it was necessary for them to see the country far around them, so as to be able to notice the approach of the foe, and take measures for their own defence in unsettled times. But I think there was something else in their minds besides this idea of self-defence. They appreciated, in their own simple way, the manifold beauties of their island-home; they loved to see them and enjoy them; and the vision gave them loftier thoughts and bolder hearts. They would not dream—no, not the smallest Irish chief—of building his dun in a swampy plain or secluded valley. You will not see, in any part of the country, an ancient rath occupying such a site. No; they were in their own land, and they built their homes on the windy crests of the swelling uplands, where they could see their wide domains, their flocks and herds, the approach of the foe, and the gathering of the warriors to defend their hearths and homes.

II. HISTORY OF TARA HILL

Of the colonists that came to stay in the land, the Firbolgs were the earliest ; and the bards tell us that Slainge, the first high king of that race, chose Tara Hill as the site of his royal palace,¹ and called it *Druim Caein* or the Beautiful Hill. If we can trust the chronology of the Four Masters, Slainge was contemporary with Abraham in the Land of Canaan : so that we must go back some nineteen hundred years before the Christian era for the first dun that crowned the Royal Hill. I do not ask you to believe this. I merely quote the statement ; and it is probably as well founded as a good deal of what is set down as ancient history. O'Flaherty's chronology, however, which fixes the advent of the Firbolgs about the year 1250 B.C. is far more probable.

It is, however, to the second colony that occupied Ireland—the *Tuatha de Danann* that the origin of the Royal City of Tara is more commonly traced. Nine kings of the Firbolgs, it is said, ruled the land ; but as they reigned in all only thirty-seven years, they could not have done much for Tara. It was the new colony—a more civilized and powerful people—who brought the ogham lore to Erin and the *Lia Fáil* to Tara, which they made—so the bardic story tells us—their *Cathair*, or capital city. Stone-buildings were certainly not abundant at Tara ; but still as it is called a *Cathair* by the poet Kineth O'Hartigan, in the tenth century, we need not hesitate to adopt the term.

Tara was called *Cathair Crofinn* even before it was called Tara ; and *Crofinn* is said to have been a queen of the *Tuatha de Danann*, remarkable both for her talents and her beauty. Doubtless she was buried within the precincts of the Royal Rath, to which she gave her name ; that is, if she did not, like many others of her people, take up her abode in the Land of Youth, either under the grassy slopes of Tara, or some other of the beautiful enchanted hills of Erin.

¹ Poem ascribed to Caoilte MacRomain.

They were a strange people, these Tuatha de Danann, dark-eyed and brown-haired, of unknown origin, but of much culture, ingenuity, and weird mysterious power, who left no survivors in the land of Erin, at least, amongst the children of mortal men. Would they had not vanished so completely, for the baaldie story that tells of their advent and departure is full of a strange subtle interest which takes and keeps the mind by a secret, silent influence that cannot be measured or analysed. It pervades alike our history and our romance, the tales of our childhood, and the wanderings of our maturer fancy in mystic realms of a fairyland that is not all a fable.

It was the Tuatha de Danann who brought to Tara that wonderful Lia Fail, the Stone of Destiny, of which you all have heard something. Some say it is still in Tara, others that it is under the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey. I shall speak of it presently, but it is quite natural that the enchanted stone should be the gift of the enchanted people; and its history—part fact and part fable—is as strange and mysterious as their own.

So when the Milesian colony came to Erin, Tara, though not yet called by that name, was already the chief royal seat of the monarchy. Heremon was married to his cousin, a beautiful and accomplished princess named Tea, and she asked her lord, even before they landed, to give her as her dower her choice hill in Erin, "that she might be interred therein, and that her mound and grave-stone might be raised thereon," and "where every prince to be born of her race should dwell for ever." This favour was guaranteed to her; and then we are told that she chose Druin Caoin, called also Laeth-Druin, the Beautiful Hill, which from her is called Tea-Mur, *i. e.*, Tara, the Mound of Tea, and therein she was interred. The Irish form was Tea-mur, latinized Temora, which by a kind of metathesis has become Tara in the genitive case. Other explanations of the name have been also given; but this is at once the most ancient, the most natural, and the most poetic. The pillar stone still standing on Tara Hill, over the Croppies' grave, which Petrie thinks was the original Lia Fail, was in my

opinion the gravestone raised over Tea's monument more than three thousand years ago. We know that such monumental pillars, 'hoary inscrutable sentinels of the past,' were raised elsewhere over royal graves, as at Rathcroghan over the grave of King Dathi, and at Roscam, near Galway, over the grave of King Brian, the great ancestor of the Connaught kings; and in some cases they came to be worshipped as idols. So Tea's pillar-stone was raised at Tara over her *mur* or grave mound, from which it was removed after 1798, but only a few paces, to place over the Croppies' grave, where the foolish insurgent youths made their last vain stand. And still it stands through all the changeful centuries, and the ashes of Tea's offspring, who died for the land she loved, now rest in peace beneath its shadow.

III. THE FEIS OF TARA

One hundred and twenty kings of the Scotie or Milesian race reigned in Erin from Heremon to the cursing and desolation of Tara in A.D. 565; and it may be regarded as fairly certain that all these high-kings kept their court (at least for a time) on the Royal Hill. The history of Tara would, in fact, during all this time, be the history of Ireland. So we can only refer to a few of the most noteworthy events in its annals specially connected with the place itself.

Ollamh Fodhla, the fortieth in the list of Irish kings, after a reign of forty years, died, we are told by the Four Masters, 'in his own house at Tara. He was the first king by whom the Feis, or Assembly of Tara, was instituted; and by him also a *Mur Ollamhan* was erected at Tara.' The king's real name was Eochy, the term *Ollamh Fodhla*, or Doctor of Erin, being given to him as an agnomen on account of his learning. There are not wanting critics who doubt of the existence of this ancient king; but the entry proves at least one thing, that the '*Feis Tara*' was in popular estimation of very ancient origin. Reference is frequently made to this famous assembly in all our ancient literature, both sacred and profane. It was, in fact, the national parliament of the Celtic tribes in Ireland, and as such must have exercised a very great influence on the national life. It was held trien-

nally for one week at Samhain-tide, that is three days before and three days after November Day. It is probable that in fine weather the chiefs met in council on the green of Tara in the open air; but if the weather were inclement then the meeting was held indoors, and most likely in the great banquetting hall, which was the largest building in Tara. Its object was to discuss all matters of national importance, especially the enactment of new laws, the assessment of tribute, the examination and purification of the national annals, the settlement of tribal disputes, and the maintenance of a militia for the preservation of the peace and the protection of the nation. All broils between individuals or factions during its sessions were punishable with death, without the option of an eric, and it would seem that it was forbidden to bear deadly weapons, or engage in martial exercises, lest they might lead to strife amongst the champions. The place of every king and chief was fixed by the public heralds with the greatest exactness, and his arms and shield hung above the head of the chieftain, but were not worn in the hall. When the day's work was done the revels were begun, the feasting and drinking being often prolonged to a late hour of the night; and they sometimes found it convenient to sleep beneath the couches on which they sat.

The next famous reign in connection with the history of Tara is that of Tuathal Teachtmair. In connection with Tara his most important proceeding was to take a portion from each of the old provinces to form a mensal kingdom for the high-king. These united together formed the new province of Meath, which henceforth was reserved for the maintenance of the royal court and royal levies of the high-king. The ancient Féis of Tara was preserved; but Tuathal directed that yearly assemblies should be held in each of the four parts of his dominions taken from the other provinces. So he ordained that at Tlachta, near Athboy, a religious festival should be held at Beltane; that a great fair should be held at Uisneach about mid-summer; and that a marriage-market, with sports and games, should be established at Tailteann on the first Sunday of August, called in consequence Lughnasa; but this latter was probably of far

earlier origin. He also required an oath from the kings and chiefs assembled at the Feis Tara, that they would be loyal to his house for ever, and never set up a king from the Attacots, or even from any rival house. These were all just and wise regulations, which tended to concentrate and consolidate the royal authority over the whole nation in a single royal family—a thing greatly needed and much to be desired in Erin. But he was also partly responsible for another institution, which caused much bloodshed in Tara and much strife in Erin for many centuries, and contributed long afterwards, at least indirectly, to bring it under foreign domination. This was the establishment of the celebrated Borrumean Tribute.

IV. ORIGIN OF THE BORRUMEAN TRIBUTE

It arose in this way. Tuathal had two daughters 'more beautiful than the clouds of heaven.' The King of Leinster sought the eldest in marriage, and obtained his request; but after a while he heard that the younger was the more beautiful. So he sent a false message to Tara, saying that the elder sister had died, and that he now wished to marry her younger sister. This request was also granted; but after a little the two sisters happened to meet face to face in the dun of Naas. Then the eldest, heart-broken at the deceit practised against herself and her sister, died of shame, and the younger shortly afterwards died of grief at the cruel fate of her unhappy sister.

Word of these proceedings was soon brought to Tara, and to the kings of Ulster and Connaught, who were the foster-fathers of the maidens in question. A great army was raised; Leinster was harried with fire and sword; the wicked king was slain; and its princes and people were required to pay annually a tax of 1,500 sheep, 1,500 pigs, 1,500 kine, with many other things also; amongst the rest, a brazen boiler large enough to boil twelve oxen and twelve pigs at one go for the hosts of Tara. For more than five hundred years this oppressive tax was the cause of continuous bloodshed. It was often levied, but never without a fight; it was oftener successfully resisted, but always

caused hatred, strife, and slaughter between the two kingdoms until its final remission through the prayers and diplomacy of St. Moling. One enduring effect it produced was a great estrangement between the men of Leinster and Conn's Half, which was not without its influence in inducing the Lagenians to side with the Danes at Clontarf, and at a later date in moving false Diarmaid MacMurrough to bring in the Norman, in order to be revenged on his own countrymen. Such are the far-reaching consequences of public crime and injustice.

V. CORMAC MAC ART

One hundred and twenty years later the majestic figure of Cormac Mac Art is seen on Tara Hill; and Tara never saw another king like him—neither his grandsire Conn, nor Niall of the Hostages, nor any other pagan monarch of Ireland. If he had an equal at all it was Brian Boru, who may justly be regarded as the greatest of the Christian kings of Erin, even as Cormac was of the pagan kings. The monuments of Tara especially were the creation and the glory of Cormac. Most of its monuments were erected or restored by him; he appears as the central figure in its history, the hero of its romantic tales, the guardian of its glories, and the champion of its prerogatives. For forty years he reigned in Tara; he drank delight of battle with his peers in a hundred fights; but he was not only king but a sage, a scholar, and lawgiver, whose works, at least in outline, have come to our own times, and have challenged the admiration of all succeeding ages. When he came to die he refused to be laid with his pagan sires in Brugh, but told them to bury him at Rosnarec, with his face to the rising sun, that the light from the east just dawning in his soul might one day light up with its heavenly radiance the gloom of his lonely grave.

Cormac appears first of all as a historian and chronicler. He it was who assembled the chroniclers of Ireland, at Tara, say the Four Masters, 'and ordered them to unite the chronicles of Ireland in one book called the *Psalter of Tara*.' That great work is no longer in existence: but Cuan O'Lochan, a poet of the tenth century, gives us a

summary of its contents, which would lead us to infer that the *Psalter of Tara* was somewhat like the *Psalter of Cashel*, the contents of which are embodied in the *Book of Rights*. As a lawgiver, Cormac may be regarded as the original author of the great compilation known as the *Senchus Mor*, of course not in its present form; but he laid the foundations on which that immense superstructure was afterwards erected. And it is not improbable that in the text, as distinguished from the commentary of the older work, we have many of the legal *dicta* uttered, if not penned, by Cormac himself.

The learned work known as *Teagasc na Riogh* has also been attributed to Cormac by our antiquaries, who say that he composed it for the instruction of his son and successor, Cairbre, when he himself was incapacitated to reign from the loss of one of his eyes. He was equally renowned as a warrior, and broke fifty battles against his foes, north, south, east, and west. He was the great patron of Finn MacCumhal and his warrior band, who really composed his staff and standing army; and to secure the friendship of that great warrior Finn, Cormac gave him his daughter Graine in marriage. The lady, however, was by no means faithful to her liege lord, and her elopement and wanderings with Diarmaid formed the theme of many a song. Cormac was also a great builder. He erected the rath, which still bears his name at Tara; he restored and enlarged the great banquet hall; he erected for his handmaiden Carnaid, the first mill known in Ireland, and thus made Tara the great capital of all the land—the centre of its strength, its power, its grandeur, and its civilization. An ancient writer has preserved a picture of Cormac presiding at the feis of Tara, which we have no reason to think exaggerated.¹ He describes Tara as a beautiful sunny city of feasts, of goblets, of springs, as a world of perishable beauty, the meeting-place of heroes, with twice seven doors and nine mounds around it, a famous strong cathair, the great house of a thousand soldiers, lit up with seven splendid, beautiful chandeliers of brass. Cormac himself sat at the head of all

¹ Kenneth O'Hartigan.

the princes of Erin, clothed in a crimson mantle, with brooch of gold, a golden belt about his loins, splendid shining sandals on his feet, a great twisted collar of red gold around his neck. We might well doubt the accuracy of this description, but that the twisted collars of gold have been found at Tara, and a golden brooch of exquisite workmanship, with many other ornaments not far off. Cormac was a Connaught-man; at least, his mother was a Connaught-woman; and he himself was born and nurtured under the shadow of Kesh Corran, in the county of Sligo.

VI. ST. PATRICK AT TARA

Cormac was the link connecting Pagan and Christian Ireland. The next scene on the Hill of Tara brings the two religions face to face in the person of St. Patrick and the Druids of King Laeghaire. My description of this meeting must be very brief, yet it was the most momentous event that ever took place in the history of Ireland, for it was a struggle to the death between the old religion and the new.

Here let me observe that Druidism was not an immoral and debasing superstition, such, for instance as now may be seen in many parts of Africa. It taught the immortality, or at least the transmigration, of souls, it inculcated the necessity of many natural virtues; and, though it was idolatrous and tolerant of fratricidal strife, its very superstitions were romantic, for it deified all nature. Hence the cult, as a whole, was very dear to the hearts of our Celtic forefathers, and was closely interwoven with their national life. As McGee has well said of the Druids:—

Their mystic creed was woven round
 The changeful year—for every hour
 A spirit and a sense they found
 A cause of piety and power,
 The crystal wells were spirit springs,
 The mountain lakes were peopled under,
 And in the grass the fairy rings
 Excelled rustic awe and wonder.
 Far down beneath the western sea
 Their Paradise of youth was laid,
 In every oak and hazel tree
 They saw a fair immortal maid,—
 Such was the chain of hopes and fears
 That bound our sires a thousand years.

The battle then between Patrick and the Druids was a battle to the death; and the saint could not conquer without visible help from on high. There are critics that accept the natural but reject the supernatural facts in the narrative. The testimony for both is precisely the same; so their proceeding is extremely foolish. That Patrick could conquer the Druids on Tara Hill without a miracle, would, in my judgment, be a stranger thing than any miracle he wrought there.

It was Easter Sunday morning, A.D. 433. Laeghaire with the remnant of his followers had returned at dawn of day from his disastrous journey to Slane. He and his chiefs and Druids were gathered together to take a meal they needed much in the great mid-court or banquet-hall, and at the same time to take counsel for the future, when suddenly and unexpectedly, although not uninvited, Patrick with his few companions having divinely escaped the ambushes of the king, stood before them. Laeghaire was confounded at the sight, but the laws of Irish hospitality were imperative, and being there, Patrick was invited to sit beside the king, and eat and drink. Patrick accepted the invitation; but just before he took the cup the wicked Druid found time to pour in a drop of poison unnoticed into the ale. Patrick blessed the cup with the sign of the cross; the poison curdled, and when the cup was slightly turned fell out; whereupon the Saint drained the cup as if nothing had happened.

Failing in this, the Druid challenged him to work wonders. Patrick accepted the challenge, and the Druid brought a fall of snow on the plain, but he could not remove it: he was powerful for evil, but not for good: whereupon Patrick blessed the plain, and the snow instantly disappeared. Then the Druid brought on a thick darkness over all the face of the country, yet he could not at Patrick's challenge remove it. But the moment the saint made the sign of the cross the darkness disappeared, and the sun shone out in its splendour. Still the contest was not yet over.

Both sides had books—books of power—the Gospel of Patrick, and the magic rolls of the Druids. 'Fling them into the water,' said Laeghaire, 'into the stream close by, that we

may see which comes out uninjured.' 'No,' said the Druid, 'water is his God.' 'Then cast them into the fire,' said Laeghaire. 'No,' said the Druid, 'fire he has also for his God,' alluding to the fire of the Holy Ghost. Then said Patrick to the Druid: 'Let the matter be settled in another way. Let a house be made, and do thou, if thou wilt, go into that house, which shall be completely shut up, with my chasuble around thee, a cleric of my household will also go in with thy Druid's tunic around him. Let the house be fired; and so may God deal doom on you both therein.'

The men of Ireland thought that a fair challenge, and it was reluctantly accepted; yet even there Laeghaire was false, for he caused the Druid's part of the house to be built of green timber, and Benen's part to be built of dry wood. Then a mighty marvel came to pass when the house was fired; the green part thereof was burned, and the Druid within it too, although Patrick's chasuble in which he was clothed was not even singed; whilst Benen's part of the house though dry was not burned at all, only the Druid's cloak around him was burnt to ashes, he himself being untouched by the flames.

The site of Benen's house is still shown on the hill. The wicked king enraged at the death of his Druid would slay Patrick, but God scattered his men, and destroyed many thousands of them on that day. Then the king himself was sore afraid, and he knelt to St. Patrick, and believed in God; 'but he did not believe with a pure heart,' and continued to be half a Pagan all his life, and he died a Pagan's death, and was buried like a Pagan in his grave. Many thousands of the king's people also believed on that same day, when they saw the wondrous signs wrought by Patrick on the Royal Hill.

This was the crowning victory of the Cross at Tara: but it had for a thousand years been the chief seat of idolatry and druidism in the kingdom, and the same spirit lurked there long afterwards.

Oilioll Molt, the immediate successor of Laeghaire, does not seem to have been a Christian; Laeghaire's son, Eughadh, who reigned for twenty-five years towards the

close of Patrick's life, was not a Christian, and was struck by lightning from heaven at Achadh-Farcha for his impiety. Druidism was not indeed finally destroyed at Tara until the year A.D. 565, when another memorable scene was enacted on the Royal Hill to which we must now briefly refer.

VII. THE CURSING OF TARA

The high-king at the time was Diarmaid, son of Ferghus Cearrbhoil, an able and accomplished prince, who was resolved to maintain the king's peace, order, and discipline, throughout the land. His purpose was certainly good; and it is greatly to be regretted that in enforcing his authority he acted in a very high-handed way, which brought him into conflict with the saints of Erin who triumphed over him.

In the first place there is strong evidence that Diarmaid, though generous to Clonmacnoise, kept Druids in his court and army, and was still secretly attached to the druidical rites. Then, again, he was high-handed in carrying out his laws, without counting the consequences. This led him into conflict with his own cousin, the great St. Columcille, whose person he insulted at Tara by tearing from his arms a youth who fled for refuge to the saint and who was not really a criminal, but, accidentally, a homicide. This outrage raised all the north against the king, and led to his defeat in the bloody battle of Cuildreimhne; but this was not, it seems, warning enough for him. He sent his herald and his high steward over the country to see that the king's peace was duly kept and the royal authority duly respected. This official, to show his own consequence, carried his spear cross-wise before him; and if the entrance to a chief's dun were not large enough to admit his spear thus crossed before him, he caused it to be pulled down, and made wider for the king's courier and for all others. In this manner he came down to the south of the Co. Galway, near the place now called Abbey, in Kinelfechin. The chief of the district who was going to get married and bring home his bride, had a short time before strengthened his dun, and raised a strong palisade of oaken posts over the earthworks.

But for security sake, the entrance was narrow, and the king's bailiff could not carry in his spear cross-wise. 'Hew down your doors,' said the bailiff. 'Do it yourself,' said Aodh Guaire, and at the same moment he drew his sword and with one blow struck off the man's head. It was treason against the king, and Guaire knew it well, so he fled for refuge, first to Bishop Senach his half-brother, and afterwards to St. Ruadhan of Lorrha, who was also his relative. But Ruadhan also feared the king, and advised the criminal to fly for safety to the King of Wales. But, even there, the king demanded his extradition; so that, in despair, he came once more to Ruadhan. Then Ruadhan hid him in a hole under his own cell, afterwards called *poll* Ruadhan. Whereupon the king, hearing that Guaire was at Lorrha, came in person to demand the criminal. 'Where is he?' said the king. 'Give him up to me at once.' 'I know not where he is if he is not under this thatch,' said Ruadhan. As the king could not find him, he departed; but reflecting that Ruadhan would not tell a lie, and that he must therefore be on the premises, he returned and discovered the unhappy fugitive whom he carried off to Tara.

Now, this was a violation of the right of sanctuary, *i.e.*, monastic sanctuary, which, if it were ever defensible, would be most defensible in that lawless and sanguinary time. So Ruadhan, summoning to his aid the two St. Brendans, his neighbours, and many other saints whom he had known at Clonard, in the school of St. Finnian, followed the king to Tara to demand the fugitives. The king refused; but they were not to be put off. They fasted on the king, and it seems the king fasted on them. One old chronicler says that for a full year 'they anathematized Diarmaid, and plied him with miracles, he giving them back prodigy for prodigy.' This would seem to imply that there was once more a conflict between the Druids and the Saints. But in the end the Saints were completely victorious. 'They chanted psalms of condemnation against him, and rang their bells hardly against him day and night;' and several of the royal youths of Tara died suddenly, without apparent cause. The king, too, had a dream, in which he

saw a great spreading tree on Tara Hill hewn down by strangers, and the mighty crash of its fall awoke him. 'I am that tree,' said Diarmaid, 'and the strangers who chop it are the clergy cutting short my life. By them I am overthrown.' So when he rose he yielded to the clergy, and gave up the prisoner; but, at the same time, he said: 'Ill have ye done to undo my kingdom, for I maintained the righteous cause; and may thy diocese,' he said to Ruadhan, 'be the first one that is ruined in Ireland, and may thy monks desert thee.' And so, says the old tale, it came to pass. Then upon the royal hearth Ruadhan imprecated the blackness of ruin—'that never more in Tara should smoke issue from its roof-tree.' This certainly came to pass; the king died a violent death before the year was over; and no king after him, though they were called kings of Tara, ever dwelt on the Royal Hill.

This, in substance at least, is authentic history; but it is clear that there is more beneath this story than appears at first sight. The conflict really was not between the king and the saints so much as between the saints and his counsellors, the Druids; and it was for that reason that the king was excommunicated, and that Tara was 'cursed,' or interdicted. Yet we cannot help feeling some sympathy for the king, and greatly regretting that 'never more in Tara should smoke issue from its roof-tree.' The curse has been marvellously accomplished; but what a pity that the home of a hundred kings, the royal house of Tuathal, and Cormac, and Niall should be desolate;¹ that the grass should grow in its empty courts; that the cattle should herd where the sages and warriors of the Gael once held high revel. It is surely a sad thing, and it was, moreover, a fatal blow at the unity and power of the nation. With a high-king ruling in Tara there was some chance of welding the tribes of Erin into one great nation; but when Tara fell it might be said that hope had disappeared.

Yet, though Tara was deserted by its kings, for none of them would risk the penalty of dwelling in the accursed site,

¹ Even the author of *Feto's Hymns* said: 'I like not that Tara should be made desolate.'

it was later on chosen by St. Adamnan and others as a place to hold great ecclesiastical synods. It may be that Adamnan, wiser than Ruadhan, wished to undo the ancient curse, and prepare Tara to become once more the seat of the monarchy. He certainly held a synod there of the prelates and chiefs of Erin, about the year 697, in which women were formally and authoritatively exempted from military service; so that they became non-combatants, entitled to the protection of all true Christian soldiers on either side.

III. THE EXISTING REMAINS AT TARA

The remains still existing at Tara, seen in the light of the lump of history, are eminently interesting, and well worthy of a visit. I wish I had a luminous map on which I could exhibit them to you; but, failing that, I shall try to describe them as briefly as I can.

Now, suppose you approach the Royal Hill by the great road from the south, anciently called *Slighe Dala*, and still in existence, at least on the same lines, you turn a little to the left at the southern slope of the hill, and first of all you meet the triple rampart of *Rath Laeghaire*. It may have been the private residence of the king; but its chief interest for us is that its outer rampart was certainly the burial-place of the king himself. *Laeghaire* had in his character some traits which we cannot help admiring—bad traits, if you will, but still noteworthy. He was, above all, a steadfast Pagan, and a great hater of Leinstermen. ‘I cannot believe,’ he said, ‘for my father, the great *Niall*, would not allow me to believe, but told me to have myself buried like a Pagan warrior on the brow of Tara, face to face against my foes; and so shall I stand till the day of doom.’

Well, he obeyed his sire. He had sworn a great Pagan oath, by all the elements, that he would no more exact the *Borrunean* tribute from the men of Leinster, and he was released by them from captivity on the faith of his oath. But he did try to exact it, and he was slain by the elements—by the sun and wind—on the banks of *Liffey*. But the dying king was still true to his promise to his father. ‘Carry my body home to Tara,’ he said, ‘and bury me like a king.’

And so they interred him, with all his weapons upon him, in the south-eastern rampart of his own royal rath, standing up with shield and spear, and his face to Leinster, defying them, as it were, from his grave until the day of doom. I wonder is he still there, or did they do to him what the men of Tir Conall did to another old hero who gave similar directions—carry him off by night from his royal grave, and bury him flat in a marsh with his face down, that he might no more fight from his grave against his hereditary foes. At any rate, when Monsignor Gargan brings you to Tara do not miss Rath Laeghaire, and carefully examine its south-eastern rampart.

Now, leaving Rath Laeghaire, continue due north about one hundred paces, and you come to the outer rampart of Rath na Riogh—where it *was* rather—for much of it has been carried away. Within this outer rampart were all the most ancient monuments of Tara. It was also called Cathair Crofinn from the Tuatha de Danann Queen; and most likely contains her grave. A little to the right within this great inclosure on the east was ‘Cormac’s House,’ the palace which he built for himself, where he dwelt, and which was the scene of his glories. It had, at least, a double rampart round it to separate the palace from the other buildings of the Royal City; and was of considerable extent. Further on, only a few paces, was the Farradh or Hall of Meeting; the word also means a seat, and doubtless signified the place of the royal seat or throne, where the kings and chiefs of Erin assembled in council round the monarch. Then beyond the Farradh, still to the north, we find on the right or east side the Mound of the Hostages—Dumha-na-Giall—where the royal hostages were kept sometimes in fetters of gold to indicate their quality, but fettered all the same, for otherwise the light-limbed youths in bondage would soon clear the ramparts of Tara, and make their way to their distant homes. On the left, but close by, was the site of the famous Lia Fail, or Stone of Destiny. I have already indicated that there is a great controversy about the identity of this stone, and I have signified my own opinion. This stone never could have served the purpose of an

inauguration-stone; for it is a true pillar-stone, and the king-elect could not be expected to stand upon it. The Lia Fail, we are told, was the stone on which the kings were inaugurated, and on which they planted their feet in symbol of sovereignty. Then, if the prince were of true royal line, the stone bellowed loudly to signify approval, otherwise it was dumb. This stone, we are told, was taken over to Scotland by Fergus Mor MacEare, a brother of the high-king of Tara at that time, the beginning of the sixth century, that he might be inaugurated on this ancestral stone as king of the Scottish Dalriada. It was taken from Scone, it is said, in the time of Edward I., and is now under the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey. Petrie's chief objection to this story is two-fold—first, that we have no reference to this translation in our ancient annals; and, secondly, that the Milesian chiefs would never allow the stone to be carried out of the kingdom.

Well, in reply to the last point we can only say that most likely one brother lent the stone secretly to the other without consulting his chiefs; and the same thing would account for the silence of the Irish annalists. It is not recorded in the annals of the nation. The story of the translation came from Scotland, and is told only by our later antiquaries. It is a question, though very interesting, not yet by any means settled.

Outside Rath na Riogh, to the north-east, was the well Neamhnach, which still flows away to the north-east. It is chiefly interesting as the site of the first corn mill ever erected in Ireland. Cormac had a beautiful handmaiden, a bondswoman called Carnaid, whose duty it was to grind the corn on the hand quern. He pitied the hard toil of the maiden, and having got some idea of water mills during his foreign wars, he erected this to lighten the labour of the maiden. The well still flows, and until quite recently we believe its waters turned a mill at Tara.

Beyond the outer rampart of Rath na Riogh, still northward, was the Rath of the Synods—Rath Seanadh—where Adamnan, and Patrick before him, held a synod of the clerics and chiefs of Erin. It has been practically defaced by the

wall of the Protestant Church, a recent structure, wholly out of place on such a site.

Just a little north-east of this point, between the Rath of the Synods, and the southern extremity of the banquet-hall, on the very summit of the hill, the five great roads that led to Tara had their meeting-point. They can still to some extent be traced from the crown of Tara radiating in all directions. It is said that they were discovered on the night that the great Conn was born; but probably it merely means that his father, who had finished their construction, declared them formally open in honour of that event. I cannot now describe them at length, but it may be said that in general they ran in the route of the modern trunk lines of railway to all parts of ancient Erin.

Just beyond the Rath of the Synods still going to the north, we find the great Teach-Míodhcuarta, the mid-court house, or the mead-circling house, as others have translated it, by far the most interesting of all the existing monuments of ancient Tara. Its site can still be distinctly traced from north to south, and the measurements correspond with the accounts of the building given in our ancient books. It was no less than eight hundred feet in length, and from sixty to eighty feet in breadth, with six or seven great entrances on either side. You will at once perceive that this was an immense hall, larger than one of the sides of your largest square, and capable of accommodating an immense number of chiefs and warriors, either at meat or in council. There was a great range of couches all round the walls; the tables, loaded with meat, were in the centre; the lower portion seems to have contained a great kitchen for roasting and boiling, and we are told that some of the large pots could contain several beeves and pigs which were boiled together. When the meal was ready the attendants plunged huge forks into the boilers, which carried out several joints at once to be deposited as they were, without covers we may presume, before the assembled kings and warriors. At that time and long after, knives and forks were unknown; but I have no doubt skeans and daggers were called into

requisition, and perhaps did the work of carving quite as well.

I hope I have said enough to awaken in you a keener interest to know for yourselves all about the Royal Hill; and if so, then I have gained my purpose in speaking before you here of 'Tara, Pagan and Christian.'

✠ JOHN HEALY.

THE POLICY OF CARDINAL WISEMAN ¹

IT would be a pleasant occupation to deal with volumes so full of character and incident as these in the light of literature, and to compare them with some other famous biographies of celebrated modern men. But my task is not so easy, nor the scope at which I shall aim so level to the apprehension of those who read while they run their several ways, and who take up *The Life of Cardinal Wiseman* for their amusement. To me it appears that Mr. Ward has raised a vital issue, not only in his last far-reaching and speculative chapter on 'The Exclusive Church and the Zeitgeist,' but from his very setting out. In exhibiting Cardinal Wiseman as a preacher, a controversialist, a ruler, and a restorer, he has traced the lines upon which the first archbishop of a new Catholic England desired that the movement of recovery should go forward; he has drawn out a policy, and directed our attention to principles of such high importance, if we once accept them as our own, that no ecclesiastical statesman or student, no public writer in the orthodox camp, no theologian or metaphysician, who dreams of being heard outside his college walls, can afford to pass them over in silence. If the Cardinal knew his age, the methods which he pursued in the hope of winning it deserve our closest examination. Nor will they lose in power or persuasiveness, should it be demonstrable that in

¹ *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*. In 12 volumes. By W. Ward. London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1897.

following them, as he did, through a most varied and enthusiastic career, this great cosmopolitan and father of the Church in our day was one of a number whose thoughts and designs have at length had the seal of authority set upon them by Pope Leo XIII.

Not that we can separate Wiseman from his work, or leave him on one side as a mere abstraction, as the name we attach to a system, and an *ens rationis*, after the manner of certain scholastic pedants who, at their best, were a volume of impersonal syllogisms. The Irish heart of this lonely and sensitive student was exceedingly human. He suffered much, and knew that he suffered. With all his ardours, enterprises, and hopes he felt the need of sympathy, which was often denied him, and never, perhaps, quite answered his large expectations. He remained a shy creature, this imposing and stately person, with his six feet two inches of height, his breadth and bigness, his robes, and trains, and equipage. He was not in the least that dexterous, self-confident 'Bishop Blougram' fished up by a pattern Protestant in Italy—I mean Robert Browning—from the depths of his early but unfounded imaginations of what a Roman cardinal must ever be—no fool, but more than three parts knave, and wholly Epicurean. In that dark house of the Via Monserrato known as the Collegio Inglese, Wiseman lived a curious, dreamlike existence, free to study as he pleased, wrapt up in Eastern books and manuscripts, bent over his Syriac and his Hebrew, face to face with the sacred text so little familiar to many of those about him; and he went through a trial of fire that left its mark upon his spirit, and must have contributed towards the shaping of his policy in later years. I shall be allowed to quote this pregnant passage, in which we find the true Wiseman, simple, as he always was, loyal and candid; a witness to the faith wherein, if he now had his severe difficulties, yet, even thus, he could not be shaken:—

Many and many an hour have I passed [he writes to a nephew, in 1848] alone, in bitter tears, on the loggia of the English College, when everyone was reposing in the afternoon, and I was fighting with subtle thoughts and venomous suggestions of a

fiendlike infidelity which I durst not confide to anyone, for there was no one that could have sympathized with me. This lasted for years; but it made me study and think, to conquer the plague—for I can hardly call it a danger—both for myself and others. . . . But during the actual struggle the simple submission of faith is the only remedy. Thoughts against faith must be treated at the time like temptations against any other virtue—put away—though in cooler moments they may be safely analyzed and unravelled.

In another letter of 1858 he speaks with painful feeling of these years as 'years of solitude, of desolation . . . years of shattered nerves, dread often of instant insanity, consumptive weakness, of sleepless nights and weary days, and hours of tears which no one witnessed.'¹

Remarkable, surely, is this disclosure of a depth below the surface that his friends did not imagine, and of experiences in which they could not share. Wiseman writes at all times with transparent sincerity; but his too florid style, which is the Spanish of Gongora or the Italian of Marini, seldom touches the heart. In these brief and broken words it is piercing. We seem to hear the accents of Lamennais; nor would it be difficult to detect in that sombre correspondence of the Breton cries which ascend in a like enthralling strain of mingled faith and perplexity. Are we astonished at a resemblance which turned out to be no sameness in the sequel? Those, certainly, will be far from taking scandal who are much travelled in the *Lives of the Saints*, and who do not forget the desolate hours of St. Ignatius and St. Theresa. If any man will be a guide through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, let him first explore its dolorous ways, and taste that darkness which may be felt. Nay, as the most lightsome of moderns has told us—and he, perchance, by temper a real Epicurean—whoso has not eaten his bread with tears, shall never know the heavenly powers: so true is it that sorrow is the beginning of wisdom. To have learned 'patience, self-reliance, concentration,' to have been 'self-disciplined' during a conflict

¹ Ward, i. pp. 246-7.

so absorbing—this, the Cardinal affirms, made him what he was :—

Amid these trials [he continues] I wrote my *Horæ Syriacæ*, and collected notes for the lectures ‘On the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion’ and the ‘Eucharist.’ Without this training I should never have thrown myself into the Puseyite controversy of a later period.

The testimony is clear as it is striking. To days and years of a torture that, in Montaigne’s strong language, ‘strips the man to his shirt,’ that burns up delusions, and shows in what a fearful and mysterious world our lot is cast—to this baptism by fire, and meditation in the wilderness, we owe the Cardinal Wiseman who met the Oxford movement half way; who realized that faith is a gift of grace, and not the fruit of controversy; who was never self-righteous, or hard upon the weak and feeble; and who would not quench the smoking flax which others were sometimes tempted to trample into its ashes.

At his only English school, Ushaw, Wiseman describes himself as a ‘lone unmurmuring boy,’ dull and friendless, fond of reading, overlooked by superiors, but still not unhappy. The journey to Rome stirred his imagination. He was one of five students from St. Cuthbert’s who began the new career of the Collegio Inglese, which had been shut up since the French depredations of 1798, and was opened now under Cardinal Consalvi’s patronage. From that day Rome laid a spell upon the young Irish-Spaniard, a lad of sixteen, more at home always on the Continent than he felt himself to be later on at Oscott or York-place, and henceforth delivered from the narrowing influences that had given something harsh and stern, as well as an insular tone of thought, to the excellent, stubborn, old-world Catholics among whom he might have continued to vegetate save for this unexpected change of situation. He became an absolute Roman.

The season was, in Europe at large, a stormy spring-tide. Old things were passing away; the new were putting forth buds of promise. A mighty reaction had set in with Joseph de Maistre, with Chateaubriand, Lamennais,

Gorres, and the Schlegels; all of whom quickened the Romantic movement which was looking to the Middle Age for inspiration, and which saw in the Catholic Church a majesty and a charm unapproachable by the sects, and enhanced by her recent victory over Napoleon. The grave religious figure of Pius VII., a suffering saint, represented to Wiseman that beauty of holiness, that hidden strength; and he went about Rome, studying it as an open book, as the visible and most touching evidence of a Christianity which gloried in its martyrs, and offered sacrifice in its Catacombs, and dedicated the ancient judgment-halls as its basilicas, and took over as its inheritance the arts, the literature, the laws, and the imperial instincts of that earlier city, the world's mistress. Rome was an epitome of the ages, not more mediæval than modern, abounding in memories of the Renaissance, but mindful yet of St. Gregory, of St. Callistus, of the Apostles themselves. Who could know its ways intimately and not be versatile, as a man that has learned how different is one period from another, how many are the tongues in which our faith is chanted, how obstinate and distinct are the characters of those countless tribes that come on pilgrimage to St. Peter's? The government of a Universal Church must be conciliatory, else it will fall into endless disasters. Schools of thought exist in the unity of the creed which no Pope or Council would allow to condemn or to extirpate their rivals; and yet the Augustinian, the Jesuit, the Dominican, the Scotist and the Thomist, the Aristotelian and the Platonist, agree to differ on points which are closely knit up with principles of immense and vital consequence to mankind. Often the Church's decision has been that she will not decide; she sets bounds to human rashness, and she leaves a wide domain for private exploration. She keeps a steady gaze on past centuries, suffers their memorials to persist side by side, is tolerant of many forms, takes her language from the current phraseology, chooses rather than creates, is willing to make the best of circumstances, develops by selection, and is at home with Orientals, Africans, Byzantines, Franks, Normans, Celts, and Teutons, indifferent to all their varieties, though neither

supercilious nor disinterested; and she cares at last for one thing only, 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'

We shall never grasp Wiseman's ruling idea if we fail to understand this politic but sincere acquiescence in men's human qualities, so long as they did not run counter to any truth of Revelation. He was perfectly tolerant because he had learned to be orthodox in the Roman sense; large with the exquisite good-nature and the fine balance that belong to a system in which every phase of history has its assignable position. His first impulse could never be to anathematize a novel growth in the world around him, but to see whether it would not bear grafting on the Roman olive, and give its fruit and its richness to the sanctuary. The genuine Roman spirit is neither sectarian nor syncretist; for it relies upon a tradition that knows its own; and by long practice it has learned the wisdom of waiting, until light descends from all sides to illuminate the question at issue. In matters so delicate, and as momentous as they are full of a perplexing subtlety, haste is more to be dreaded than the longest delays. For submission to the Church's *magisterium* secures the faith; and it lies in the nature of development that contributions of knowledge will be frequently made by those without. All judgment, even that of the unerring Master, has its needful preliminaries, which, while they are indispensable, cannot be forced, and will not be anticipated.

The distinction which we may claim for Wiseman is that he never lost sight of either element in Church history. Rome offered him as a great series of facts and institutions, of memories and monuments, the philosophy in visible shape that to others, like Newman writing his *Development of Christian Doctrine*, or Möhler contemplating systems of grace and summing up decrees of Councils, was an inference painfully to be deduced from remote historical premises. He could say, with his future heroine, St. Agnes, 'Ecce, quod concupivi, jam video, quod speravi, jam teneo;' what proof was equal to the vision that came about him on every side, 'in splendoribus sanctorum,' and that refreshed his weary heart when difficulties and doubts assailed him, drawn these, not from the facts which he beheld, but from

a critical survey of problems darkened by their immeasurable antiquity and scribbled over with the comments of unbelievers? If Rome were one and the same thing as the Christian religion, for Wiseman this lower sphere must have been simply the gate of heaven. And when his 'desolate years' came to an end, when the yawning gulfs suffered him to rise towards the light once more, this Rome it was which he made the centre of his preaching. He knew no other Gospel: the touchstone of all good was the *Cathedra Petri*. How would it affect the doctrines, customs, prejudices, aspirations, activities, of those whom he was intended to convince or to govern?

As a boy he had seen something of the old English Catholics. Now he was making acquaintance, as a student of Eastern languages, a writer upon questions of Bible scholarship, a professor and a preacher in the Rome of Pius VII. and Leo XII., with antiquarians, tourists, ambassadors, and a mixed society, in which we do not hear of sceptics or German philosophers. Wiseman spoke and wrote in many dialects. It was too early for Westerns to busy themselves about Russian. And, well as he had learnt the speech of the Fatherland, it does not appear that he was deeply read in the classics of Germany. I cannot find any tokens of his intimacy with Kant, or Hegel, or Goethe, or Lessing. Abstract metaphysical studies had no charm for him; and St. Thomas Aquinas occupied but a little space in the curriculum of the Roman University or the Apollinare of those innocent days. The Romantic Movement, which suffered a severe defeat towards the middle of the century, had attended to letters more than to science or systems of pure thought, and its promise went beyond its performance. Still, we must remark, how liberal, in comparison with the Oxford of 1830, was the interest which Wiseman displayed, not only in exegesis and in the collation of Syriac manuscripts, but in physical science, in the philosophy of language, and in the movement of ideas throughout Europe at large. He corresponded with Tholuck, Mohler, and Dollinger; he was an eager disciple of Mai and Mezzofanti; with Lamennais he has recorded a most significant conversation;

and his friendship at the Prussian Embassy, when Bunsen resided there, led to his first acquaintance with Newman. Thus he had come into contact, before his thirty-second year, with old Catholics, modern Liberals of many schools, orthodox as well as heterodox, and the *Via Media* of the Church of England. But the school to which he belonged himself was at once Catholic and progressive, bent on reconstruction, and much more enamoured of conciliation than of controversy.

Rome was larger, as he found by an intimate experience, than Ushaw, Oxford, or Tübingen. On returning to England, in 1835, he was amazed as well as saddened by the apathy of which his Catholic friends everywhere gave tokens, in the presence of a new world of ideas into which they did not care to enter. Like the men in Plato's allegory of the cave, their eyes, so long turned to darkness, could not endure the fresh light that was streaming in upon them out of a morning sky. They were a remnant, helpless and divided. They lagged behind the age; but many of them had lost the brave old spirit of their religion—a hundred years or so, since the ruin of the Jacobite cause, had inflicted grievous wounds upon them,—the apostasy of great families, the infection of free-thinking, distrust or dislike of the Holy See, a Gallican gloom and rigour, a sense of total frustration and unavailing fatigue. They stood aloof as much almost from Rome as from England. Their devout men, with honourable exceptions like Milner, had fallen upon methods dry and harsh, foreign as they were now become to the *Vita Mystica* which is the heart and soul of Catholic piety. Good priests cried out against the Litany of Loreto, would not endure the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and looked on the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament as a strange thing. Pictures, statues, processions,—all the outward and visible signs of Catholic grace,—were abhorrent to their feeling. They showed the irritation and the feeble contempt of invalids for healthy enterprise, which seemed to them fraught with peril and doomed to inevitable failure. Comparison with a more active form of religion roused them to bitterness; it was cruel, false, impertinent. Yet

they could not help feeling proud when Wiseman's lectures at Moorfields drew all eyes upon him, stirred the country to its depths, and announced a champion whose learning, warmth, and courage, lent a charm that had long been absent to argument in this ancient quarrel. They presented addresses, and for the moment stood up frankly in the open air. But it struck upon most of them like a biting east wind. As soon as Wiseman had gone back to Rome, they retreated into their catacombs.

And yet the days were bringing on a wonderful change. Wiseman had set in the forefront of the battle not detached squadrons of arguments on a hundred points of doctrine, but the one argument, which was, and is, decisive—namely, that there must be, in matters of religion, a supreme, visible, historical authority as the safeguard and the witness of revealed dogma, from which authority there can be no appeal. He had not read De Maistre or talked with Lamennais, and failed to apprehend their governing principle. Upon them that principle had dawned in history, or was the secret of a universal philosophy; Wiseman knew it as the city which was eternal, his beloved Rome. The new Laudians of Oxford were still like men in a dream; slowly and intermittently they laid hands now on one great Catholic truth, now on another, feeling about in the visions of the night of antiquity for objects which appeared to them as dim but real, certain yet obscurely visible, while in Rome these very truths were embodied in sacred rites and institutions, not open to cavil, nor asking any subtle ratiocinations, in order to be recognised. In the *British Critic* Newman contemplated the discourses at Moorfields as a triumph over English divines whose principles were still those of the Reformation. He spoke of 'Romanism' as having in it truths 'which we of this day have almost forgotten, and its preachers,' he said, 'will recall numbers of Churchmen and Dissenters to an acknowledgment of them.' Wiseman was sure to win converts, and the Papal system would spread. Tract 71 opens with the admission that 'the controversy with Roman Catholics has overtaken us like a summer's

cloud ; ' that ' from long security ' no preparation had been made against it ; and that

The same feelings which carry men now to dissent will carry them to Romanism ; novelty being an essential stimulant to popular devotion, and the Roman system, to say nothing of the intrinsic majesty and truth which remain in it amid its corruptions, abounding in this and other stimulants of a most potent and effective character.¹

Sorry comfort these sayings offered to the multitude, who were not unwilling to be disciples of Laud, but who for years had thought of Rome as dead and buried. They spoke their indignation. Yet Newman was the witness of an influence far more concrete and actual than he realized in 1836. Not only was the Reformation victoriously borne down in argument ; the foundations of the National Church were undermined.

A singular and dramatic episode followed upon this engagement of distant artillery between the two leaders. Wiseman was made president of Oscott ; but in his study at Monte Porzio, looking out towards delightful Tusculum and Camaldoli, he had put together, piece by piece, the elements of a demonstration which was founded in the fathers' writings, yet by one stroke passed out of folios and planted itself alive in the nineteenth century. Mr. Ward has described the whole situation, in 1839, with candour and insight ; nor do I hesitate to say, and the acknowledgment is surely due from those who have read his pages, that they furnish no unworthy supplement, at this critical turn, to the *Apologia* itself, which keeps in view rather what was occurring in England than the general hopes and fears of Christendom. Abroad, the logic of the matter was more clearly seen on both sides ; authority made its claim against the omnipotence of individual reason or Private Judgment, and Private Judgment resisted. But there was no confusing issue of antiquarianism which could masquerade, though a disembodied ghost, in the outward shows of an Establishment. Religious minds at Oxford, haunting libraries, lived

¹ *Via Media*, ii., pp. 87-91.

in a realm of shadows: they opposed Antiquity to Authority, never observing that it is only by the power and prerogative of Authority now present that Antiquity does not fade away from the millions of struggling mortals who cannot be scholars and whose life is moulded by action, not by erudition or the fathers. To bring this controversy, otherwise interminable, to an issue, Antiquity itself must be made to pronounce, by one regal sentence, in favour of Authority as its living voice. The sentence was extant in St. Augustine. There had been Anglicans of the fourth century, as there were Donatists of the nineteenth—bishops and churches and local usages, and appeals to times past, exactly the same in both provinces, Carthage and England. But St. Augustine was Antiquity: and he, the greatest of the fathers, had cut through all these questions with a statement of simple fact. Schism, he said, was apostasy: and to be divided from the visible Church was to be a schismatic: ‘Quapropter securus judicat orbis terrarum bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum, in quacunque parte orbis terrarum.’¹

These miraculous words pulverized the *Via Media*, and converted Newman. But I think it has not been remarked that ‘securus judicat orbis terrarum’ is the very principle of Lamennais, translated from the region of metaphysics—where it is capable of doing harm, and may be so handled as to deserve condemnation—to the domain of history and revelation. It excludes private judgment from a subject in which that judgment can possess no *à priori* axioms or self-evident intuitions. The Gospel is a treasure confided to divinely-appointed keepers; if its home is not an historical society from which it cannot be lost, it will have undergone the fate of all previous and subsequent philosophies, which time and tide have disintegrated, broken up, and left at the mercy of mere speculation. Dogma is a fact—or it is nothing better than the fancies of Epicurus or Spinoza. And, if it is a fact, the proof of its existence will lie in the meridian of facts; we shall need only to open our eyes and see it, instead of searching through a thousand volumes for

¹ Ward, i. 223–4.

evidence that it once existed. The parallel to Lamennais' denunciation of idealism is perfect. Lamennais said, 'You cannot prove the world to be a reality; no proof is possible, for none is requisite; your belief in a world is antecedent to all proof.' In like manner, the *Via Media* was Idealism in theology. Given the fathers, said Oxford, the problem is to arrive at an actual Church. Wiseman replied by showing that the problem was far more simple, and that its solution lay close at hand; that the fathers judged between heretics and Catholics by the test of obedience to authority; and that they gave as a sufficient token of authority the *vinculum pacis*, or unity in visible communion. It was obvious, from this point of view, that no Church could be at once apostolic and schismatical; for schism abolished, at one blow, the notes and prerogatives of a Christian Church, and reduced its disciples to a crowd of incoherent dissenters.

When Newman read that famous article, he was staggered. Never again did he see his English Church in the same fair light; and if he was not prepared to offer his submission, yet the *Via Media* had disappeared. His sole ground of reluctance was a Protestant one—belief in Roman corruptions which had crept in since the beginning. But were they corruptions? How if they should turn out to be not corruptions but developments? He yielded immediately, as one may say, to the negative force of Wiseman's quotation from St. Augustine; of its positive or protecting force as regards dogma he had yet to be convinced. In sound logic—I mean if the Gospel was to endure '*usque ad consummationem sæculi*'—the *charisma* of unity which guarded against schism could not fail to guard against corruption; the one Church must be truly Apostolic, and the Creed was, therefore, safe in her keeping. However, this demonstration from the nature of the case would not satisfy Newman. He resolved to work it out in detail, so far, at least, as to realize for himself the identity, under laws of development, which existed between different phases and epochs of the society whose unbroken record lay before him. And here, too, by a most happy combination of circumstances, Wiseman led the way.

It was in October of that same year, 1839, at the opening of St. Mary's, Derby, that the preacher who had just taken the ground from under Newman's feet delivered a sermon which might have been printed in October, 1845, as a summary or a preface of the *Development*. Mr. Ward has done well to give the long extracts from it which we read in his first volume; and, considering how significant is their anticipation of the *New Apologetics*, theological students will find their reward in turning back to so clear and unmistakable a recognition of principles, never, indeed, unknown, yet during this present century brought home to the Christian consciousness with startling vivacity. We must always bear in mind that it was not from Newman the preacher had acquired his doctrine or his illustrations. So much the more instructive is their spontaneous agreement. Wiseman's text, the 'grain of mustard-seed,' becomes, under his calm and conclusive handling, a theory, but a theory which as it moves along calls upon the events of past ages to confirm all that is advanced. If the Old Testament proceeded by way of growth and expansion—so runs his argument—the New has not lost this quality of life.

These principles [he observes, speaking of sin and the need of redemption, on which the Jewish Dispensation rested as upon a corner-stone] did yet seem to be neglected until gradually brought forth by circumstances into a clearer light, and made leading ideas of the first importance.

This is the very tone and spirit of Bishop Butler's *Analogy*:¹ yet I am disposed to think that not Butler so much as Joseph de Maistre had taught Wiseman a view which is common to St. Augustine and St. Vincent of Lerins. He continues:—

So, in the New Law, we might be led to expect a similar course, and not be surprised if we have to trace practices or feelings which became, at particular times, the leading characteristics of religious thought to doctrines or principles which originally lurked as one seed in the furrow among others of greater magnitude. . . . Nothing is more common, yet nothing is more mistaken, than to confound the greater manifestation of things with their first origin.²

¹ See, especially, Butler, Part ii, ch. 3, p. 160.

² Ward, i., p. 315.

He proceeds to give instances of 'outward growth' and 'interior development':—

Everything [he says] was gradual. At first the Jewish worship was attended, and many of its ceremonial rites observed, with scrupulous precision . . . The hierarchy was not planted by our Saviour, nor by the Apostles themselves, in a systematic form; but the episcopal body, if I may so speak, evolved from itself, in due season, the priestly order . . . The very doctrines of Christianity were communicated with a similar proportion.

And, having laid down this large principle, he applies it, as Newman was to do later on, to the powers of the Holy See and the *cultus* of our Lady. Religious belief does not alter in its essence, but it grows and expands, and has its full effect according as circumstances allow. 'The germ only existed in the beginning;' still, as that germ was a living thing, it contained within itself developments of the grandest compass. 'Through the medium of the affections, as much as through dogmatical investigations,' the mysteries of the faith reached their perfect stature; nay, heresy itself brought out their meaning. Moreover, while

The vivid impressions of one age grew faint under the influence of succeeding agencies, yet enough was left of the spirit of each to be borne down to succeeding generations as a record of the vicissitudes through which their religion had passed. In this way the very evidences of Christianity partook of the character of all else connected with it, being themselves capable of increasing development.¹

Here is a view, we may confidently pronounce, which for the stationary or crystallized Church, whether of Anglicans or Russians, substitutes a doctrine of progress which it makes not so much a part as the whole of our creed, and declares to be the secret whereby, as Catholics, we maintain ourselves under the stress of opposition, as well as advance in the spiritual life. How little Wiseman was afraid of drawing inferences from his own principles of assimilation and evolution, both in dogma and ritual, was already manifest in the *Letters to Mr. John Poynder*, who had assailed the Roman Church as at once heathen and

¹ Ward, i., p. 318.

idolatrous, on the ground of her borrowing from Pagan antiquity. The answer came, not in the form of denial, but as a deliberate acknowledgment, for which the justification might be found in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, in Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata*, and in St. Gregory's *Epistles*. There was a wider conception of Providence than English Puritan theology had grasped. Religious truths, and the symbolism by which they are fittingly shadowed forth, lie dispersedly in fragments, suggestions, gleams, and strange distorted figures, all over the surface of the world. Inspiration, without antecedents or material to work upon, is not the power which has established Christianity from of old.

If Rome has borrowed, so has Judea. The most peculiar of the dogmas confessed by every Church throughout the West—the Incarnation itself—may be paralleled in earlier forms of belief, and are not unknown to those enormous systems that have long held sway among Hindus or Egyptians.¹ In other words, the principle once admitted of a germ of divine life which grows by taking up into its circulation all the truths accessible to human intelligence, we cannot draw the line at any given stage in the Old Testament or the New; we must resolve the history of mankind into a series of 'moments,' or of a religious dynamics, where every single force acts upon every other, and nothing is so common or unclean that it cannot be purified, given the freedom of the spirit, and assumed into the heavenly synthesis. The sufficient reason of a method which some may think very bold is laid down in a hundred places by St. Augustine when he is refuting the Manichees.² He had discovered, after years of pain and anguish, that evil is a negation of good, not a substance in itself, nor a force, nor anything real apart from the truth which it denies or the virtue which it rejects. 'Total depravity' is a figment of the imagination; nature always keeps some element which it has received from its Creator, moral, physical, or rational, else it would cease to exist. This, then, is the underlying

¹ Ward, i., pp. 247, 248.

Confessions, passim.

unity, as it is the inexhaustible mine, from which we draw in assimilating, on our own principles, to a supernatural faith, capacities and acquisitions hitherto unblest, or standing in need of consecration.

It is singular that Newman, who had granted so much of this view, and expressed it with deep feeling, in his *Arians of the Fourth Century*,¹ where he was an enthusiastic disciple of the Alexandrians to whom he always clave, did not perceive its bearing on controversies of lesser moment. For who will compare the development of Papal prerogatives with the effulgence in Hebrew Monotheism of a doctrine so strange to it, in many eyes, as that of a Logos incarnate, of one substance with the Father, yet a Second Person in the Trinity? And what is the extent of the change in our religious attitude which the veneration of Mary brings with it to a mind already Christian, if we have at all measured the mental revolution that must have taken place, when those who had adored an unseen Deity in Jerusalem now bowed down to a crucified man as their God and Saviour? On the other hand, it was a direct consequence of the spirit in which Luther and Calvin approached history, that when they had bereft the Church of her charismata on the ground of abuses, they should go on to divide between the world and its Maker in such wise as effectively to resuscitate Manicheism. The antidote which alone could neutralize that deadly influence was to show the Catholic genius in its true light, engaged from the beginning upon its task of redemption, not laying life itself under anathema, but proving all things, and holding fast in its own strength to that which was good.

This new style of controversy perplexed the elder school which had been brought up on Bossuet's *Variations*, an admirable though incomplete statement of the points in dispute, now so successful as to be no longer needed. They failed to perceive a Catholic promise in the Oxford movement. To them movement of any sort was distasteful. They knew nothing of the philosophy of religious dynamics.

¹ Chap. i., p. 82, 3rd edit.

They were not even sensible of the loss which they had themselves sustained by not attempting to march onward when their brethren in other countries set them an example. They had ceased to assimilate, and they were ceasing to live. Wiseman established *The Dublin Review* that in its pages, contributed from all parts of the Catholic world as he meant them to be, some clear picture might emerge of the great things our religion had done in former times, and was capable of doing still, if a fair field were not denied to her children. It was to 'treat of living questions' and 'grapple with real antagonists.' In all its disquisitions, antiquarian or historical, the present nineteenth century was to be kept in view. But he also desired, says Mr. Ward, 'to fashion a zealous and cultivated priesthood,' as 'the first step in that general reformation of the English Catholic body on which his heart had been set since his English campaign of 1835.' And he writes with unusual sagacity as regards this training:—

What is principally to be aimed at [he tells Dr. Newsham, of Ushaw], is accustoming them from the early part of their course to think and judge, of which they seem to have little idea. They do not seem to know how to make things out for themselves, or to make one bear upon another; whatever they learn they seem to *put up* in their heads, and not to have it at hand when wanted for some other purpose.¹

He did not reform the education of the clergy, despite his excellent intentions. Without trained masters, shut out from the universities, and themselves appointed to teach before they had been taught, the next generation differed very little from their predecessors. Nevertheless, a current of life and animation flowed through Oscott while he reigned over the College, that made it a centre not unworthy to draw within its influence strangers from abroad, and the Tractarians who were soon to help Wiseman, or to occasion him fresh anxiety, in his efforts to make of Catholicism a force which should overcome the spirit of the age. He could reckon upon Pugin, that powerful but erratic genius, when he would restore the liturgical offices to their ancient

¹ Ward, i., p. 268.

splendour. But he still felt himself alone. As Lord Acton testifies, the motley group of men whom he found, or brought together at Oscott, followed their old instincts, nor took any severe trouble to make his thoughts and projects their own. Some of them who survived the Cardinal into my time, as I remember, did not appear to be living in the nineteenth century at all; they were shadows with faint voices, murmuring like pallid spectres of the only years in which they had drawn breath, long ago in some other world not known to moderns. What they felt when a being so versatile and hopeful stepped down among them, it is not easy to imagine.

He had from his first coming to Oscott [says Mr. Ward] marked the place out, in spite of the smiles of his critics, as the site of important accessions to communion with the Holy See; but the fulfilment of his dreams had not materially changed the attitude of the English Catholics who opposed the movement. The old fashion was to be extremely slow in accepting converts, and even to discourage them.¹

Lingard, judging the Oxford men by their ancestors in the time of Laud and Archbishop Wake, cherished no hopes of their submission. The Vicar Apostolic of London thought schismatics never came back to the Church. Another talked of Newman as a traitor, whose kiss of peace meant everything that was false and dangerous. The missionary spirit was dead among English Catholics. Oscott, says Wiseman in a touching fragment written at this time, was 'a mere place of education,' and how few were willing to see in it 'a great engine employed in England's conversion and regeneration!' He, therefore, as Newman felt, was 'the chief or rather the only promoter' among these hereditary Catholics, of those objects which all through, however unconsciously to themselves, the Tractarians had aimed at realizing.

But alone, or with Pugin and Spencer, he did bring them in after an anxious interval, thanks to the spirit of compassion and charity which he had acquired in Rome, nor without the aid and approbation of the Holy Father and the

¹ Ward, i., p. 447.

due ecclesiastical authorities. At Propaganda no difficulties were raised. His *Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury*, which discussed the terms of what has since been described as 'corporate reunion,' passed without censure, although it came close to *Tract Ninety*, and suggested, as a basis of negotiation, the Thirty-nine Articles, subject, of course to explanations which were to follow the Council of Trent. After 1845 it was still his task to protect the neophytes, who were looked upon as doubtful Christians by many of their Catholic brethren—while they, in turn, experienced that strange, unpleasant sensation which was sure to spring up within them at the sight of a people so unlike the company from which they had separated. The cure for all this, in Wiseman's unalterable judgment, was Rome. Converts needed to make a pilgrimage thither, as St. Paul went up to Jerusalem to see the Prince of the Apostles, lest he should 'have run in vain.' Old Catholics needed the establishment among them of Roman devotions, of religious and ascetic communities, of the *Vita Contemplativa* and the full liturgy; of Canon Law and Christian art, and all they had lost in this long Babylonish exile from the life of the Universal Church. We cannot but admire the simple greatness which adherence to this principle manifested on Wiseman's part. He did not exalt any article in so large a design out of its relation to every other; he was remarkably well-balanced, and saw the whole as from its proper centre. And there is something magnanimous, and, one had almost said, philosophical—though he could not claim to be a philosopher—in his view of the divers elements that go to make up a fully-developed Catholic.

Wiseman did not commit himself willingly to any violent extreme. He was not the man to overlook the importance to Catholicism in fact of acquaintance with modern criticism, with literature and languages, with physical and mental science, as it is cultivated in the great schools of France or Germany, with Oriental studies, explorations, and documents. But it was his misfortune that opportunity never came to him of training disciples or raising up a succession of learned men. His practice, like Newman's theory, of

development, though surely destined hereafter to mould the Catholic spirit which will bring in a second and still grander Middle Age, encountered opposition, misunderstanding, and the wrath of those to whom their own history and antecedents were a book with seven seals. They held by the Creed with entire faithfulness; but how they came to have a creed at all they never had considered. They were Ptolemaics in doctrine for whom the earth stood still.

Had Wiseman enjoyed robust health after he came to Westminster, and had his life been prolonged another ten or fifteen years, it is possible that the Church, not only in England, but on the Continent, might have escaped some grievous troubles. For he was the one Cardinal of European fame who exercised a moderating influence, where moderation was the secret of progress. He never would have alienated Newman, since, in spite of remarkable differences in training and temper, he understood that rare kind of genius, and saw further into the principles of dogmatic development than his successor, Cardinal Manning, largely as Manning was to hansom them at the Council of the Vatican. He could have done much, and with the best grace in the world, to keep in check the Gallic ardour of the Veuillots and the Gerbets and the Gaumes, which has cost our dearest hopes some twenty years of superfluous disappointment. Perhaps he might have held back the more spiritual-minded among the disciples of Munich from their fatal step in 1870. Given, at all events, the strong constitution which he never had, there was no reason why he should not have inaugurated a scheme of Oriental and German studies, the want of which is telling now, as it has told these many years, with disastrous effect on English theological education. Though not himself deeply read in the metaphysics of the School, he would have held out his right hand to St. Thomas; but his other hand would have been extended to modern research; and the unsatisfactory skirmishing which went on, thirty-five years ago, round the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review*, would have given place to a critical acquaintance with the text of the Bible, and to the sustained efforts, by which alone we shall

arrive at a genuine common measure, between the language of Eastern prophets and the exegesis of Western philosophers.

Wiseman's last ten years seem now, indeed, a time big with calamities: but they cannot be laid at his door. The worst charge ever brought against him may remind us of Newman's lines to St. Gregory Nazianzen: 'Thou couldst a people raise, but couldst not rule.' He was full of plans, missionary, ascetic, educational: but opposition threw him back, and some would call him faint-hearted. There is another light in which he appears, like a man forespent with long struggling, and none to help. Read, for instance, his singularly touching letter on the disappointment which was occasioned by those religious orders introduced solely through his exertions into London, the rules of which forbade them to take their place in evangelizing the mixed and modern population which lay on every side of them. He turned to the Oratorians, who did what was asked. But when he established, for a like purpose, the Oblates of St. Charles, that weary campaign of old Catholics against new began, which was not to end until a fresh generation grew up, intent on larger prospects. Our permanent loss, on looking back, appears to have been chiefly in the province of literature, sacred and secular. Catholics were debarred from Oxford until the other day, though having no university of their own in England to which they could resort: and the revision of the Bible, to which Newman had put his hand, was arrested; on what grounds it would be worth while to inquire, though, doubtless, they were as petty and inadequate as the reasons commonly assigned for other hindrances to the general advance on the part of hereditary believers.

Concerning this last project Newman has a significant passage, as early as the first days of 1847. He tells Wiseman:—

The Superior of the Franciscans, Father Benigno, in the Trastevere, wishes us, out of his own head, to engage in an English authorized translation of the Bible. He is a learned man, and on the Congregation of the Index. What he wished was that we should take the Protestant translation, correct it by the Vulgate, and get it sanctioned here.¹

¹ Ward, i., p. 354.

This was not done; but an English Catholic Bible is still indispensable and will some day be attempted. As for that 'blessing of an elevated secular education,' as Wiseman himself terms it, in the ancient seats of learning, it could be denied only so long as the hope was held out of a university founded and carried on with our small resources. When time bore witness against so ambitious a scheme, the doors were unlocked, always with due caution, which admitted Catholic young men to a share in the culture and the public life of their own generation. Thus Wiseman's original thought has proved to be the issue of a perplexed and irritating question, kept open—certainly not to our advantage—for no less than thirty years.

His lectures to mixed audiences, upon subjects remote from controversy and in their nature scientific or antiquarian, led to some criticism which we now perceive was not only futile but extremely shortsighted. The preacher who had delighted thousands at Moorfields, found himself, after the storms of 1850, no longer on friendly terms with his countrymen; but the platform was not inaccessible on which he could win their hearts by an eloquence and a frankness that were among his most taking qualities. He lectured to England, not in vain. He would not retire into his tent, or abide cloistered and secure, but ineffective. His literary success made it seem natural for the great Englishman who came after him to undertake a social and humanitarian crusade, not once, but repeatedly, until he attained the memorable triumph of the Dockers' Strike. Between Wiseman and Manning there was no difference of tactics. They both knew and felt that the day of isolation must come to an end. Nevertheless, in range of outlook and accuracy of vision, it will be difficult to deny that Wiseman was superior. He did not regard life or literature, the arts or the sciences, with a coldness such as the born Puritan finds instinctive in himself; constitutionally, he was more sanguine than severe, but he would have justified his views on the Roman principle, which has in it a wealth of sunshine, and is tolerant because it has learned what Mark Pattison truly calls, 'the highest art—the art to live.' That is an art

which, since the Reformation had its way, is not much cultivated among Englishmen. They are full of movements and counter-movements; but their Religion has too often aimed at suppression instead of regulation, nor has taken into account the joy of life.

It would be incumbent on one who was reviewing Wiseman's policy at length to show what I shall here briefly indicate—how it was of the same texture as that which will make Leo XIII. a great historical name among popes and reformers. We may describe it as constructive; but who can construct without materials, or in the discarded and obsolete style of another period, if his purpose aims at housing the present generation? Again, it may be termed a missionary plan, which takes for its object the winning to Christian faith and practice, not of barbarians, but of the civilized and the progressive. Hence it demands learning, sympathy, largeness, and a delicate sense of what lies nearest the hearts of moderns. It is universal in its enthusiasm for the different yet beautiful aspects of God's world, and it puts under anathema nothing but sin. The language employed by Cardinal Wiseman, as by Pope Leo, is studiously self-controlled, even where it condemns or refuses assent to untenable propositions. It allows of immense variety in tastes, in judgments, in peculiarities of disposition, and while tolerant of parties will not allow any of them to usurp the name or dignity of the Church. 'Peace within and conciliation without' may be said to express the spirit in which the modern Catholic programme is drawn up. But its designs cannot be fulfilled except at the cost of unceasing effort. When we relax in the contemplation of revealed truths, and decline to apply them in detail to the world in which we find ourselves, we are already weakening our hold upon them. Theology is not a science of the dead past, but of the living present; and as it goes back to Scripture in one direction, so in another it moves forward as the ages move, taking and giving, learning and teaching, not ashamed to borrow from to-day for its own high purpose, even as it made ample use of the Stoic and Platonic philosophies, and knew how to welcome the Aristotelians, and

has been a debtor to Maimonides, to Avicenna, and to the Arabians. Neither would it now be impossible to point out advantages which have come to us from a knowledge of Kant, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. But let these mere hints suffice. That regard which we owe to Wiseman's memory will, it is imagined, be most deeply felt by Catholics who pursue, as he did, the study of the Bible by turning to the languages in which it was written; who cultivate science, and are alive to the ever-growing significance of art and literature in modern days; and who throw themselves into the generous policy which Rome invites them to carry onward into the new age, under her guidance and blessing.

WILLIAM BARRY.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF SOCIALISM

II.

THE question before us is a definite one. It deals with but one of the many issues of socialism. With its possibility as a political scheme, we have nothing to do. It would be difficult to say whether, in theory, the threads of labour might run unentangled through an intricate national collective industry. Practically, I think that the details of commerce could never be controlled by any government, centralized or federal. The socialist schemes remind us, as a rule, of those chosen few, whom, Lord Bolingbroke tells us, are 'specially nurtured in the world by Providence for the maintenance and spread of impossible ideals.' Neither are we concerned with the attitude of socialism towards religion and the Church. Indeed beyond the decided trend of the revolution from which it sprang, and the tone and character of its advocates and adherents, socialism as a system does not *profess* to have any definite tenet or aim in reference to *doctrinal* matters at all. At times the public actions of its leaders evince the action of secret springs that undoubtedly are not of God. 'Ils aiment,' says

M. Louis Reybaud, 's'escrimer dans l'ombre, et, quand on les presse trop vivement ils s'enveloppent de leurs nuages.'

Such matters have no interest for us now. We are occupied with but one inquiry—the attitude of socialism to the production of wealth. The innumerable questions that this originates, the methods, aims, and promises of socialism; its virtue as an expedient; its adaptability to the varying market tides; its subtlety in eking out of the holes and corners of industry the treasures they afford to skilful manipulation, may all be embodied in this one inquiry—how will the proletarian fare when private capital has become effete, and collectivism supervenes? This is the question that concerns us now. To answer it we shall have to digress, at no small length, from the main topic under consideration.

To bring this matter to a definite issue, we may put it thus hypothetically. What would happen if every half-penny of the capital of England were disbursed from the coffers of private owners, and poured *en masse* into the national treasury, that ensuing profits might be dealt out evenly, or proportionally to each one's work? Popular feeling would certainly run high were such a law suddenly enacted. And naturally so. No economic scheme yet known offers to the unreflecting mind such rich and abundant fruits as socialism. It is this that has made it a popular creed. Now we can easily see how far such promises are likely to be realized. Let us examine them briefly. A little reflection will enable us to see, that the nationalization of our whole capital would be quite as unprofitable as the idea is chimerical. The greater number of our private concerns require for their existence the exertions of one who is conscious to himself, that *he* must sustain whatever is lost, as well as gain whatever is gained. Then, too, to confiscate the land in its entirety would be quite useless on socialistic lines. It would be much easier, in the socialistic state, for the smaller landowners to draw their income from the land they till, than to send the products to the national treasury, and then receive their yearly divide. The abolition of the richer landowners would quite fulfil the Socialistic aims,

because their incomes are a great deal in excess of what they could expect from the national divide. Indeed it is to those larger and more permanent factors in our industry, such as the large estates, the railways, and (outside of industry), the National Debt, and the expenses of royalty, that the popular mind naturally turns as the centre of its hopes. The workman is envious that the greater part of the product of lands should go into the pocket of an idle landlord, whilst his own daughter has to toil daily in the din and fluff of a city factory. He, naturally, hopes that at some future date, when rent, railway profits, and the interest on the National Debt are apportioned, without distinction of class, he may be saved, at least, from the pinch of hunger, if not from the need to work. 'The first impression of the intelligent population,' says Mr. Ruskin in his *Crown of Wild Olives*, 'is this, that as in the dark ages half the nation lived idle, in the bright ages to come the whole of it may.'

Let us now suppose, that all these things have been effected. Every farm of over a thousand acres has become the property of the nation. Railways are under government control, and the capital belongs to the whole people. Every soul in the realm has now its share in the interest of the National Debt. Royalty, too, has disappeared, and with it the heavy expenses of the court. What additions will now accrue to the incomes received under the old system? I shall take these items separately. The land account would be worth to each a little less than three farthings a day. If the whole rent were divided amongst us this income would be increased by a penny farthing. Railway profits and the National Debt would afford us each about three half-pence a day. If the royal court were abolished to-morrow, we should each be enriched by sixpence a year, or the one-thirty-sixth of a penny a day. Into such figures the socialist Utopia shrinks and dissolves. With such miserable results awaiting the proletarian, his eyes are made to swim, in the delusive vision of future greatness, and wealth, and ease.

This style of argument, I must admit, smacks strongly of the Chrysippean fallacy. Items that, separately, are

of little account, may be formidable enough when taken conjointly. What then about those lesser concerns from which considerable profits are at present realized? I answer, first: that the number of concerns it is possible to nationalize is a very insignificant portion of our industry. As I have said already, the greater number of private concerns depend for their existence on the energy and tact of a single capitalist, and can exist only because he is imbued and stimulated by the thought that whatever is lost, is lost to himself, and whatever is gained will be his own. But let us examine the more chimerical hypothesis, and suppose, for an instant, that the entire capital of the British nation is actually centralized in the national treasury. How far, we ask, would the ensuing profits exceed the wages apportioned in our industry for average labour in an average market? We are not contemplating the division of capital, but only of profits furnished by its use. The national income of England now, allowance being made for second countings, is about £1,200,000,000 a year. If every halfpenny of this money were divided, according to gradation of age and sex, Mr. Mallock computes that the result would be approximately as follows:—

	s.	d.	
For each adult male . . .	19	6	a week
„ „ female . . .	14	6	„
„ youth . . .	10	0	„
„ infant . . .	4	0	„

Now each of these with the exception of the infant would have to work for the amount received. Compare these figures with the average wages received for labour in the English markets. Mr. Giffen has shown that the average wage is over 20s. a week. Forty-one per cent. of the labouring population are in receipt of more than 25s. Only twenty-three per cent. earn less than 20s. Few boys and girls in the English factories are in receipt of less than 10s. a week. Most of them earn a great deal more. Of course, more women would be working than now, and that would be some increase to trade; and the support of the infant is not to be despised. But, as I said, the case is quite

chimerical. Our figures will fall on a slight analysis. I am not now referring to the decay of industry that should necessarily follow the introduction of socialism. I am speaking of quite another matter. Let us examine the nature of the national income, and then we shall see that an enormous portion of that same income is really not divisible at all, and that consequently the figures given above will be found to shrink to a smaller compass. Of the £1,200,000,000 that make up our profits, only £38,000,000 are represented by coin. An immense portion of what remains could never be divided as money can, consisting as it does, of service, transports, new works of art, expensive furniture, plate, &c. Even of that portion which is actually divisible, more than one half is made up of imports given in exchange for goods exported. But such exchange will last only as long as the untiring energy of capitalist and entrepreneur can put their products into competition with the best goods in the world's markets. We shall afterwards see how unfavourable socialism is likely to prove to the exercise of industrial energy.

We see now that that portion of the £1,200,000,000 income, divisible into lots falls very short of the total itself, for a picture cannot be cut in strips and served out to buyers like common cloth.

But a matter of importance awaits us yet. We have taken it for granted in the computations made, that our present income would continue to exist quite independent of the industrial revolution that socialism is to bring about. We have taken it for granted, that the profits of industry are a constant quantity, having nothing to do with particular systems of production, management, and administration of capital. But now I say that a very great part of our national income must necessarily vanish in the socialistic state. To prove it, we must see what is the cause of the immense additions that have accrued to capital in the century that has just now passed. We cannot do better in answering this question, than to follow the lines laid down by Mr. Mallock in his account of the growth of capital in England. But before doing so, there are other matters that

he has not touched, that must claim the reader's closest attention. A century ago the capital of England amounted to about £1,600,000,000. It now stands at £10,000,000,000. What is the origin of this increase? The answer is plain--capital has increased because profits are saved. £200,000,000 are put by annually, and added to the store of existing capital. But profits are saved because they belong to a few rich men, who cannot spend half of their income. If each could spend his entire income very little capital could be saved at all. This is the use industry makes of the Rothschilds, Vanderbilts, &c.

But now I ask, on whom in reality do the profits of these savings finally devolve? Who benefits most by the yearly additions that are made to capital? It is often said that the rich grow richer, and the poor poorer as capital increases. This, of course, would be a serious objection to the thesis I am defending: that socialism runs counter to the workman's interest, because it is unfavourable to the accumulation of capital. But what now are the facts of the case? Since 1843 the income of capital has increased only by one hundred per cent. But, on the other hand, the amount of capital has increased in the time as much as one hundred and fifty per cent. Thus the income of capital has been steadily declining in relation to the growth of capital itself. But I have not yet touched the crucial point. Let us put out of sight a few rich men like Vanderbilts, Rothschilds, Goulds, &c. Now how, I ask, has capital increased by one hundred and fifty per cent. in fifty years? Is it by additions to each man's capital, or by the augmentation of the number of capitalists? Mainly, I say, in the latter way. The number of capitalists has considerably increased, as can be seen from the statistics of probate duties. Capital then has reached its present dimensions, principally because with the progress of industry and wealth the proletarians have become so rich that a considerable number are enabled yearly to pass over to the body of capitalists. This then is the effect of the accumulation of capital. The poor are not poorer, but have benefited exceedingly by the increase of capital. But the increase of

capital was absolutely necessary for the life of industry. It will be easily seen, that the prime condition of increase of wealth, particularly in newly-opened countries, is the amassing together of sufficient capital to keep her thousands of wheels flying, and maintain the din and roar of her factories. How has capital been increased in America? It has increased because her rich men cannot spend their profits. Not a tenth part of the product of their capital could possibly be spent by the most extravagant owners. The rest is saved, and put out as capital, with this result, that in a hundred years the wages of labour have more than quadrupled, and that innumerable labourers are becoming capitalists, renewing the vigour and life of trade, and setting fresh industries afloat.

But the reader may object, if socialism were once established, could not such capital be saved by the state, before the general distribution of the profits? In this she might maintain her industries quite as efficiently as can now be done. This brings me to the central point of this whole critique. We shall see that the state could not hoard up capital, and for this one reason, that socialism entails the decay of industry, and the consequent decline of the profits of capital. We shall see that the incentives that now quicken trade will be altogether wanting in the socialistic state, and that in the vapid industry that will then ensue the growth of capital must be impeded. Let us remember too, that in a living industry the very same process that impedes the growth, must carry on finally to industrial decay.

Let me briefly restate the question to be treated. We have just been treating as a chimerical hypothesis the division of the entire capital of England. We admitted, however, that if such a division could be carried out, the poorer families would be slightly richer than they are under our present regime. This is quite natural. The levelling down of the rich man's profits, the sum to be divided remaining the same naturally entailed a rise elsewhere. The increase, however, was slight and disappointing. Now socialism would destroy the interest on capital, and bring all

salaries to a common level. To keep the salaries of the entrepreneur at their present level, would entail the accumulation of private capital. This must not be in the Socialistic State. Salaries must fall to a very low level, and the poor man's wages accordingly rise. This is the balance on which socialism works. But now let us notice that the balance in question rests, as on a fulcrum, on one condition, viz., that the sum to be divided is a constant factor. That condition I must now examine. We shall see that it never could be fulfilled. We shall see that the extinction of private capital, and the general levelling of wages for work, will entail the instant decay of industry, and the consequent decline of profits and capital.

To what shall we attribute the increase of profits in the century that is about to close. A century ago the income of Great Britain was £140,000,000. The labouring population was then ten millions. To these ten million, half the income, that is £70,000,000 were annually assigned. What is the state of labour to-day. Every ten million labourers to-day receive not £70,000,000, but £200,000,000. Let us mark this well. These ten million labourers are now in receipt of £60,000,000 a year more than if the whole (not half) of the entire income were divided amongst them a century ago. These are figures that ought to be engraven on every mind. They surpass the wildest dreams of socialism. They proclaim, moreover, an accomplished fact, whilst socialism is only tentative. Let us examine this matter closely. To what are we to attribute the vast increase in our national income? Is it to labour? Decidedly not. Labour was more skilled two thousand years ago than it is to-day. The skilled labour of the ancient Greeks, as evinced, for instance, in the cutting of gems, will be looked for in vain in the workshops of to-day. Labour as such is unprogressive. What, then, is the source of the growth of profits? It is not Labour. It is not Capital. It is not the Land. The economic factors in the production of wealth must henceforth be written Land, Labour, Capital, and Ability. Ability in investing, ability in maintaining, in extending the range, and perfecting the methods

and deepening the intensity and life of our industries. Ability is not mere idle genius. It is talent, and tact, and energy, and prudence strained to the utmost in trade and commerce. Ability is more than mere skilled labour. One stroke of ability can reach to thousands. It increases the product of each man's labour. Skilled labour affects one labourer alone. One stroke of ability, Cartwright's invention, left two hundred and fifty thousand men idle, with their hand looms beside them in the market-place. But ability employed them and enriched them again. Skilled labour may teach me to push my barrow, or hold my file, or adjust the tin sheet in the lamp stamp; but it cannot make me facilitate the work, and increase the products of thousands of men. But inventions are barren, and often destructive when not directed by able men. The ability of the entrepreneur is of more importance than that of the inventor. The terrible evils of over-production, that have merged whole cities in the blackest ruin, are an instance of what invention may do without the exercise of directive ability. Let diligence sustain and ability direct the pace of industry, and then invention is a source of wealth. England's wealth is fabulous to-day; but let her keen business-men depart from her shores, let her cease to inspire them with the hope of gain, and her independence and wealth would decline more rapidly even than they rose. When trade declined in '91 cheeks grew pale at the catastrophe that threatened. It is the keen eye of the entrepreneur that keeps us yearly from such calamities.¹ And what has been eliciting the exercise of ability? The hope of gain; of gain proportioned to the worth and work of one who knows that he is worth more than a hundred labourers in the manipulation of capital, and the production of profits.

The man who must live from week to week, who

¹ In an interesting article, 'Le règne de l'argent,' in the December number of *Les deux Mondes*, M. Anatole Beaulieu writes as follows:—'S'il n'y avait à la Bourse que des hommes d'affaires, des financiers, des banquiers, les crises seraient plus rares, et les chutes moins profondes. Ce qui en fait la fréquence et la gravité, c'est le plus souvent l'intervention du public.'

receives just what keeps him for the week, and cannot make capital out of what is left, who is sure of the pittance that the nation allots him, with no overseer to spur his energies, or with an overseer who is paid like himself, as secure as himself, as unaffected by loss as himself: will such a man spend sleepless nights, and toil all day, studying, devising, planning new modes, and selecting grooves for the industry he directs? 'The knowledge,' says professor Walker, 'that he will gain what is gained, and lose what is lost, is essential to the temper of a man of business.' This, I repeat, could alone have induced him to watch with anxiety the tides of trade, to grasp the opportunities of fitful markets: and to propel his industry through dangerous channels, when so little might have submerged it. Mr. Dale Owen had lived with the socialists at Nashoba, and he writes thus:—

A plan which remunerates all alike, will, in the present condition of society, ultimately eliminate from a co-operative association the skilled, and efficient, and industrious members, leaving an ineffective and sluggish residue, in whose hands the expedient will fail both socially and pecuniarily.

And Mrs. Annie Besant, apparently for the moment off her guard, admits

That the abnormal development of the gold hunger [which characterizes our present system] will disappear upon the certainty for each of the means of subsistence. Let each individual feel absolutely secure for his day's subsistence. Let every anxiety as to the material wants of the future be swept away, and the tyranny of pecuniary gain will be broken, and life will begin to be used in living, and not in struggling for the chance to live.

I know that the theory I have been propounding is not in accordance with that noble trust that the socialists evince in future man. The socialist heart revolts at the idea that man is moved by the hope of gain. They deny that the dynamics of the human heart are naturally selfish or material. They tell us, too, that socialism will come, not with revolution, but with the evolution of the human ideal, when selfishness shall have passed away. We can only say, that such a process is by no means viable in the

facts and periods of the history of industry. Socialists, like Mr. Kirkup, affirm that the selfish system is of recent growth. Evolution then has been working backwards. The poverty and isolation of the proletarian succeeded to happier feudal days. The classes then separated more and more. The labourer sank till he could sink no further. The capitalist fed him as he fed his horse. He gave him just what kept him alive, that his hands might not drop whilst he dug the gold out of the capitalist's industrial gold mine. 'O God,' said Hood, 'that bread should be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap.' And if labour has advanced in recent years, to what are we to refer its progress and power? To what shall we attribute the power of the trades-unions? To the evolution of the philanthropic man? No. Mr. Howell, their greatest advocate, informs us that trades-unionism is now recognised in the land solely on account of its 'innate strength.'

I have dwelt on this, not because it is worth considering on its own ground, but because the socialists have been so tenacious in offering their idea of the 'unselfish man.' Listen to this, from Mr. Blatchford's volume on *Merrie England*. He speaks of those who think men selfish:—

These flaws [*i.e.*, the opinions we have been propounding] are due to the fact that the founders and upholders of the system of grab and greed are men who have never possessed either the capacity or the opportunity for studying human nature. Mere bookmen, schoolmen, logic-choppers, and business men can be no authorities on human nature. The great authorities on human nature are the poets, the novelists, and the artists . . . The only books for the study of human nature are the works of men like Shakspeare, Hugo, Cervantes, and Sterne, and others who have studied in that school.

The day is coming, therefore, when poets and artists shall direct our industries. Business men know nothing of the tendencies and wiles of buyers and sellers. Let poets and artists, therefore, rule our factories, our imports and exports, our markets and salehouses; let them dream their day-dreams in our banks and exchanges; let *Hamlet*, and *Don Quixote*, and *The Muleteer* replace our weekly market journals and financial reviews. 'Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened.'

Let us now inquire what are the incentives which the socialists substitute for the hope of gain. Mrs. Annie Besant enumerates them thus—(1) The starvation that would follow on the cessation of labour; (2) the determination of our fellow-workers not to allow us to shirk our work; (3) the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence, &c. Let us review them briefly. But first let me say that these incentives are supposed to stimulate not only ability, but also the work of the ordinary labourer.

The first incentive I may instantly dismiss with this one remark, that we are not concerned with the *existence* of industry, but with its maturity, pace, and growth. We are not questioning the cessation of labour, but only its decline. Both managers and men may *cling on* to their employment, and receive the wages appointed by the state: but this is not the point at issue. The work of the dilettante may keep him from starvation. But what we ask is this—what incentive has the socialist to offer to that keen, unrelenting, untiring energy that has brought our industry to its present state?

The second incentive is the eye of our companions. Life shall become a system of mere universal espionage. Will such a system be welcome to mankind? It were better to be poor, most men would reply, than that every man should be my keeper.

Tanti tibi non sit opaci,
Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur aurum
Ut somno careas, ponendaque præmia sumas
Tristis, et a magno semper timearis amico.¹

But let us consider the case as it stands. Two men are working at the same lathe; they both earn a pound a week. A idles most of his time. He has a right only to ten shillings a week; but the state pays him his full wages. It is evident that the divide will suffer by this. Now, to what extent is B injured? To the one seventy-six-millionth of a pound. The same objection might be put also in

¹ Juvenal, 87.

another form—will it not be a man's own interest to work his best? His idleness ultimately recoils upon himself. The profits to be divided will not be so large. The answer is the same as in the last case. If a man were to live to the age of sixty, and during most of that time, were to neglect his work, spending his time drinking and sleeping; to what extent would he suffer in the end? The calculation is very simple. He would lose about the one forty-thousandth of a pound, or the one-hundred-and-sixtieth part of a penny. Such trivial effects are not likely to stimulate either his neighbour's vigilance or his own energies. Besides, does he not know that numerous workmen throughout the country are wasting their time and receiving money, and shall he strive to do justice to the nation, whilst others are living at his expense?

Thirdly, there are, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness for social honours, the instinct of benevolence, &c. The first two of these could never maintain or push on our industries. They might influence a race of poets and artists, but they have little effect on the mass of labourers. Social honours are much more palpable. What these honours are to be is not yet decided. They will, probably, resemble the honours of Nashoba, *i.e.*, 'the very good, good, indifferent, and bad,' indicated by the colour of the ribbon on the head; such honours as these have been generally adopted in our infant schools, and are found to work very effectually. Even grown-up men have set much value on the medals of the Humane Society: but if twenty millions were to receive them yearly they would scarcely incite us to deeds of heroism. I have already spoken of the instinct of benevolence. These then are the incentives that the socialists offer for the maintenance and progress of our industries. We can scarcely regard them as very effectual.

Let me sum up briefly what I have been saying on the benefits we may expect from socialism. The present system of the market entails fixed wages for the proletarian, which, taken from the varying product of industry, leaves for the capitalist a varying and uncertain profit. In the socialistic state the case is reversed. Fixed wages for the manager,

but a varying divide for the mass of labourers, from a very changeable and uncertain product, that is supposed to be kept at its present level by certain sentimental stimuli, that for the mass of men are wholly ineffectual, and for all are necessarily short-lived.

I come now to a matter that has probably suggested itself to the reader already. I have been endeavouring to show, that socialism entails the decay of industry, from want of appropriate and adequate incentives. But does not the existence of co-operative industries portray in miniature what might be expected from the socialistic state? The principles and results of both are the same; but co-operative industries continue to exist, and afford their shareholders an annual divide. I am not now speaking of joint stock companies, with a few capitalists, and a host of efficient and well-paid managers. I speak, for instance, of co-operative stores, where the entrepreneur is almost dispensed with. I answer, the cases are very different. For we may store up as capital whatever we reap from co-operative industries, and put it out at premium, which could not be done in the socialistic state. But, as a matter of fact, what has been the history of co-operative industries? Have they succeeded where they have been tried? We can answer only by appealing to facts. The co-operative cotton mills that were started in England either failed or were converted into joint stock companies. The co-operative stores that were started in France, after the revolution of '48 were an utter failure. In Switzerland, where everything favoured their adoption, the people never took kindly to them. Even joint stock companies with a number of capitalists, where no one has heavy stakes to risk, are not likely to advance like private concerns. Studnitz informs us that, in 1878, he found the mills of New York all idle, and those of Philadelphia working away; and he attributes the fact to this alone, that the former were under joint stock companies, but the latter belonged to private owners. It will be readily seen that the co-operation of which I have been speaking has nothing to do with that co-operation which is advocated in agricultural matters,

a system that has proved of use to farmers here and elsewhere.

I shall just refer to one other matter. The reader may say I have treated this question as if socialism demanded a number of centres: as if England, France, Germany, &c., were each to possess its own treasury. But the aims of socialism may be wider than this. If nations were linked one to another, and the whole world were but one treasury, would not depressions of trade in a particular centre be counteracted by a proportional rise in another department of the universal industry, as surface depressions in particular places are followed by the upheaval of hills elsewhere. Thus the fluctuations of local markets would have no effect in the final divide. Now, the reader will admit that the system of industry here advocated is certainly one of the impossible ideals of which I spoke in the beginning of this paper. But let us examine it for what it is worth. I say that the objection that has just been offered embodies a serious economic fallacy, a fallacy that assumes many different shapes throughout the course of economic science. The fallacious principle involved is this—that any depression in a particular industry, carried through the easy channels of commerce in a perfectly adjusted organic system, is necessarily followed by a rise elsewhere. The principle means that capital and profits are a constant quantity, and that, consequently, whatever is lost to a particular market is gained by another, as a matter of course. I might call it the fallacy of the ‘profit fund,’ from its close resemblance to the ‘wages fund.’ Now, I say profits are not a constant quantity. They are capable of growth and diminution. They are more unstable than capital itself. We know very well that the failure of an industry in a particular place will often occasion its rise elsewhere, as the Lancashire cotton famine some years ago stimulated to a very large extent the growth of cotton in India, Egypt, and Brazil. But I fail to see why the economic effects of over-population or of over-production of market goods is bound to enrich a market anywhere. Products often have a limited market, inside of which alone they can sell. The surplus supply cannot be

transferred. In a case like this over-production is necessarily a loss. A case like this may easily entail the general collapse of trade and commerce. Now, the want of incentives is of such a kind ; where incentives are not adequate, industry must flag. We must also remember that industry does not right *itself*. If equilibrium is ever established, it is secured by artificial means, by positive interference on the part of the manager. But such interference is often useless, and often it is quite impossible. We sometimes unconsciously touch a spring that sets markets heaving all over the world, for the springs of commerce are very hidden, and often utterly out of our control. In 1885 it was impossible to tell why trade was depressed in 1882. Mr. Giffen could only conjecture the cause. He said it was *probably* due to the fact that the demand for gold was very great, and the supply was so small, after the enormous output of that metal that followed the Australian and Californian discoveries.

I say then that we have no reason to expect, that the centralization of the world's industry will ensure the stability of profits and salaries. On the contrary, I can easily retort, that no security may be hoped for in a system where the least convulsion in any locality would thrill through every fibre of our industry, and set markets heaving in the remotest places.

There are many points on which I have not touched, that bear down intimately on the question in hand. But we must leave them aside for the present. I have shown, I hope, that socialism would not favour the production of wealth ; that labour would suffer by such a system ; that all that socialism might have attempted in the past, has been secured on quite other lines ; that the same success could not have been reaped had socialism been the national system ; that, therefore, we have nothing to hope for from its adoption, but a very great deal to fear.

The reader may ask, is there no redress, then, for our present evils ? I answer that socialism could offer none. But the future is full of hope for labour. It is only recently that the rights of labour have been really recognised. Capitalists see that it is more in accordance with their own

interests to give to labour what is due to it. The system that Macaulay described so vividly is already passing or passed away, and it has come to this that labour is in a position to exercise its rights, and capital is not in a position to ignore them. Political economy is an altered science, for the school of *laissez-faire* is dead. 'It needs,' says Mr. Howell, 'no prophet to foretell that human labour will not in the future be divorced from the man-worker, and be treated as a mere commodity like pigs or potatoes, corn or cabbage, as was the tendency of most writers, more than a generation ago.'

Let us hope that in the future we may see accomplished what the Church's voice has been ever advocating, the recognition of our common destiny, to be reached by many diverse paths.

M. CRONIN, D.D., M.A.

DANTE'S FIRST DEFENDER

AT the beginning and at the end of Dante's life, Bologna produced two poets closely connected with the singer of the *Divine Comedy*: Guido Guinicelli, and Graziolo de' Bambaglioli. The one was as the morning star to the sun, the other a fainter light just visible in its setting. Both, like Dante, were exiles, and like him solaced their banishment with song; Guido Guinicelli, Dante's master and father in poetic art, was exiled for his devotion to the Empire; Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, his earliest apologist, and almost his first commentator, for his adherence to the party of the Church.

Graziolo, or Bonagrazia, de' Bambaglioli was born about 1291, of an old Bolognese family. His father was a wealthy citizen who had held various offices under the Republic, and seems to have possessed estates in the country. Our poet became a notary, and rose to considerable eminence and authority in the Guelph party of Bologna; and, in July, 1321, he was elected Chancellor of the Commune, at a

peculiarly critical time when a revolution had violently expelled Romeo de' Pepoli (a rich usurer, who had become practically lord of the city), and had established a new form of government, in many respects resembling the famous popular constitution of the Florentine Republic, with its Priors of the Arts and its 'Gonfaloniere di Giustizia.' Two months later, on September 14th, Dante died at Ravenna. The poet of a renovated Empire and a purified Church had passed away upon the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, which he represents in his poem as the connecting band with which Christ had united the two.

It was while Chancellor of Bologna that Ser Graziolo wrote the first of his two great works that still remain to us, his commentary upon the *Inferno*. Dante's writings, perhaps, excited even greater interest in Bologna than elsewhere, although in the *Inferno* he had assailed the moral character of its citizens and treated its renowned University with scant courtesy. His lyrics were certainly known and sung there before their author's exile. In the early days of his banishment Dante had probably been a well-known figure in the city, before the disturbance of 1306 hounded the exiles out of Bologna too. Towards the end of his life those charming pastoral letters in Latin hexameters which he interchanged with Giovanni del Virgilio, a young lecturer of the university, show that there was a cultured Bolognese circle who eagerly read the *Divine Comedy*, as its cantos appeared: and that the city would gladly have bestowed the laurel crown upon its author. But, above all, the *De Monarchia* must have appealed strongly to the Bologna University, which in spite of the Guelphic politics of the Commune remained in theory ardently Ghibelline and imperialist, and from whose jurists the emperors had often, in times past, applied for confirmation of their pretended rights over the Italian cities.

The conflict between the Pope and Ludwig of Bavaria, following soon after Dante's death, increased the interest taken in his writings, and added the stimulus of a burning political question. Boccaccio tells us that the Imperialists used arguments from the *De Monarchia* in support of

Ludwig's pretensions, and that the book, which until then was little known, became very famous. Calumniators and detractors now arose. Antonio Pucci, a Florentine poet, who wrote nearly half a century later, declares that in his days the Pope and the cardinals would have been among the foremost champions of Dante's reputation. But at the time things were not so obvious. Not only did such free lances as the poet Cecco d' Ascoli sharpen their tongues against him, but even the official clerical party in Bologna fiercely assailed Dante's orthodoxy and denounced his works as heretical, both from the *De Monarchia* and from certain passages in the *Inferno*. A Dominican friar from Rimini, Fra Guido Vernani, made himself their spokesman. With Escalus, 'we shall find this friar a notable fellow,' although nothing seems known of him except his extraordinary attack upon the memory of the divine poet. *De Potestate summi Pontificis et de reprobatione Monarchiae compositae a Dante Aligherio*, is the title given by the Dominican to this remarkable production, which he dedicates to 'his well-beloved son, Graziolo de' Bambaglioli, Chancellor of the noble Commune of Bologna,' probably as one of the leading Guelph politicians of Bologna, distinguished alike for his undoubted orthodoxy and for his enthusiastic admiration of Dante. In his exordium, Fra Guido represents Dante's works as a growing danger to the faith, as a vessel lovely to look upon, but containing cruel and pestilent poison. The poet, according to him, is an agent of the father of lies, a fantastic and verbose sophist, who, by his alluring eloquence and sweet siren strains, by uniting the philosophy of Boethius to his own poetical imaginations and fictions, and combining paganism with theology, is deluding not only the weaker brethren, but even studious and learned persons. Dismissing Dante's other works with contempt, this daring friar proceeds confidently to make manifest the worthlessness of the treatise on the Monarchy, from which attempt he trusts that Ser Graziolo will derive much spiritual profit and edification:—

This then do I send to thee, well-beloved son, in order that thy intellect clear by nature and acute by divine grace, eager in

the investigation of truth, as far as the great affairs committed to thee allow, whilst studious of the beauties of this man's work, may choose and love what is useful, reject what is false, censure the superfluous, and avoid the useless and harmful.

It must be admitted that the friar sometimes manages to score rather heavily off the poet, especially where he answers two of Dante's favourite arguments about the divine approbation of the Empire. Thus, when Dante declares that Christ approved the empire of Caesar when He willed to be born under the edict of Augustus, the friar answers that it would follow from this line of argument that the devil acted justly in tempting Christ, and Judas by betraying Him, the Jews by crucifying Him with their tongues, the soldiers when they scourged Him, and Pilate when he condemned Him to death; for Christ willed to be in their power, and was offered up because it was His will. Again, Dante argues that, if the Roman Empire did not exist by right, the sin of Adam was not punished in Christ, and that the judgment of Pilate must have been the sentence of a regular judge under the Emperor, who had universal authority over all mankind. Fra Guido answers that this is mere nonsense, for the punishment of original sin cannot possibly be subject to the power of any earthly judge, or else such a judge might lawfully put to death the new-born child.

Fra Guido's dedication clearly implies that Ser Graziolo was known to be engaged upon a commentary on the divine poet: and it was probably in answer to this challenge that Graziolo produced the work, which still in part remains to mark its author as the first Catholic apologist for Dante, the first in the long line of writers from Bellarmine to Hettinger and Cornoldi, who have written from the essentially Catholic point of view, to show the true relationship of the Church towards her greatest poet. The key-note to the intention of Graziolo's commentary is struck in the passage where he explains Dante's treatment of the suicides: *Credo tamen auctorem præfatum tanquam fidem Catholicam omni prudentia et scientia clarum, suo tenuisse iudicio quod ecclesia sancta tenet*: 'I believe that our author as a faithful Catholic held what holy

Church holds.' This commentary first appeared about three years after Dante's death. It became very famous; contemporary, and even later commentators quoted and borrowed from it. The author of the *Ottimo Commento*, generally called the *Ottimo*, who wrote about ten years later, in 1334, twice quotes Ser Graziolo as a defender of Dante's orthodoxy, although he himself holds that there is no need of any such defence, and that the *Paradiso* in itself contains a sufficient answer to any accusation of heresy. Already in 1334, theories casting doubt upon Dante's Catholicity were regarded by the poet's best commentators as mere antiquated curiosities.

Ser Graziolo's commentary has come down to us in an early Italian translation, and in a very fragmentary version of the original Latin. The former was published by Lord Vernon, in 1848; the latter was first edited by Professor A. Fiammazzo, in 1892.¹ It is mainly its position in the history of the literary study of the *Divine Comedy* which gives this commentary its interest, and invests it with charm. It gives us, about certain special points, the opinion of one who was perhaps Dante's first commentator, and who may even, like Pietro Alighieri and the *Ottimo*, have been in personal contact with the divine singer. It is clearly Graziolo's own enthusiastic admiration for Dante, and the resulting desire to defend his hero from all detractors, that is the prime object of his undertaking. His generous proem, full of genuine enthusiasm, will find an echo in the heart of every loving student of Dante:—

Although the unsearchable Providence of God hath made many men blessed with prudence and virtue, yet before all hath it put Dante Alighieri, a man of noble and profound wisdom, true teacher of philosophy and lofty poet, the author of this marvellous, singular and most sapient work. It hath made him a shining light of spiritual felicity and of knowledge to the people and cities of the world, in order that every science, whether of heavenly or of earthly things, should be amply gathered up in this public and famous champion of prudence, and through him be

¹ Fiammazzo, *Il Commento all'Inferno di Graziolo de' Bamberghvoli*, Udine, 1892. Cf. also Rocca, *Di Alcuni Commenti della D.C. composti nei primi cent'anni dopo la morte di Dante*, Firenze, 1891.

made manifest to the desires of men in witness of the Divine Wisdom; so that, by the new sweetness and universal matter of his song, he should draw the souls of his hearers to self-knowledge, and that, raised above earthly desires, they should come to know not only the beauties of this great author, but should attain to still higher grades of knowledge. To him can be applied the text in Ecclesiasticus: 'The great Lord will fill him with the spirit of understanding, and he will pour forth the words of his wisdom as showers.' And of him can be expounded the writing of Ezekiel: 'A large eagle with great wings, long-limbed, full of feathers, and of variety, came to Libanus, and took away the marrow of the cedar: he cropt off the top of the twigs thereof, and carried it away into the land of Chanaan.'

Certainly this comparison would have delighted the heart of Dante, finding himself likened to the emblem of his universal Roman monarchy, the Bird of God, the sacrosanct sign, whose praises he had sung in the sixth Canto of the *Paradiso*. It is to be devoutly hoped that a copy of this work penetrated into the Dominican Convent of Rimini, and was carefully studied by Fra Guido Vernani.

Throughout his commentary Ser Graziolo rather disregards the general allegorical meaning, that splendid but difficult field upon which the *Ottimo*, and, later in the century, Benvenuto da Imola, were to do such admirable work. He is strong upon the *personal* aspect of the poem. According to him, the sleep that Dante describes in the first Canto is the poet's own sinful life; he had wandered from the way of truth, and was stained with luxury, pride, and avarice. Virgil represents Reason; he appears in order to lead Dante to true knowledge, to awaken his conscience, and so raise him from vice and dispose him to virtue. Graziolo seems likewise to distinguish between a literal and an allegorical Beatrice; in the one sense, she is some supreme virtue, *summa virtus*; and in the other, the noble soul of Lady Beatrice, *anima generosa dominæ Beatricis*. True to his intention of, above all, defending Dante's orthodoxy, Graziolo manages to very much tone down the terrible and bitter words addressed to Pope Nicholas III.,¹ and turns away Dante's shaft from the Papacy to strike the

¹ *Inf.* xix.

great and mighty of the world in general. In commenting upon the famous and much-disputed passage: *Colui che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto*,¹ 'He who made through cowardice the great refusal,' Graziolo admits that St. Celestine V. is the person meant, but tries to interpret the passage so as to defend both St. Celestine and his successor: 'Through the carefulness and sagacity of Pope Boniface, he renounced the papacy.' It was a far easier matter to prove Dante's complete orthodoxy on the two points which his enemies had specially seized upon as heretical; the one in connection with the power and influence of fortune, which was supposed to involve a denial of the possession of free will;² and the other on the fate of the suicides whose souls were apparently never to be reunited to their bodies,³ which was represented as opposed to the resurrection of the body. In neither case did the hostile critics think it worth while to look beyond the special passages to the Cantos in which these two sublime Catholic doctrines are so fully and splendidly treated; and Graziolo, instead of pointing out the absurdity and triviality of such objections, solemnly protests his conviction that the poet adhered to the Church's doctrine upon these and all other subjects, and then enters into a rather long and dreary digression upon each. It does not even occur to him that Dante's treatment of the suicides is merely a fine poetical fiction; but he regards it as a metaphorical way of speaking, and thinks that perhaps the poet only meant that there is no remedy for this sin of despair, so as to give men a terrible warning against cutting themselves off from the hope of divine mercy by committing suicide.

Perhaps, of all the problems arising out of the *Divine Comedy*, not one has proved so incapable of certain solution as that most mysterious prophecy uttered at the beginning of the poem, of the coming of a Deliverer, the *Veltro* or greyhound, who is to be the salvation of Italy, and to hunt the horrible she-wolf back to hell. Hardly two critics are in

¹ *Inferno* iii.² *Inferno* vii.³ *Inferno* xiii.

complete agreement as to what Dante really meant by this prophecy, which in slightly varied forms is repeated several times in the course of the poem : and the fancies of modern commentators have run riot in suggesting fresh and impossible interpretations of the wolf and his mysterious destroyer. The position of Ser Graziolo at the very beginning of the critical study of the *Divine Comedy* gives peculiar interest to his interpretation of the question. For him the wolf is cupidity, *radix omnium malorum*, and he sees no political meaning in the matter. He mentions that even then a great variety of views was held upon the *Veltro*, but declares that it ought certainly to be understood in two ways—in a divine sense and in a human sense, both of which he works out in detail. In the former, this *Veltro* refers to the coming of the Son of God at the last judgment ; in the latter, the *Veltro* is some Pope or Emperor, or some other hero who will arise by the influence of the heavens, under whose wise and just rule universal peace will be established, and the human race will again turn to virtue and truth. And Ser Graziolo, in support of his view, quotes the famous canzone or ode which Dante wrote in exile, commencing with the line :—

Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute.

‘Three ladies have come around my heart.’ These three mystic ladies are Righteousness, Generosity, and Temperance ; exiles too, they appear to Dante in his banishment, and assure him that, although the virtues have been all expelled from men’s hearts, yet they are not dead, and that a nobler age is to come in which the sacred darts of love will again shine brightly amongst men :—

We to the eternal rock may turn ;
For, be we now sore driven,
We yet shall live, and yet shall find a race
Who with this dart shall each dark stain efface.¹

It was in this canzone, so loved by Graziolo, that Dante, exulting in these noble spiritual companions in misfortune,

¹ Plumptre’s translation.

had uttered the sentence which strikes the key-note of his life:—

L'esilio che m'è dato onor mi tegno.

‘I hold my exile as an honour.’ And Dante’s defender and commentator was now to experience the same fate.

Bologna lay restlessly beneath the strong hand of Cardinal Bertrando del Poggetto, who had been sent into Italy by Pope John XXII., in 1326, as Papal Legate to defend Tuscany and the Romagna against the petty tyrants who were rising up on all sides. Abusing the authority committed to him to serve his own ambitious ends, Bertrando had taken advantage of the alarm and confusion caused by the Italian expedition of Ludwig of Bavaria to make himself lord of Bologna and several of the neighbouring cities. His rule was at first eminently popular; but, embittered by suspicion and carried away by success, he gradually assumed the part of a typical Italian tyrant, and by his arrogance and cruelty aroused the fiercest animosity in the very men who had hailed him with acclamations as the Church’s champion, and the deliverer from the hated Bavarian Emperor. Amongst other arbitrary acts, he gained considerable notoriety by a disgraceful attempt to desecrate Dante’s tomb at Ravenna. At last, in 1334, the Bolognese rose against him. The Cardinal found himself besieged in the castle he had built to overawe the city, until, after a blockade of twelve days, he was allowed to escape under the protection of the Florentines, by virtue of a secret understanding with the leaders of the Bolognese, who were anxious to recover their liberties without embroiling themselves with the Pope.

The part played by Graziolo in these events was probably only a passive one; but, nevertheless, he became involved in the Cardinal’s fall. Through the assistance of the Florentines a new form of communal government was now established at Bologna, not without more disturbances, in which the party that had overthrown the Cardinal drove out their opponents. It is said that in June, 1334, more than a thousand Guelphs were thus expelled from Bologna, or sent

into exile, including nine members of the Bambaglioli family, and amongst them the Chancellor himself. Ser Graziolo does not seem to have been one of those who were violently expelled, but to have pledged himself to obey the decree of the Commune and remain in banishment. His paths are hidden in obscurity, but it is probable that he never returned to his native city. In 1340 there is a record of money given to the Franciscans for Masses to be said for the repose of his soul; and in 1343 he is mentioned as dead in an application of his son's to the Commune.¹

Like his great master Dante, Ser Graziolo in exile turned to poetry, and with the same noble end: 'To rescue those who live in this life from their state of misery, and to guide them to the state of blessedness,' though with immeasurably slighter powers, and therefore by humbler means. With a more modern poet, Graziolo might say:—

Of heaven or hell I have no power to sing.

He could not, like Dante, set forth the hideousness of vice and the beauty of virtue by a sublime vision of the world beyond the grave. He set himself, therefore, to attain the same end more simply, by plainly treating of the moral virtues, of their effects upon human society, and of the evils resulting from vice; and so, in his own way, to render testimony to his Maker:—

A tua eterna lode, alto signore.

This *Trattato sopra le Virtù Morali*, or *Treatise on the Moral Virtues*, which is the work of Graziolo's exile, as the commentary upon Dante had been the literary product of his political life, was originally sent by its author, together with a Latin commentary and a dedicatory letter, to Bertrando del Balzo, the kinsman of King Robert of Naples. In this way the treatise became afterwards ascribed to King Robert himself, under whose name it has more frequently been published than under that of its real author. In the dedication Graziolo describes himself as *olim civitatis Bononiae cancellarius*, and imitates the

¹ Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori Bolognesi*, Bologna, 1781.

epistolary style occasionally employed by Dante : *exul immeritus, humilis*. The letter itself is exactly in the spirit of Hamlet's words :—

Sure, He that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused.

The divine wisdom and clemency, he says, made man to His own image and likeness, that he should not fust in pernicious idleness and uselessness, but should use his intellect in speculation, so as to seek and find the truth ; for this does the Gospel, through St. Matthew, summon the labourers, whom no man has hired, to work in the vineyard of the Lord :—

Wherefore I, since no man has hired me to humbly labour or to hold office in the state, in order to remain no longer in idle waste of time during this unjust exile which envy prepared for me, have drawn out this treatise on natural morality from the approved writings of venerable authors.

The work is divided into three sections, each composed of a number of *sentenze*, short Italian stanzas of varying length and structure. Quadrio called it one of the finest and wisest of early Italian poems, and, although such praise is more than excessive, the treatise certainly has great merits. Before Graziolo, Francesco da Barberino and Dino Compagni produced somewhat similar works ; but Graziolo at the outset strikes a higher note, and his opening stanza :—

Amor che muovi 'l ciel per tua virtute,

shows that he had studied Dante's philosophical lyrics, as well as the *Divine Comedy* :—

Love, that movest the heaven by Thy power, and by the working of the stars dost alter all things here below, transferring kingdoms from state to state and from nation to nation : mercifully lend ear, Almighty Lord, and deign to inspire me that I may make manifest man's virtues and the result of his actions : to Thy eternal praise, Lord, for right affections can never be without Thy potent aid.

In its own modest and humble way, Ser Graziolo's poem is a supplement to the *Purgatorio*. The *Purgatorio* repre-

sented allegorically the life of man upon earth, striving to reach the Earthly Paradise in accordance with the moral and intellectual virtues. Graziolo, therefore, treats of the virtues which especially pertain to this life, the cardinal virtues which attain to human reason, and which 'perfect the intellect and appetite of man according to the capacity of human nature.' As for Dante in his *Purgatorio*, so for Graziolo the whole system of the poem is based upon the supremacy of free will.¹ The Lombard Marco, in *Purgatorio*, Canto vi., had exposed the 'admirable evasion' of man's referring his own misdeeds to the 'enforced obedience of planetary influence;' and Graziolo, in very similar strains, asserts the freedom of man's will and his own moral responsibility in spite of the planets. And, just as the *Purgatorio* is based upon the universality of love, and the consequent need of setting love in order, and centres in the doctrine that love is the cause of every action, so the first part of Graziolo's *Trattato* deals with love, starting with that noble invocation to the Supreme Love that moves the sun and the stars, and passing thence to love of charity and true friendship. Love and friendship unite all ranks in the common weal, put an end to strife, open all roads. Through love the world has peace and the heavens have beauty. Love exalts the lowly, makes the weak strong. To the state it gives unity for self-defence. It fills the world with sweetness and nobleness. The true lover, *il vero amico*, in prosperity and in adversity, loves and serves alike, expecting no reward. There are stern words, too, against ingratitude and against false friends; in many passages it is the exile's voice that is heard, pleading for that charity which opens gates, dispels civil strife, unites cities, and produces true peace and happy security.

The second part treats of the four cardinal virtues. It shows to some extent the influence of Dante's *Convito*; but the treatment is more slight and popular, and they are throughout considered with an eye to the direction of conduct in a man who is called upon to deal with politics, and with special reference to the maintenance of the state,

¹ Cf. F. Fubini, *Monumenti Letterari del Rinascimento*, Lucena, 1891.

and the order and welfare of the commune. It might, indeed, be described as a practical handbook of the cardinal virtues in their application to life in an Italian commune of the fourteenth century. Under Prudence there is a curious sketch of the duties of an ideal ruler towards his city, his household, and his subjects. He must curb his own will, and be ever intent upon the good of the commune; a very centre of charity, loving all his subjects in union, and winning their love in return; affable and pleasant to all, he is a bond of peace and unity. Especially he must be very careful as to the behaviour and morality of his own household, and at once weed out any undesirable member. He is to be prudent in rewarding and honouring merit, to beware of flatterers, but be open to receive good counsel from discreet and trusty friends. Warnings against indulging in plots on the part of the subject, and against unjust sentences on the part of the ruler, are followed by general denunciations of calumniators. Like Dante, Ser Graziolo had known what it was to suffer injustice,

Through sin of cursed slander's tongue and tooth.

The sentences on Fortitude are indeed applicable to the poet's own position. In adversity, he says, mental peace and joyfulness should be cultivated, for sadness is not only useless, but real spiritual suicide. Leave all vengeance to heaven, and await the turning of fortune's wheel. The man of true fortitude will thus experience how honour is gained in noble suffering:—

Come del bel soffrir s'acquista onore.

What Divine Providence permits is to be sustained with patience, for such things lead through body's loss to the eternal felicity of the soul in God:—

Per dar felicitate

Allo spirto che in Dio vive eternale.

There is here almost a faint foretaste of Shakespeare's sonnet:—

Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,

And let that pine to aggravate thy store;

Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;

Within be fed, without be rich no more.

The third, and concluding section treats of the seven deadly sins, and of the vices and defects of human life. It must be admitted that our good Graziolo has nothing very new to tell us upon these themes, and the best and most poetical passages are those in which he catches an echo from the *Convito* or the *Divine Comedy*. The two final sections are a kind of corollary; the first laments the malice of party spirit, and the second finds a cause for this, and for the resulting ruin of Italy, in the utter selfishness of states and individuals alike. The common good is neglected; each looks only to his own gain; the most zealous partisans will readily change sides for mercenary considerations; states are no longer in arms for great causes, but to maintain the power of individuals.

As he had commenced by invocation of the divine grace for his poem, so, before closing it, Graziolo gives thanks that his prayer has been answered, and ends by lifting the thoughts and desires of his readers from the life to which these virtues pertain, to that eternal and celestial life on the way towards which they are a step. The stanza has usually been omitted from the published editions of the *Trattato*; but it is, in its own very humble way, as essential a conclusion to the whole work as the *Paradiso* is to the *Purgatorio* :—

Opra novella, poich' hai dimostrato
 Li vitii e le virtù d'umana vita,
 Consiglia che ciascun' anzi l'uscita
 Provegga bene al suo eterno stato;
 Poi renda lode, gratia e reverentia
 All' infinita e superna eccellentia,
 La qual per pietade
 Ti ha spirato per la veritade.

'My little book, since thou hast shown the vices and virtues of human life, counsel each one before his death to provide well for his future state. Then render praise, thanks, and reverence to the infinite and supreme excellence which in compassion hath inspired thee for the truth.' There is, perhaps, a faint echo here from the *Convito*,¹ where the noble soul in the fourth and last period

¹ Book iv.

of life returns to God, and blesses the voyage she has made; and Graziolo's accompanying commentary ended in a similar strain: 'That with the heavenly citizens of the triumphant and holy Jerusalem we may glory and be at peace in Him, who is the last end of perfection and glory, who alone perfectly fulfils and sets at rest all human desires.' Thus we take leave of one who, although himself neither a great poet nor a very profound thinker, yet by his rectitude and sincerity wins respect in every fragment of his that remains to us, and who certainly claims considerable interest from his connection with Dante and the *Divine Comedy*, at the time of the poet's death and the beginning of the critical study of his work.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

MASSES FOR THE DEAD

REV. DEAR SIR,—From the answer given with reference to the 'Dead List' in the December number of the I. E. RECORD, it would seem that the November offerings must be looked upon as honoraria, and that the obligation attached cannot be fulfilled by saying second Masses when honoraria are already received for the first.

Now, if the method of division can be taken as determining whether these offerings are to be regarded as honoraria or dues, it seems to some and to me that a sound distinction would regulate the matter. If the offerings are distributed as honoraria the obligation is the same as for any other honoraria, and, consequently, it is prohibited to attempt to satisfy it by the second Mass when a stipend has been taken for the first; but when the division has been made according to the mode of parochial dues, then the celebrant is free to discharge his obligation by the second, as dues are not regarded as honoraria, but part and parcel of his official endowment or salary. As the question is important, practical, and subject to diversity of interpretation, I would be glad to hear more on the matter from the wise and the learned among your readers.

DUBIUS DUPLICANS.

The readers of the I. E. RECORD will, no doubt, readily understand our correspondent's point of view when he insists that this is an important and a practical question. But we decline to believe that, learned or unlearned, they will take his estimate of the relevancy or force of the argument on which he relies. Apart from the taste in making the distinction, we venture to think that our correspondent was singularly unfortunate in addressing his argument to the 'wise and learned' among our readers.

What are generally known as 'November offerings' our

correspondent prefers to describe and regard as 'dues.' We must confess to a preference for the ordinary designation; but the point is quite immaterial. Our correspondent conveys that the 'November offerings' are, in his parish, divided among the parochial clergy after the manner of the ordinary 'dues.' He seems to think that the custom of his parish or diocese is universal, and that it should settle terminology and practice. In both particulars he is in error. The practice of his parish is not universal; it cannot, therefore, settle terminology—still less practice. We gather from his letter—(1) that a portion of the November offerings reaches him; (2) that there is attached an obligation to offer a certain number of Masses for those whose names are on the 'Dead List'; (3) that he has sometimes legitimate permission to duplicate on Sunday; and (4) that, without any dispensation, he considers himself justified in offering his second Mass on Sunday in discharge of one of these 'November Masses,' though he has already taken a stipend for his first Mass on that same day. We are informed that this view is shared by others whom our correspondent has consulted. For the present, we prefer to believe that he has misunderstood these theologians.

It is admitted that in accepting his share of the November offerings, he contracts in justice to offer the requisite number of Masses for the dead. Otherwise, his difficulty, in case of duplication, could not arise. Now, that obligation in justice being admitted, it is manifest that our correspondent, if he acted on his own opinion, would take two stipends on the Sunday on which he celebrates his first Mass for an ordinary *honorarium*, and his second in satisfaction of the obligation arising from the 'November offering.' He may call the latter stipend 'part of his dues,' and he may have come by it by any process of division that ingenuity can suggest; it is still a stipend, and usually a good one, with an obligation in justice attached; he cannot take two such when he duplicates *ex dispensatione*.

This is true enough, our correspondent admits, when there is question of 'honoraria,' but not, he thinks, when there is question of offerings divided 'after the mode of

parochial dues.' For 'then the celebrant is free to discharge his obligation by the second Mass, as dues are not regarded as *honoraria*, but part of his salary.' We take it that our correspondent is a curate. Of course, apart from offerings such as these so-called 'November dues,' the maintenance that a curate receives from the parish imposes on him no obligation regarding the application of his Masses, and, therefore, does not affect the question of a double stipend. But, our correspondent has probably heard that a parish priest, in accepting his dues, contracts in justice to offer certain Masses *pro populo*, and, moreover, that a parish priest, duplicating on Sunday, cannot at one Mass take an ordinary *honorarium*, and by the other lawfully satisfy the obligation of celebrating *pro populo*. So, too, a curate duplicating on Sunday, is not justified in taking an ordinary *honorarium* for one Mass when he wishes by the other to satisfy the obligation in justice arising from his 'November dues.' We assume, of course, that he has not got a dispensation to take a double stipend.

Our correspondent cannot hope to hear from the 'wise and learned' readers of the I. E. RECORD until the March number appears. Meantime, as the question is 'important and practical' from points of view other than his, we have thought it our duty to illustrate his alleged liberty by contrasting it with the obligations of his parish priest.

D. MANNIX.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—Whether designedly or otherwise, the compiler of *The Ancient Irish Church* has adopted an effectual method of bringing the present discussion to a close. A tirade of thirteen pages, with less than half devoted to a defence, such as it is, and affecting to treat as trivial, whilst ignoring, grave charges, including breaches of good faith, cannot lay claim to serious attention.

Contra verbosos noli contendere verbis.

It only remains, accordingly, in dismissing ‘this little publication,’ to give typical instances of the errors alluded to at the end of the letter in the December number.

To show the intelligent use made of the ‘works quoted,’ the following is accepted as correct: ‘the Brehon Laws assume the existence of a married as well as an unmarried clergy. They make reference to two classes of bishops: the “virgin bishop,” and the “bishop of one wife.” The “virgin bishop,” if he lapsed into grievous sin, did not, they say, recover his grade or pristine perfection, according to some; but the “bishop of one wife” did, provided he performed his penance within three days’ (pp. 136-7). A reference is given, ‘*Senchus Mor*, i. p. 57.’

Here, as in so many other instances, the compiler has taken statements upon trust. Had he used his own eyes, as he was strictly bound to, he would have seen that the Brehon Laws contain nothing of the kind. To state the matter briefly. The native Corpus Juris consists of statutes, running commentaries and verbal glosses. In the MSS., these three are respectively written in large, medium, and small script,—a lucid arrangement, adopted, as to Irish and English, in the official edition. Among the four territorial magnates liable to degradation for malfeasance, the Law (in large letter) places a *stumbling* (i.e., incontinent) *bishop* (i. pp. 55-56) (The gloss, it has to be remarked in passing, gives an etymology of *stumbling*—*tuisedach*—that is beneath notice.) Hereupon is the commentary (in medium character, pp. 56-59), which the compiler mistook, at second or third hand, for the

Law! These are the full data, and they prove that the 'objection' in question was the outcome of ignorance or malice.

Now, for the scholium. This affords internal evidence that it was composed at a time when married bishops did not exist. In the (sixth-century) Penitential of Finnian, both the delinquents named in the commentary received six years' penance, and were to be rehabilitated in the seventh year. Whence it follows that to make one culprit incapacitated for life and restore another equally guilty after three days' fast never represented an actual state of things. Equity of the sort was devised for Utopia.

Nor is this all. Once more, as in the case of the *St. Gall Ord.*, the proof can be extended and completed by aid of a volume not on the compiler's list. Another commentary (in medium hand), treating, *inter alia*, of punishments and fines to be imposed for assaults upon bishops and priests, applies the distinction of 'virgin' and 'of one wife' to the two grades (*Breche Laws*, iv. pp. 362-9). By good fortune, however, the enactments themselves, most probably in the original language, are extant. They are the (eight) decrees of a *Synodus Hibernensis*, and they mention *episcopus* and *presbyter* without qualification (Wasserschleben, *Bussordnungen*, pp. 140-1).

Thus, neither in the Civil nor in the Canon Law of ancient Ireland is the existence of a married clergy assumed. Such, no doubt, existed (down to what time, it is immaterial for the present purpose to discuss); but this falls short *loto celo* of proving that the number was so great as to obtain formal recognition in the legislation of Church and State. The commentaries, accordingly, were purely fantastic, — arising from the misdirected (and in this case perhaps malicious) ingenuity inveterate in the Brehon legists.

The value of the Irish testimonies is apparent in another of the three extracts that profess to be taken directly from the *Speckled Book*. This excerpt, containing little more than eight lines, will be found to present no fewer than eighteen errors, whether of transcription or press; whilst, in addition, a clause of nine words is not rendered in the translation, leaving the English reader to infer that the native writer did not believe in the Crucifixion (p. 79)!

Coming to the Latin, one page (37) is adorned with a resumption and a translation, each equally notable. *Qui potestatem habens*, 'who hast the power;' *adversarii potius manus dantis*

quam resistentis, 'yielding help to, instead of withstanding the enemy.' 'Tried by the Dictionaries,' this version, it must be admitted, 'may claim an acquittal': *manus dare*, to give hands; i.e., to yield help to! At the risk of being taxed with 'hypercritical carping,' one is tempted, however, to question whether this was the sense which Columbanus (the words are from a Letter of the Saint) learned, in the school of Bangor, to attach to the expression.

Elsewhere (pp. 201-2), a quotation from the *Book of Armagh* has *crucem quae erat juxta viam sitam* and *interrogavit qua morte abierat*. The two editions referred to have the emendations *sita* and *obierat*. The compiler, it may be, judges these 'recensional' details to be erroneous.

In the matter of 'the early hymnology of the Irish' (p. 163), the compiler is a veritable pundit. The severe rescensions he approves of remind one of Hebrew without the points. For example (p. 161):—

Celebra iuda festa christi gaudia

The scansion and translation are equally striking. 'Rendered as English prose' the words, we learn, signify 'Celebrate, O festive Juda, the joys of Christ.' The humdrum prosody, in vogue before St. Patrick's Day, A.D. 1897 (when the new *Gradus ad Parnassum* burst upon the world), had it that the line was made up of two parts of five and seven syllables respectively, thus expressed:—

Celebra, Juda, || festa Christi gaudia.

Festa would consequently be accusative plural, not vocative singular; agreeing with *gaudia*, not with *Juda*:—

Celebrate, O Juda, the festal joys of Christ.

These, however, are doubtless some of the results of 'a slender acquaintance with the study' (p. 163).

The adoption of Warren's text of the Stowe Missal has resulted in some drastic liturgical changes. To appreciate them to the full, and for a reason to be mentioned later on, the rejected readings of the Royal Irish Academy edition are likewise supplied.

The Ancient Irish Church,
p. 158.

Libera nos christe
audi nos christe
Christ, deliver us.
Christ, hear us.

Trans. R. I. A., xxvii.
p. 192.

. . . libera nos [Ps. cliii. 7].
Christe audi nos;
Christe audi nos;
Christe audi nos.

[a]

Trans. R. I. A., xxvii. pp. 193-4.

To facilitate comparison to some extent, numbers are placed on the margins.)

Propitius esto, parce nobis, Domine,
Propitius esto, libera nos, Domine.
Ab omni malo, libera nos, Domine.
Per Crucem tuam, libera nos, Domine.

- [5] Peccatores, te rogamus, audi nos.
Fili [Filii, MS.] Dei, te rogamus, audi nos.
Ut pacem dones, te rogamus, audi nos.

- [8] Agne Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,
miserere [miserere, MS.] nobis.

[b]

The Ancient Irish Church, p. 160.

The petitions are here arranged in the usual order; on the page quoted from, they are given continuously, 'for the special satisfaction of scholars.')

Propitius esto.	Be propitious.
Parce nobis domine.	Spare us O Lord.
Propitius esto.	Be propitious.
Libera nos, domine, ab omni malo.	Deliver us O Lord from all evil.

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| [5] Libera nos, domine, per crucem tuam. | Deliver us O Lord by thy cross. |
|--|---------------------------------|

Libera nos, domine, peccatores.	O Lord deliver us sinners.
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Te rogamus audi nos.	We beseech Thee hear us.
<i>Filii Dei, te rogamus audi nos.</i>	<i>Son of God, we beseech Thee, hear us.</i>

Ut pacem dones, te rogamus.	We beseech Thee, grant us peace.
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Audi nos, agne Dei.	Hear us O Lamb of God.
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- | | |
|--|--|
| [11] Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. | Who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. |
|--|--|

Thus by chopping and changing which elude specific classification and comparison, the eight items of *a* have been expanded into eleven in *b*; the petition here given in italics being, it will have been observed, the only one that is left intact. To cap the climax the five Irish virgins of the Litany are individually invoked under the title *Sancta*! The original, written in a hand as plain as print, has *Sancta* in every case.

The Canon of the Mass, it consequently appears, is not the sole part of the Liturgy that has felt the reforming zeal of the compiler. Whether his labours in these directions 'in the interest of the faith' are destined to merit the approval of competent authority, will doubtless be seen in the 'proposed enlarged edition.' Meanwhile, to set the seal on his critical judgment and show at the same time how closely he has kept in touch with the subject, it has to be recorded that, as far back as ten years ago, Warren publicly disavowed and apologized for the errors of his transcript : leaving that 'for which' the editor of the Academy edition 'is himself responsible' the *Textus Receptus*!

Quem secutus es errantem, sequere poenitentem.

Still further to show his 'tacit preference,' having stated that the Stowe Missal, 'in part, is thought' to date 'about the early seventh century,' the compiler is careful to add that Warren refers the whole MS. to the ninth (p. 48 ; cf. p. 61). Yet once more, however, a volume not found among the 'works quoted' will enable readers to rightly appraise this attribution. In his *Liturgy and Ritual, etc.* (1881), which is on the list, Warren assigns the two parts to the ninth and tenth centuries respectively (pp. 199, 201). But in his *Manuscript Irish Missal*, issued only two short years before (1879), he was himself the first to print the Preface and Canon of the Stowe Mass. These he heads (p. 2) : "STOWE MISSAL. (*Seventh and ninth centuries.*)" Then, to mark the changes of script, he has "*9th century hand*" and "*7th century hand*" alternating four times throughout (pp. 2-12) ! Such is the rigid consistency of the 'ripe erudition' (p. 220) that captivated the compiler.

Sooth to say, the conclusion is foregone. A compilation of sheer diligence, pervaded with such radical defects as have been set forth (*and the list defies exhaustion still*), arising from glaring inability to deal at first hand with the sources and materials of our Sacred Archaeology can only prejudice the cause it professes to serve. A weak defence is an aggravated betrayal.

B. MAC CARTHY.

DOCUMENTS

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

ARCHCONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF COMPASSION

BRIEF OF ERECTION AND STATUTES

LEO XIII., POPE

IN PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE

It is known to all men that the efforts of Our Apostolic Ministry have long been specially directed to securing the return to the centre of Catholic Unity of those Christian nations which the sad vicissitudes of past centuries have torn from the bosom of their Mother the Church. Inspired by this ardent desire, We have been solicitous for the return to religious union of the Oriental nations, and have devoted unusual care to this task. In like manner have We cast our eyes upon the illustrious British nation, which for so many conspicuous reasons has won the especial good-will of the Roman Church. Our earnest wishes are centred upon Great Britain, in union with the wishes of so many men distinguished by sanctity, learning, and dignity, more especially St. Paul of the Cross, the religious founder M. Olier, Father Ignatius Spencer, and Cardinal Wiseman. We have, indeed, good hope that Our voice, like good seed, may some day produce the wished-for fruits in that land whose past history is so glorious, and whose present splendour and civilization dispose it to follow the highest aims. Yet We are sensible that all efforts and labours towards this end will be unfruitful without the powerful help of Divine Grace. This grace We have never ceased to invoke from the bottom of Our heart, and We have asked also the prayers of the Universal Church.

But now, desiring to add to these efforts, so that there may be a more widely extended and more powerful combination of prayer, We have erected a pious Society, in the form of an Archconfraternity, with the object of hastening, chiefly by constant prayer, the reunion of Great Britain with the Roman Church. In this work of charity We have Ourselves, in a manner, led the way. For two years ago We addressed a Letter to the English People, in which We treated of the all-important subject of

Christian unity ; and after exhorting to repeated prayer for Our English brethren, especially the recitation of the *Angelical Salutation*, We appended to the Letter a special prayer to the Most Holy Virgin. This prayer We have enriched with indulgences, and have recommended it to the members in the Statutes or Rules of the recently-erected Archconfraternity, which are comprised under nine headings. We have placed this Society or Archconfraternity at St. Sulpice, as a centre for the whole Catholic world, from which other Confraternities, like streams from an abundant spring, may flow forth into every part of the Lord's vineyard.

We have selected the Church of St. Sulpice as the seat of this Society, both because France is near to and in very easy communication with Great Britain, and also because M. Olier, the founder of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, together with his disciples, most earnestly longed for the reconciliation of England with the Roman Church. Moreover, as the Congregation of St. Sulpice extends to almost every part of the world, it will be able to establish other Confraternities of the same kind in every country. For We are particularly desirous, as, indeed, the object itself requires, that this pious Society be spread far and wide ; and, therefore, We earnestly exhort all Catholics, not only in France, but throughout the world, who are solicitous for the cause of religion, to enrol their names in this Society.

Wherefore, absolving and holding as absolved, for this present purpose only, all and every one to whom these Our Letters are directed, from all sentences of excommunication and interdict, and all other ecclesiastical sentences, censures, and penalties, in whatever manner or for whatever cause imposed, if by them incurred, by Our Apostolic Authority and by virtue of these present Letters, We erect and constitute, in the Church of St. Sulpice, an Archconfraternity of prayers and good works for the return of Great Britain to the Catholic Faith, under the patronage of Blessed Mary the Sorrowful Virgin. This Archconfraternity We place first under the patronage of the great Mother of God, 'whose dowry England is ;' and We assign as its heavenly patrons St. Joseph, the most chaste Spouse of the Blessed Virgin ; St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, under whose patronage England is placed ; St. Gregory the Great, Pope,¹ and

¹ St. Gregory was added by the Holy Father after the date of this Brief.

St. Augustine, bishop, the thirteenth centenary of whose coming to England, to bring the Catholic Faith and the means of salvation, is at this time specially celebrated.

Moreover, by the same authority, We grant in perpetuity to the presidents, officials, and members of the Archconfraternity, both present and future, the right and permission to aggregate other Confraternities of the same object and name, existing in any part of the Catholic world, observing, however, the form of the constitution of Our predecessor, Pope Clement VIII., and other Apostolic Ordinances on this matter: and to communicate to them all and every one of the indulgences granted to the Archconfraternity, and communicable to others.

The following are the indulgences granted:—

The members shall be able to obtain a plenary indulgence—

I. On the day of enrolment in the Archconfraternity.

II. At the point of death.

III. On each of the Feasts of the Most Holy and Sorrowful Mary, the one during Lent, and the other during the month of September; also on the Feasts of St. Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary: of St. Peter the Apostle, of St. Gregory the Great, Pope; and of St. Augustine, Bishop, Patron of England.

IV. On the day of the monthly meeting provided for in Article IX. of the Statutes or Rules.

Moreover, We grant a partial indulgence of fifty days, to be obtained once a day by those members who shall piously recite the *Hail Mary*, as provided in Article IV. of the Statutes or Rules of the Archconfraternity.

The members, if they wish, may apply all these indulgences, both plenary and partial, to the Souls in Purgatory.

And We decree that these Our Letters are and shall remain firm, valid, and efficacious, and shall have and obtain their plenary and full effect, and shall be of full avail to all whom they concern, and may concern in the future, in all respects and in all circumstances, and shall so be judged and defined in their premises by all judges whatsoever, ordinary and delegate; and that whatsoever shall be attempted, wittingly or unwittingly, by anyone with any authority otherwise in this matter, shall be null and void, notwithstanding Apostolic Constitutions and Ordinances,

and all others whatsoever, even though deserving of special and individual mention, of contrary tenor.

Given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the twenty-second day of August, 1897, in the twentieth year of Our Pontificate.

L. ✠ S.

ALOISIUS CARD. MACCHI.

THE STATUTES

The following are the Statutes of the Primary Association of Prayers and Good Works, under the patronage of Our Lady of Compassion, for the return of Great Britain to the Catholic Faith :—

I.

The object of this pious Association is that its members shall endeavour, by prayers and the exercise of good works, to obtain from God the return of Great Britain to the Catholic Faith.

II.

To attain the object of this pious Association, the members shall not be content only with prayers, but shall add to prayers the practice of good works of every kind, whether of piety or of charity, such as the frequentation of the Sacraments, the exact observance of the commands of God and the precepts of the Church, &c., and the putting in practice of all that may efficaciously contribute to the end of the Association.

III.

Besides the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, the pious Association venerates as its special protectors St. Joseph ; St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Patron of England ; St. Gregory the Great, Pope ;¹ and St. Augustine, Bishop and Apostle of England.

IV.

To take part in the Association, and to gain the Indulgences with which it is enriched, the associates shall every day add to their daily prayers a special prayer—at least a Hail Mary—in order to obtain from God the conversion for which the Association is founded. They are specially exhorted to recite the prayer to the Most Holy Virgin, for our English brethren, inserted in the Apostolic Letter *Ad Anglos* of April 15th, 1895.

¹ St. Gregory was added by the Holy Father after the date of the Brief and of those Statutes.

V.

The primary Association has its seat in the city of Paris, at the church of St. Sulpice; and it has the right to aggregate any other similar Associations which may be erected throughout the world with the consent of the respective Ordinaries. The Sulpicians, however, have the right of erecting the Association in their church wherever they have a residence.

VI.

The President of the Primary Association is the Superior-General, for the time being, of the Sulpicians, who shall be able to delegate as his representative a Father approved by him for the transaction of business. The Presidents of the diocesan Associations, wherever canonically erected and aggregated to the primary one, shall be nominated by the respective Ordinaries.

VII.

The President of the Association may select from among those members who are specially distinguished for zeal and piety, Zelators of either sex in such number as he shall judge fitting; and these Zelators shall devote themselves, as far as possible to promoting the welfare of the Association. For this purpose they shall meet together with the President at certain fixed times of the year, in order to take such measures as may seem opportune for the welfare of the Association.

VIII.

It shall be the duty of the Zelators to endeavour, as far as possible, to increase the number of members, and, with the authorization of the President, to issue to them the certificate of enrolment. They must be careful to keep a register of the names enrolled to be given to the President himself, who shall transcribe the names into the general register of the Association.

IX.

On one Sunday of the month, to be definitely fixed, there shall be a meeting of the members in every church where the Association is erected, for the purpose of praying together, if possible, before the Blessed Sacrament exposed, in order to implore more efficaciously from God the wished-for return of Great Britain to the Catholic Church.

The present copy perfectly agrees in all its parts with the

original of the Statutes preserved in Rome, in the archives of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

Given at Rome, in the Secretariate of the aforesaid Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, on the 30th day of August, 1897.

L. ✠ S.

A. TROMBETTA, *Secretary*.

PRAYER FOR THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

The Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars by which the Statutes were confirmed, and which was approved by the Holy Father is then given, and after it the following prayer from the Apostolic Letter *Ad Anglos* :—

‘ O Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and our most gentle Queen and Mother, look down in mercy upon England thy “Dowry,” and upon us all who greatly hope and trust in thee. By thee it was that Jesus, our Saviour and our hope, was given unto the world; and He has given thee to us that we might hope still more. Plead for us thy children, whom thou didst receive and accept at the foot of the cross, O sorrowful mother. Intercede for our separated brethren, that with us in the one true Fold they may be united to the Chief Shepherd, the Vicar of thy Son. Pray for us all, dear Mother, that by faith fruitful in works, we may all deserve to see and praise God, together with thee, in our heavenly home. Amen.’

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SONGS OF SION. By Mary Stanislaus MacCarthy, O.S.D.,
 Sion Hill, Dublin. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1898.

THIS volume of sacred verses has already been well described as 'a holy and a beautiful book.' It is impossible to read it through without acknowledging the genuine religious fervour of the 'Songs,' and the truly uncommon gifts of imagination and expression with which their author was endowed. Owing to the systematic oppression of the Church in these countries, and the persistent denial of higher education to Catholics, our religious poetry had not, until recent times, reached a very high standard. A few gifted writers of the present day have done much, however, in spite of all obstacles, not the least of which was a want of appreciation and cultivated taste amongst the public at large, to fill up this vacant space in Catholic literature. Amongst the number, limited though it be, Sister M. Stanislaus must be awarded a very high place. Superficial and half-educated persons may be inclined to discount religious poetry, and even to exclude it altogether from the field of interest of the modern world; but genuine poets, and men and women of the highest intellectual cultivation, in all the centuries of the Christian era, have ever admired religious poetry, and found enjoyment and happiness in the strains that called them away from earthly cares. From the humble cell of Hermann Contractus, in a lonely island in the Lake of Constance, come down to us the 'Salve Regina' and the 'Alma Redemptoris Mater.' St. Francis of Assisi, in an age of feudalism and of chivalry, did not hesitate to sing of 'Holy Poverty' as the lady of his heart, his *fiancée*, and his spouse. St. Bonaventure, Fra Pacifico, Jacomino da Verona, and the Blessed Jacopone da Todi, have achieved, in poetry alone, a glory which the materialistic versifiers of modern times are never likely to rival. Do we not find religious poetry at the fountain-head of all the great literatures of the world—English, German, French, Spanish, Portuguese? And in our own country we know how our Irish ancestors devoted the very best of their genius to that religious poetry which is not yet entirely lost, and

which Irish scholars of the present day take a pride in rescuing from oblivion.

It is in this celestial garden that Sister Mary Stanislaus has culled the precious flowers that grace this handsome volume. She sings of Him whom she had chosen and loved beyond all human love, and of His angels and saints, and of the monuments of His boundless love, His Sacraments, His churches, His hospitals, His schools. These are the themes of her *Songs of Sion*. It is but poor praise to say that the author of such excellent poems would have achieved high repute in the world, if she had devoted her talents to the worldly aspects of life, or if she had aimed at more finished literary effect in these religious verses. They are, as they stand, the outcome of a fervent and cultivated mind, uttered as occasion called them forth; and as such they will remain a lasting monument of honour to 'Sion Hill,' and the worthy expression of a pure life. We have only to say, in conclusion, that the publishers have turned out the volume in perfect style. The paper, type, and binding are all in keeping with the contents, and reflect the highest credit on Messrs. Browne & Nolan, Ltd., who have now established themselves as capable of executing all sorts of artistic work, in binding as well as in printing.

J. F. H.

BREVIARIUM ROMANUM. Tornaci Nerviorum. Sumptibus et Typis Soc. S. Joannis Evangelistae. Desclée, Lefebvre et Soc. Pontif. Editorum. 1897.

HORAE DIURNAE. Same Publishers.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under the notice of our readers this excellent edition of the Breviary, published by Messrs. Desclée, Lefebvre & Co., of Tournay. It is in many respects the most convenient edition of the Breviary that has come into our hands. Its great advantage is that there is the least possible turning of leaves, the fine quality of the paper making it possible for the publishers to print the psalms, versicles, &c., in many of the special offices, whilst in other breviaries one is constantly obliged to turn over for them to the common or to offices of similar feasts in other parts of the Breviary. The edition which has been sent to us is printed on fine, though rather thin, India paper, which has the advantage, notwith-

standing its slender leaf, of being perfectly opaque. It is bound in black, flexible Morocco, with gilt edges and round corners. It seems to us excellent value for £1 16s. 2d. Messrs. Desclée, Lefebvre & Co., have besides, a large stock of more expensive breviaries: but for practical use, we believe this is the one that is most in demand.

The *Horae Diurnae*, which costs 6s. 9d., has the same characteristics as the Breviary: but, besides the ordinary contents of the *Horae*, it has, at the end, the prayers of the priest before and after Mass, before and after confession, together with some most useful excerpts from the Roman Ritual, such as the method of administering Holy Communion to the sick, the rite of Extreme Unction, the 'Benedictio Infirmi,' the 'Benedictio Rosariorum B. M. V.,' the 'Forma Brevior Benedicendi et imponendi Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo,' 'Benedictio Imaginis vel Numismatis,' 'Benedictio Domorum,' 'Benedictio ad Omnia.' This supplementary part will, we have no doubt, be found very useful. We should mention that the Irish proper is included in both Breviary and '*Horae*' at the prices mentioned.

J. F. H.

INSTITUTIONES THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE. Auctore R. P. J. Hermann, Congr. SS. Redemptoris. 3 vols., of about 650 pages each. Rome, Cuggiani. Vico della Pace, 35. Bureaux de la Sainte-Famille a Antony, Seine, France, 1897. 12½ francs.

THE Bishop of Malaga, in an official paper, which appeared on the 16th of June, 1897, wrote:—

'The theology of Father Hermann is a complete work of its kind. His method, his clearness, and the great purity of his doctrine . . . makes his work more adapted for a class-book than any we know. A student may with the greatest facility make the contents his own; and whoever does so can rest assured that he has acquired the knowledge most necessary for our times, while he enters at the same time on the road opened to us by the great restorer of theological studies, the great Pontiff, Leo XIII.'

The Holy Father himself, through his Eminence Cardinal Rompola, wrote to the author:—

'Multum gavisus est do amore ac diuturno et frugifero studio, quo animum applicuisti ad exponendas mentibusque alte inserendas doctrinas Angelici Doctoris Thomae et

S. Doctoris Alphonsi : quas ipse Pontifex doctrinas memorandis commendarat documentis. Id quoque singulariter ei gratum accidit quod te in veritati defensionem, tanta haurire subsidia ex actis concilii vaticani et ex Litteris suis encyclicis.'

The *Revue Ecclésiastique de Metz* points out that Father Herrmann has really given us something new. We all know St. Alphonsus as universal master in moral theology ; but how few there are who realize that he has written much on the dogmas of our holy religion. He popularized St. Thomas, adding at the same time, in many questions both practical and speculative, the weight of his own authority, which certainly counts for something since he too is Doctor of the Church. 'In hisce exarandis institutionibus [says the author] Ducem et Magistrum S. Thomam sequi conatus sum.' He has even kept his word as far as the limits of a compendium allowed. He adds:—

'Propositum etiam mihi fuit, ut, praeter Doctorem angelicum, sanctum quoque Doctorem Alphonsum de Liguorio in Ducem et Magistrum mihi assumerem, eo nomine (verba sunt SS. D.N. Leo PP. XIII.) quod cum sanctus auctor saepe in scriptis suis angeli scholarum doctrinam se sequutum fuisse gloriatur; ex hujusmodi recentioris Ecclesiae Doctoris erga illum obsequio nova S. Thomae doctrinae laus accedat et gloria.'

At page 656, vol i., we find a long list of St. Alphonsus' dogmatic works, and these are referred to in the *Breve Concess. tituli Doctoris*, die 7, 1871, in which Pius IX. says:—

'Nullum esse vel nostrorum temporum errorem qui, maxima saltem ex parte, non sit ab Alphonso refutatus.'

Moreover St. Alphonsus examined thoroughly many difficult questions discussed by the older theologians, and drew from his examination conclusions quite his own. Thus, for example, in the question : how we are to conciliate grace and liberty, he has now his own system. In vol. ii., cap. iv., p. 429, under heading *Systema Catholica*, we have *systema Thomistarum*, *Augustinianorum*, *Molinistarum*, *Conquistarum* et *Systema S. Alphonsi de Liguori*. In future in discussions on this subject this last system must have its place. Light is often thrown on obscure passages in St. Thomas by the teaching of St. Alphonsus. Hence, in uniting these two Doctors, the author has given us what is both new and useful. Useful, for the *Breve* cited above continues:—

'Hujus Doctoris libros, commentaria, opuscula, opera denique omnia, ut aliorum Ecclesiae Doctorum, non modo privatim, sed

publice in gymnasiis, Academiis, Scholis, Collegiis, Lectionibus, Sermonibus, omnibusque aliis ecclesiasticis studiis . . . citari, proferri, atque, cum res postulaverit, volumus et decernimus.'

Father Herrmann has given effect to this mandate of the Holy See in his *Institutiones*. He has done for dogmatic theology, as far as the matter permits, what Mare and Aertnys have done in moral theology; and for this he deserves the thanks of both students and professors.

The universal praise with which this work has been received, and the high place which has been assigned to it as a manual, has led us to examine it with particular care. We have found it complete as to matter, wonderfully clear in diction, and methodic throughout. The schemas which precede the different tracts give the student a bird's-eye view of what is before him. Each part therein indicated is taken up separately, and so logically and clearly subdivided that the task of learning is made comparatively easy. This is enhanced by the perfect manner in which the book is printed. By a careful selection of type, the propositions, divisions, proofs, and objections immediately catch the eye and keep the memory. Moreover, that which every student should know is in bold type, while certain questions which are useful, but not necessary, or aspects of questions which the more talented students will study and develop with profit, are put in smaller type. To this end he gives at the beginning of each tract *auctores consulendi*. Full room is left to professor for further development of doctrine.

We do not venture to say that this manual is perfect, but we are of opinion that in most respects it is excellent, and that professors will soon see that Father Herrmann has profited of his long experience of the needs and capabilities of students.¹

And now we wish to go a step further, and say that we believe this work to be a most useful hand-book for priests on the mission. Its conciseness, clearness, and order make it admirable for dogmatic instructions. The schemas, of which we have already spoken, the indices of each volume, and especially the two general indices at the end of the third volume, are excellent,

¹ In a second edition which is sure to be soon called for the author might consider whether it would not be better to unite what he has written, *de Fontibus Fidei*, vol. i., Nos. 16 and 17, and the fuller treatment, Pars. iii., cap. i. and ii., of Scripture and Tradition. We think also that in some places the texts taken from St. Alphonsus might have been more to the point.

one *Index Rerum notabilium*; the other, *Index continens Alphabetico ordine Errorum Fautores*: this is, in reality, a compendious dictionary of errors and their authors.

Before finishing this necessarily short notice, we call special attention to *Tractus Quintus*, vol. ii., *Marialogia*. A glance at the *Conspectus generalis*, p. 281, shows how fully and with what perfect order the subject is treated. We see in the pages that follow how solid were the principles on which St. Alphonsus, devotion to the Madonna rested; also to *Tractatus Sextus, De Gratia*. Priests who have to labour for the saving and perfecting of souls will read with pleasure the proofs given of two propositions proposed by one who is rightly called an apostle of prayer, namely:—

‘Gratia sufficiens, quae, urgente praecepto, omnibus communiter conceditur, ita est immediate et proxime ad orandum sufficiens, ut quilibet cum ea actu orare possit, si velit, et per orationem uberiora auxilia, quibus ad difficiliora peragenda et ad salutem consequendam indiget obtinere,’ No. 1,225.

And:—

‘Ad gratiam efficacem obtinendam oratio est medium necessarium et omnino infallibile,’ No. 1,226.

Just as in his moral and ascetic theology, so likewise in his dogmatic treatises, St. Alphonsus is pre-eminently practical. Father Herrmann has, it seems to us, thoroughly seized his holy founder’s spirit, and he has given us a book which has come to stay.

J. M.

SERMONS. By Father John Kelly, B.A., late Rector of St. Joseph’s, Birkdale. Manchester: P. Deschamps, Blackfriars Bridge.

THE author of this volume of Sermons belonged to the diocese of Liverpool, where he served at first as Secretary to the Bishop, and afterwards as pastor of more than one important district. As far as can be known, the discourses now collected were all prepared and delivered during the author’s missionary career, and were addressed to ordinary town and country congregations. They were not written with a view to publication, but were collected after the author’s death by one of his friends, who found many of the manuscripts in a dilapidated condition, some

written in pencil and in many places nearly illegible. They narrowly escaped being burned as worthless, a fate which has befallen many similar efforts which in their day served to kindle divine love in the hearts of Christians.

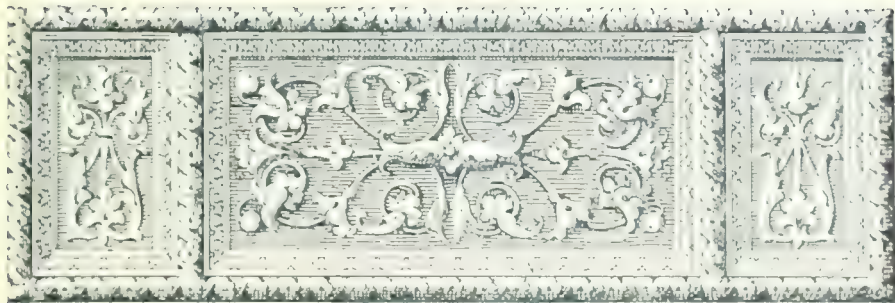
Most missionary priests will, I imagine, think all the more of these discourses of Father Kelly's, forasmuch as they are here printed as they were prepared, for delivery in the ordinary routine of parochial work. It has been often said that a man's truest biography is to be found in the letters which he may have written to intimate friends, wherein he unaffectedly reveals his passing thoughts and feelings. Writing with a view to publication is like sitting for a portrait: it develops an unconscious but inevitable tendency to pose. There is a charming frankness and simplicity in discourses which are intended merely for the faithful of the parish,—one's own household and familiar friends, as it were,—and in which there is no attempt, consciously or unconsciously, to satisfy the larger and more critical audience to which a published discourse necessarily appeals.

There is another point of view from which the volume before us is of special interest. It is a chapter, so to speak, from the biography of a gifted and zealous priest, in which he reveals quite unconsciously the kind of work he did on the mission, and from which others may learn not only what a good pastor should endeavour to do, but what one has actually done in the way of preaching to and instructing his people. During our college course and at the annual retreats the lesson is again and again repeated, that preaching without preparation—which for many years, at least, means without writing out the discourse before hand—is of little value. But so many impediments arise in the missionary's daily life; and it is so easy to find excuses for appearing in the pulpit after a hurried preparation. Now, here is one who was neither a college professor nor a conductor of retreats, but the rector of many important and populous missions, where the work pressed heavily on a delicate constitution. And here are samples of the discourses he used actually to deliver to his people, just as he delivered them; the ordinary Sunday morning or evening lectures, which he never imagined would reach a larger audience than was collected for the occasion within his parish church. What has been done by one may be done by others in similar circumstances; not, perhaps, as successfully and well as by Father Kelly, for all have not his talents; but according to the capacity with which each one is endowed.

It remains to say something of the sermons as sources which may be utilized by others in preparing for similar work. It seems to me that from this point of view there are two kinds of discourse: one formal, with the various divisions pointed out explicitly, as well as the principal arguments and appeals with which each point is amplified; the other free and flowing, not making so many divisions, nor distinguishing them so formally one from another, but content to propose some one lesson, and to illustrate and enforce this in many ways—from theology, philosophy, history, art, science, experience of men; each sentence and paragraph arising out of the preceding almost imperceptibly, and leading to a more artistic if not a simpler and more useful whole.

For those who can afford to make but a hurried preparation, the first kind of sermon is manifestly the most valuable; and Father Kelly's discourses are not of that kind. Those preachers, however, who carefully write out their sermons, and aim at producing not only solid but artistic results, will find very valuable suggestions in the volume before us. It would also serve, I think, as useful spiritual reading, especially for the laity, inasmuch as it was for the laity the instructions were originally prepared.

W. McDONALD.



MODERN SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

A NECESSITY OF THOUGHT

WE crave the reader's indulgence for this brief excursion into a region more or less abstract. The abstract atmosphere is, we admit, unpleasantly thin. Its first effect is not unlike that of a great mountain height; we experience a difficulty in catching our intellectual breath, and are disposed to grow dizzy at the surrounding emptiness. Then it is such a ghostly place—the home of disembodied ideas, entities as elusive as the sprite. We altogether prefer the bustling concrete, where ideas wear bodies of some sort through which you can lay hold of them, and exhibit them before the great popular tribunal of common sense, and make them show cause why they should not be regarded as disturbers of the public mind. However, it is with a view to afterwards doing all this the more effectually that we now propose to have a short consultation with that *eminent chamber lawyer—consciousness*.

The subject we are about to discuss is of great—even of supreme importance. It is, therefore, industriously hidden away by the 'scientific philosophers' under vague forms of words that seem profound while they are really only indefinite. In fact our present subject shows us our philosophers in a new light. Whatever their

shortcomings, we have not hitherto had occasion to charge them with want of courage to go on. It is therefore the more surprising to find them come to a dead stop at a point of the philosophic road which is clearly not the end, declaring that they have reached the limit of speculation even for them. They boldly trace the universe back to a certain primordial condition, and then, muttering something about 'the unknown and unknowable,' leave it an unsolved problem. Nor must anyone else touch it. It must be held inscrutable, a mystery, something lying outside the pale, not only of science, but of thought. Having seen the universe ground down in the philosophical mill to elementary matter and force, you must be content to stop there, to regard that condition as ultimate. You must not seek to know where these elements of a universe came from, or who or what established among them those special relations which, according to the teaching of 'advanced philosophy,' led to all subsequent developments. You are left to conclude, as the only way of pacifying your insubordinate reason, that the great elements probably constituted an effect so prodigious that it could dispense with a cause! Of course the conclusion is not to be put forward in that shockingly naked form. Artistically shrouded in the mystery of 'the unknown and unknowable,' it will begin to look quite reasonable!

In fact we have in this great problem of the ultimate origin of the universe the veritable skeleton in the philosophers' cabinet, and they are never quite at ease about it. Hence, even while solemnly ticketing it 'unknown and unknowable,' they at the same time try to convey an impression that science has somehow partly solved it in the negative, or at least is just about to do so. And as a last resource, they metaphorically snap their fingers at it as an unpractical speculation, a mere metaphysical subtlety which may be dismissed by practical men.

But like the calling of spirits from the vasty deep, the dismissal of the ultimate problem of causation from the human mind is hampered with a fatal difficulty in practice—*it won't go*. Try all we may, we cannot think out a reason-

able theory of the universe without coming at last face to face with the question of its origin. The solving of that question in some fashion becomes for us, therefore, *a necessity of thought*. Further, we contend that the solution is equally inevitable—that as reasonable beings we can come to only one conclusion, viz., that the existing universe had an originating cause, which primary cause was necessarily a transcendent *intelligence*. This conclusion we shall now endeavour to work out with as little abstruseness as may be.

We suppose it is unnecessary to say a single word as to the importance of the question and its answer. The special *note* of the scientific philosophy is the elimination of the idea of an intelligent First Cause from the system of nature, that is to say, the elimination of the idea of God. In the hands of the infidel philosophers the universe has become the great argument against the existence of its Creator. As we see it around us now, it can be explained without reference to any such being; and when traced to its primordial condition, it vanishes 'behind the veil.' That is the sum of the scientific philosophy; and whoever would retain his belief in a God must be prepared to meet it.

The line of thought followed in this paper was suggested by some pregnant sentences in the concluding paragraph of Sir John Herschel's lecture *On the Origin of Force*.¹ Having called attention to the fact that the universe, as far as it is observable by us, presents to us three orders of phenomena—viz., physical, vital, and intellectual—Sir John Herschel continues:—

The first and greatest question philosophy has to resolve in its attempts to make out a *Cosmos*—to bring the whole of the phenomena exhibited in these three domains of existence under the contemplation of the mind as a *coherent whole*—whether or not we can derive any light from our rational contemplation of thought, reason, power, will, motive, design: whether, that is to

¹ *Lancet*, 1877.

say, nature is or is not *more interpretable* by supposing these things (be they what they may) to have had, or to have, to do with its arrangements.

The suggestion here thrown out really takes us down to the very root of all profitable study of natural phenomena. The very first question certainly is—*How* are we to approach the study of these phenomena? What standards have we to refer them to? What weights and measures have we to gauge them with? To answer this fundamental question we turn the search-light of our intellect in on ourselves, and examine how we stand related to the phenomena of which we have the best because the most immediate experience—namely, our own works as free agents. How do we account for these phenomena of our own production to ourselves or to our fellowmen?—why we did that act, or went to that place, or bought or sold that thing? At once we discover ourselves referring them to internal, intellectual conceptions more or less clear and deliberate. And the more closely we watch the process of explanation the more we realize that a work of ours is always and only explicable when clearly referable to a prototypal thought; that such perfections and defects of the work as are not merely mechanical are traceable to the thought; and that confusion in the work or its interpretation comes of confusion in the thought. The steps that lead to the phenomena we produce ourselves—our works as free agents—we thus find to be substantially these: (1) a conception, clear or confused, of an end to be gained—a design; (2) a conception, also more or less clear or confused, of means to be applied to gain that end—a plan; (3) the actual carrying out, with more or less success, of the different parts of the plan, thus realizing, more or less perfectly, the original design. This last step is still traceable to a mental origin in reason and will.

In all the steps of this process we of course recognise that we are handicapped by the limitation of our powers, mental and physical. We have also to admit that, owing to our limitations, the steps are not always so clearly distinguishable as here set forth. Indeed occasionally the first two steps seem to be reversed, the conception of means

coming first and suggesting possible ends. Still these defects do not in the least shake our belief in the truth of the general conclusion at which we have arrived—namely, that our works are external projections, more or less perfect, of previous intellectual conceptions; that they existed as thoughts before they existed as facts; that they are ideals more or less perfectly realized. The first result, then, of self-observation is to trace back all self-produced phenomena to the initial influence or impulsion of some of those intellectual powers or forces named by Sir John Herschel. In so far as we are conscious of being originators of *formative force*, leading to the production of phenomena, we are to the like extent conscious of the purely *mental* origin of that force. In other words, all phenomena of our own production—our works as free agents—are traceable to *previous formative thought*. This is unquestionably the testimony of our consciousness. It is information directly gained, or, as we may say, at first hand.

We now proceed to extend the range of our knowledge by inference; and the first extension we give it will hardly, we think, be questioned. It rests on our reasonable conviction of the unity of human nature—that mankind is all of a piece. Therefore the works of our fellowmen are related to them as ours to us, that is, they are expressions of previously existing intellectual conceptions. This considerably increases the number of phenomena clearly interpretable by a rule founded on our own consciousness. The category now embraces all the works of man as a free agent. Looked at through the medium of our consciousness, every such work of man stands forth against the background of an interpreting thought. Any particular work of man is a puzzle to us only when we cannot clearly refer it to its intellectual background.

Let us assure ourselves by experiment, so to speak, that all this is no mere abstract dreaming, but a true account of what we are instinctively doing every day of our lives. Let us suppose ourselves viewing one of those triumphs of modern engineering—a great steel railway bridge.

What association of ideas would be most likely to occur to us—the bridge and the foundry, or the bridge and the engineer? Certainly the latter. Even if the first did occur to us, we could not rest in it; for this association of ideas would be really our instinctive reference of the work to its origin, and no conceivable wealth of machinery would here fulfil the idea of that relation. Inevitably we should go back to the mind of the engineer, when the great work would resolve itself into a great thought. Then and not till then should we feel that we had satisfactorily accounted to ourselves for the existence of this particular phenomenon. This is a solitary instance of an ever-recurring act, always substantially the same. We pass a neat cottage on the roadside. Instantly we refer its neatness, not to the white-wash and creepers, but to an æsthetic ideal in the mind of the occupant. Even a heap of broken stones, if we notice it at all, is instinctively referred to an ideal, good, bad, or indifferent, in the mind of the humble operator, or, further back, in that of Macadam.

Hence we may safely conclude that we have here got hold of something like a law of our intellectual nature, in virtue of which we trace *things* to *thoughts*, and feel fully satisfied only when we can so trace them. Without the background of thought the works of our fellowmen become unintelligible to us. Nay, even our own works, if perchance we forget the thoughts that inspired them, become equally unintelligible. We have all had experience of this curious verification of our principle. How often have we had to stop before one of our own works quite puzzled to account for its occurrence or existence. Why did I do this? Why did I place this here? We know well we did the work in question; but that does not explain it to us. That was a stage in its production, not its origin. We are as certain of a mental origin farther back as we are of the actual existence of the work there confronting us. There was an originating thought, whatever has become of it. And until that thought is traced and found in the memory, the work remains unintelligible—an effect without a cause.

And here let us hark back for a moment to check our work by comparison with our text. The question proposed was, whether natural phenomena become more interpretable by referring them to mind. Towards the solution of this question we have made this much progress. We have found that the phenomena most within reach of our experience are more or less interpretable according as they are more or less clearly referable to mind. This reference to mental prototypes thus establishes itself as *a rule of interpretation* for these phenomena. Further, we have found it to be our *only* rule in these cases—the one principle by which we could satisfactorily account for the existence of the phenomena in question. When it failed us, we were for the time intellectually lost. The work of our fellowman, and even our own, became a puzzle when the thought that underlay it could not be traced. This last, or negative result of our inquiry, is by far the most important for the object in view. It was a good thing to find out that for certain phenomena we had an instinctive method of interpretation which we found to be quite satisfying to us as rational beings. It was a still better thing to find out that we had *no other* method that gave us any satisfaction. For this latter discovery has prepared us to give full, intelligent acceptance to Sir John Herschel's final extension of our principle, at least in its negative form, to all the phenomena of nature—'Constituted as the human mind is, if nature be not interpretable through these conceptions [of relation with mind], *it is not interpretable at all.*' Here we have at last reached a great *general* rule for the interpretation of nature—a rule which, on the warrant alike of intellectual necessity and of strictly scientific analogy, claims the whole field—a rule woven into the very texture of our minds, and so interwoven with our intuition of cause itself that to strangle one is to paralyze the other. Let us thoroughly convince ourselves of all this:—(1) that we have, *de facto*, in this rule a reliable guide to the satisfactory solution of the great puzzle of the universe—the origin of things; and (2) that all attempts to solve the problem on other principles invariably lead to intellectual chaos.

When we look at our triple universe of matter, life, and mind, we cannot help regarding it as a *work*—a product of the operation of some power, force, energy, or whatever other word will properly express the ultimate Efficient Cause.¹ It bears the stamp of workmanship on every part, great and small. So patent is this that few, even of the most reckless of the ‘advanced philosophers,’ venture to question it. They too, like ourselves, instinctively refer the universe and its parts to *causes*, thereby admitting that they have to view them as *effects*—as *works* of some agent or power. But having thus far followed the lead of their intellectual instincts, when they come to take the next step—that of tracing the work to its source, they deliberately abandon what is for them as for us ‘the method of nature’—a method that is as much a part of our intellectual outfit as the intuition of cause itself. In doing this they necessarily also turn their backs on that boasted ‘scientific method’ by which they profess always to interpret the ‘ultra-experiential’ in nature by analogy of the observed and known. The works of man they can only account for satisfactorily by tracing them, like ourselves, to an intellectual origin; but the far more elaborate works with which the three-fold universe overflows they are content to refer to the action of unintelligent forces. To be consistent they should also content themselves with referring the bridge to the foundry, maintaining that the varied and powerful machinery there was the ultimate and sufficient cause of its existence, and that its pedigree went no further back. They say in fact: ‘We cannot account for the existence of this bridge without going back to the mind of the engineer, from which came the plan that was worked out by the mechanical and chemical appliances of the foundry. But this other work—the solar system, or this one—the growing plant, or this

¹ According to some recent authorities it would seem that a correct use of the terms *force* and *energy* is almost as rare an accomplishment as that of *shall* and *will*. As regards the more common term, *force*, we take shelter behind Faraday:—‘What I mean by the word *force* is the *cause* of a physical action—the source or sources of all possible changes amongst the particles or materials of the universe.’—*Experimental Researches*, p. 460.

one—the sentient animal, or even this one—man himself, with his wonderful originating power—all these we trace, not to an intellectual origin, but to the interaction of the ordinary forces of mindless matter. We cannot indeed imagine unintelligent forces planning the bridge, but we *can* fancy them forming the engineer!’

Let it not be said that this is but a travesty of the ‘advanced philosophy.’ Those who have had the patience to follow us throughout, know that we are not overstating the case. They will easily recall many pronouncements of the ‘philosophers’ that would entirely bear us out. ‘The existing world lay potentially in the cosmic vapour.’ There, according to Professor Huxley, is the remotest thinkable origin of all the exquisite and intricate works of nature we see around us. But is such an origin really thinkable as *ultimate*? Can we stop there? Do we not here realize the full truth of what Sir John Herschel says—that, constituted as our minds are, we must interpret nature by reference to mind, or not at all? There is no use in offering us matter and force in any quantity. We can no more stop at these than we can at the ore and the foundry in tracing the bridge. No doubt the bridge ‘lay potentially’ in the ore, and was ‘evolved’ out of it by the powerful machinery of the foundry. But is all this thinkable by us *as an ultimate origin*? The potential existence of the bridge in the ore might have continued till doom’s day, and never become actual existence, but for the thought in a man’s head. That is the only ultimate origin that satisfies us. So with ‘the existing world.’ Granting that it ‘lay potentially in the cosmic vapour,’ and granting to the said ‘cosmic vapour’ all the properties that can reasonably be claimed for mere matter—forces, motion, high temperature, whatever you like—the formation of the existing world out of it all is still unthinkable without some representation of the engineer, some intelligent power to plan, to initiate, to guide.

Here Professor Huxley tries to battle us by one of those metaphysical suppositions that seem for a moment to confuse the reasoning powers—‘Our present universe,’ he pleasantly suggests, ‘may be but the last stage of an eternal sediment’

metamorphoses.' Now this may sound very imposing, but it is really no better than cuttle-fish philosophy—a meaningless phrase designed to darken a clear issue. As the wily professor very well knew, an 'eternal series' of things is to the average man as slippery as a circulating decimal. You may go on for ever trying to see to the end, and it keeps always just out of sight. It is like Jack's cable that kept on steadily coming up out of the water until he was ready to swear that 'the devil must have cut the other end off!' It does not demand much reasoning to show that this eternal series of changes in matter is no more than a philosophical scarecrow—a frightful figure in the path, which it is hoped you will not go near enough to examine. When you do examine it you find it to be only a mystifying way of saying that an effect does not need a cause. For each change—each new stage in the series—is an *effect* arising from, or in some way caused by, the preceding one. Admittedly no particular stage can be conceived to arise except from a preceding one; that is to say, no stage can be conceived as an *absolute beginning*, an ultimate cause of all that follows. In other words, the supposed 'series of metamorphoses' *can have no ultimate cause*. Whence 'our present universe' stands forth as the biggest and grandest instance within our ken of an effect without a cause! So this high-sounding 'eternal series of metamorphoses' is at bottom a negation of our intuition of causality, and impliedly of the capacity of human consciousness to bear reliable witness to anything. Even so thorough-going an evolutionist as Weismann rejects the notion of eternal matter as an adequate substitute for a First Cause.—'The assumption of eternal matter with its eternal laws by no means satisfies our intellectual need for causality.'¹

Has Professor Huxley anything further to say to the question? Yes; he has just one thing more:—'The scientific investigator is wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe.' (What! not even 'hocus-pocus'?) This will, perhaps, seem at first

¹ *Studies in the Theories of Descent*, 1882, p. 716.

sight the one sane statement the Professor has made on the subject; yet not even with this can we agree. We hear a great deal at times from all the 'advanced philosophers' about 'the scientific method' by which they are enabled to 'cross the boundary of experimental evidence,' and 'discern' wonderful things that lie outside the region of experience. These are 'derived by a process of abstraction from experience. . . . In this way, out of experience, arise conceptions which are wholly ultra-experiential.'¹ Again—'Having determined the elements of their curve in a world of observation and experiment, they [*i.e.*, the scientific philosophers] prolong that curve'² into regions of thought beyond.

Furnished with this 'open sesame,' how can Professor Huxley declare himself 'wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe'? Is not this a case where we can 'determine the elements of our curve' of causality 'in a world of observation and experiment,' namely, the world of phenomena of our own originating? In that world of our immediate experience the elements of the curve are found to be all purely mental. Must not its prolongation, therefore, through and beyond 'the primitive nebulosity,' lead us to an analogous originating cause there? If we are to credit 'the scientific method' with the powers claimed for it, this must inevitably be the result of its application here. But perhaps that is just the reason it is not applied!

This agnostic pose is rather a favourite one with our 'advanced philosophers.' It gives the impression of moderation and caution, and contrasts favourably with 'the intolerant dogmatism of theology.' Mr. S. Laing in his *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, having traced *energy* back to the cosmic atoms, continues:—

If we ask how came the atoms into existence endowed with this marvellous energy, we have reached the furthest bounds of human knowledge, and can only reply in the words of the poet—

¹ Tindall, *Edinburgh Review*.

² *Id.*, *Scientific Use of the Imagination*.

‘Behind the veil, behind the veil.’ We can only form metaphysical suppositions, or I might rather call them the vaguest guesses.¹

This may be taken as a typical statement. We have it reproduced in many impressive forms by Tyndall, standing with bowed head before the Mystery of Matter; by Spencer, in the sanctuary of his own special deity, ‘the Unknown and Unknowable;’ by Huxley, also worshipping in silence ‘at the altar of the Unknown and Unknowable;’² and by many lesser lights eager to parade their emancipation from the trammels of worn-out creeds, and their adoption of ‘the scientific idea of a First Cause, inscrutable and past finding out.’³ As this is ‘a more sublime as well as a more rational belief than the old orthodox conception,’ it is worth examining a little. Passing by the ‘sublime,’ let us look at it from the ‘rational’ side.

Whatever we know, or seem to know, of atoms and energy, are but *deductions from phenomena*; for atoms and energy themselves are just as much ‘behind the veil’ as their First Cause. Now the phenomena which teach us all that we know of atoms and energy—do they not speak with equal plainness of a third thing, *mind*? This, at any rate, was the view of Sir John Herschel—no weak-kneed metaphysical guesser, but as robust a scientific thinker as the century has produced. ‘It is reasonable,’ he says, ‘to regard the force of gravitation as the direct or indirect result of a consciousness or a will existing somewhere.’⁴ Certainly this is no more than ‘reasonable.’ If the planetary motions prove the existence of a linking force, surely they prove just as plainly the prevalence of a far-reaching order and plan, implying ‘a consciousness or a will existing somewhere.’ Our ‘philosophers’ are not always so blind to the evidence of design, nor so slow to draw the proper conclusion. When

¹ Page 79. This book is an able, and therefore a dangerous, popular statement of the agnostic philosophy. In ten years it has had a sale of over twenty thousand.

² *Lay Sermons*, p. 14.

³ *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, p. 222.

⁴ *Outlines of Astronomy*, 5th ed., p. 291.

the matter is one that seems to favour their own theories they are only too ready to conclude. Their proof of the remote antiquity of man is a case in point. Fragments of flint chipped in a peculiar way have been found in ancient drift deposits. These flints, the 'philosophers' tell us, show evident marks of *design*—of having been 'intentionally chipped into their present forms.'¹ They scout the idea that such forms could result from any conceivable action of the forces of nature, or could be the handiwork of any kind of ape however 'anthropoid.' The signs of *purpose* are too evident; and *purpose* is unanswerable proof of a *reasoning intelligence*. Therefore beyond all doubt, they conclude, man existed at the drift period. We are not now considering the validity of this proof, but only the method of it. Let it be borne in mind that *not a scrap of human bones* has been found with these flints, nor in any certainly coeval deposits elsewhere. Consequently the proof is *purely inferential*—*a conclusion from the evidence of design to the necessary existence of an intelligent being*. Behold the chameleon consistency of the 'philosophers'! A few doubtfully-marked fragments of stone are sufficient evidence of plan and purpose to prove intelligent authorship; but the elaborate and exquisite works of nature are quite incompetent to establish a similar conclusion. The men of the drift are clearly seen in their very questionable works, but the Author of Nature is 'behind the veil.'

Taking the three factors of the universe—matter, force, and mind—we find the same state of things. The 'philosophers' see as much as they want to, and no more. These three mysterious entities lie equally 'behind the veil,' are equally 'metaphysical conceptions.' Natural phenomena bear witness to the existence of all three in exactly the same way, viz., by special characteristics from which we necessarily *infer* the existence of each. From the reality of these phenomena we infer a real basis, *matter*; from their actual occurrence we infer an agent or power at work, *force*; from their orderly character we infer a controlling and

¹ Sir John Lubbock, *Scientific Illustrations*, p. 142.

guiding influence, *mind*. Why are two of these inferences valid, although they point to things 'behind the veil,' while the third is to be regarded as invalid *because* it too points to something 'behind the veil'? If we are able to read the existence of two of the things in their effects, why not that of the third as well? The evidence is as plain in one case as another. Nay, we can bring forward proof that the evidence for the third is actually plainer than for either of the other two—that mind is more clearly revealed in nature than either matter or force.¹ To this the forms of ordinary speech—the crystallized thought of the people—bear undeniable testimony. When the 'scientific philosophers' attempt to describe natural phenomena, they find that they must use *the language of design* if they wish to be understood. We have only to look into any of their books to see this; Darwin's *Origin*, for instance, is full of it. What does this show? It shows *how* natural phenomena present themselves to the eyes of mankind in general. Whatever the philosophers may do, the people describe things *as they see them*. When, therefore, we find that the notion of design in natural phenomena has so moulded the usages of the common speech that all *must* recognise it if they would be intelligible, the fact is clear proof that design is *the most generally evident characteristic* of these phenomena.

Our 'philosophers' may answer superiorly that in a matter of this kind the people are incompetent witnesses: in fact, like the law, 'the people is a h-ass.' No doubt from the scientific standpoint the people is a very poor concern. It knows little or nothing of sciences or '-ologies.' It stands agape at the most elementary scientific demonstration. It has no proper reverence for that great mechanical providence, the law of inverse squares. But there is here no question of scientific attainments. The question simply is—What special characteristic of natural phenomena most strikes the popular mind? And the answer recorded in

¹ This would seem to be the impression made on Tennyson himself, from whose *In Memoriam* the phrase 'Behind the veil' is quoted. 'Matter,' he said, 'is a greater mystery than mind'—a thing less plainly revealed in nature. See *Life*, by his son, vol. ii., p. 424.

the forms of every civilized speech is *design, intelligence*. Science has nothing to do with this unanimous testimony but to accept it as a fact, and to ponder its significance. A common intuition, as Balmes says, is 'a land-mark of philosophy';¹ and this seems to be one. 'That philosophy,' continues Balmes, 'must be erroneous which is *opposed to a necessity*, and contradicts an *evident fact*.' This exactly describes the position of the agnostic philosophy. It is opposed to a necessity of human thought, and contradicts a fact so evident that it has stamped itself on the speech of every civilized people.

In fine, we will call two individual witnesses whose claims to speak for Nature no one will venture to dispute. One shall speak for the Universe of Life, the other for the Universe of Matter and Force, and both will testify to the all-pervading evidence of Mind.

Whatever we may think of Darwin as a philosopher, no one questions his eminence as a naturalist. He cannot be suspected of any desire to favour the doctrine of *mind* in nature, seeing that the whole tendency of his system is to eliminate mind altogether from natural phenomena. Therefore when we find him in his later years, after all his unique experience, forced to bear unwilling witness to the overpowering evidence of an intelligent First Cause which living nature supplies, we can hardly overrate the importance of his testimony. In a private memoir written in 1876, we find this remarkable statement:—

Another source of conviction in the existence of God, connected with the reason, and not with the feelings, impresses me as having much more weight. This follows from the extreme difficulty, or rather impossibility, of conceiving this immense and wonderful universe, including man with his capacity for looking far backwards and far into futurity, as the result of blind chance or necessity. When thus reflecting I feel compelled to look to a First Cause having *intelligent mind* in some degree analogous to that of man.²

¹ *Philosophical Position*, vol. i., p. 267.

² *Life and Letters*, vol. i., p. 312. Nevertheless he concludes inconsequently — 'The mystery of the beginning of all things is insoluble to us, and I for one must be content to remain an agnostic.'

In the year of his death (1882), discussing this question with the Duke of Argyll, he admitted that the conviction of design in nature often still came over him 'with overwhelming force.'¹

What have our agnostic philosophers to say to these repeated admissions, dragged, so to speak, from the reluctant lips of the very father of the philosophic faithful, 'the Abraham of scientific men'?² At Belfast Tyndall proudly paraded Darwin as rejecting 'teleology' and 'the notion of a supernatural Artificer.' What hollow mockery it all seems in the light of the pitiful revelation here made? For it is pitiful to see this really great naturalist, in the interests of a mistaken idea, blindly struggling to free himself from a necessity of thought, to stifle the voice of consciousness within and nature without, to persist in saying 'no' while the universe thundered 'yes.'

Our second witness is the Seer of modern science, the man whose scientific inspirations are still a fruitful source of scientific discovery, Faraday. Who will question his insight into the mysterious universe of matter and force? And the revelation it made to him is conveyed, not inappropriately, in the language of another and higher revelation. 'I believe that the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are, even His eternal power and Godhead.'³

One more witness we take leave to call—that peculiar American genius—philosopher, lecturer, essayist, poet—the Carlyle of the New World, Emerson. Tyndall apparently would appropriate him; but we dispute his claim. We do not say he agrees with us in all, or even in much; but we do say that he has more in common with us than with materialism. We might quote many passages in support of our contention, but we restrict ourselves to two—one from each of his essays on *Nature*.

Through all its kingdoms, to the suburbs and outskirts of things, [Nature] is faithful to the cause whence it had its origin.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 316, note.

² Tyndall, *Science and Man*.

³ *Experimental Researches*, p. 465

It always speaks of Spirit. It suggests the absolute. It is a perpetual effect. It is a great shadow pointing always to the sun behind us.

And to the like effect these two golden sentences—
'Nature is the incarnation of a thought. . . . The world is mind precipitated.'

But there is little to be gained by arguing this question with the 'advanced philosophers.' As far as they are concerned, the case is closed. Their intellectual position might be represented by the figure of Justice without the scales, or Sam Weller when he 'didn't see' his father in the gallery, though he 'rayther thought' he was there. Put into words, regardless of 'bulls,' it might be expressed thus: 'There is no evidence of God in nature; and if there is, we *won't* see it.'

Let us briefly resume the argument before leaving it. Three classes of phenomena, viz., our own works, our neighbour's, and the universe, present three cases of causation. All three are alike inexplicable without reference to mind. All three alike become quite comprehensible by reference to mind. Of the mental origin of the first we have the most absolute certainty we can have of anything. Of the mental origin of the second we have a certainty almost as absolute, resting on our certainty of our neighbour's likeness to ourselves, and on his constant testimony regarding the origin of his own works. Therefore in the third case, from the analogy of these two, and prescind~~ing~~ altogether from any testimony there may be in the shape of a revelation, it becomes a *necessity of thought* with us to assume a mental origin—an intelligent First Cause. We cannot stop at the agnostic terminus. We cannot say—'I admit the first because I have the testimony of my own consciousness; I admit the second because I have the testimony of my neighbour, resting on that of *his* consciousness; but I do not admit the third, because, not believing in a revelation, I have no testimony.' This is to deny the validity of every sort of evidence but human testimony—an absurdity which would at once make a clean sweep of three-fourths of the conclusions

of physical science! As Professor Asa Gray says:—‘In Nature we have no *testimony*; but the *argument* is overwhelming.’¹ If that silent but overwhelming argument is to be set aside, the sooner we disabuse ourselves of the notion that we are reasonable beings the better. In fact the only real justification of agnosticism is Darwin’s ‘horrid doubt—whether the convictions of man’s mind, which has been developed from the mind of the lower animals, are of any value or at all trustworthy. Would anyone trust the convictions of a monkey’s mind?’² On this view of the nature of the mental faculties, and on this alone, does agnosticism become logical. If we are highly developed apes, and no more, not only our conclusion about a First Cause, but all our conclusions become untrustworthy. But in that case it would not matter much one way or the other.

The agnostic philosophers are fond of pointing to the *inconceivableness* of creation as proof that it is impossible and cannot have taken place. Is creation inconceivable, and therefore impossible?

Let us begin by clearing up the term of comparison, *inconceivable*. A thing may be inconceivable (1) *relatively to us* by reason of some deficiency in ourselves, as colour is inconceivable to a person always blind; or (2) *absolutely in se* by involving a necessary contradiction which renders it unthinkable, as that two and two make five, or that a triangle may be round.³

Evidently the only sort of inconceivableness that involves impossibility is the second. Is creation inconceivable in that sense?

In creation we distinguish two things—the *act* and the *mode*; and it may be conceivable or inconceivable as regards the one and not as regards the other. By the *act* of creation

¹ *Darwiniana*, p. 74.

² From a letter written in 1881, the year before his death. *Life and Letters*, vol. i., p. 316.

³ There is a third and looser sense in which a thing is often said to be inconceivable: when it is so fantastic, so opposed to the nature of things as known to us, that we refuse to believe it possible; e.g., the existence of such beings as the fabled Centaurs.

is meant 'the transition of a substance from not-being to being by virtue of the productive action of another substance.'¹ Is this transition inconceivable? Taking for granted the existence of the First Cause—already sufficiently demonstrated—we have in this transition 'only the idea of causality in its highest degree, that is, as applied to the production of a *substance*.'² But since we have the idea of cause, the idea of creation is not a new and inconceivable idea, but the perfection of an idea which is common to all mankind.' So far then from the *act* of creation being inconceivable in the sense of self-contradictory and therefore impossible, we see that it is, on the contrary, the most perfect expression, the most complete realization in *fact* of a common fundamental intuition.

Is the *mode* of creation inconceivable? In the first place let us say that we are not much concerned to prove whether it is or no. Having once established the possibility of creation *in se*, and its entire conformity with right reason, the mere question of *how* represents a point of very secondary importance. Whether the mode of creation be conceivable or not cannot in the least affect either the *possibility* or the *fact* of creation. How many things do we recognise as indisputable facts without knowing the *how* of their existence. Can anyone tell us how we see things? We can trace the light-picture as far as the back of the eye, but then it becomes something else, which we call *sensation*, while in the brain it becomes still another thing, which we call *vision*. *How* all this happens, who can say! That it does happen we can all say. To the astronomer the force of gravitation is a fact, but the man who will demonstrate *how* it is exercised will at once take his place beside Newton, if not above him. Let it be clearly borne in mind, then, that the rest of this discussion has no bearing whatever on the *possibility* or the *fact* of creation. They are established.

¹ Balmes, *Fundamental Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 453.

² Balmes distinguishes between the power of a *finite* cause, which is limited to the production of *modifications* of substances already existing, and that of the *Infinite Cause*, which extends to the production of *substances themselves*. The *mode* of production, however, we judge to be alike in both cases, viz., by *willing*.

The question now is merely whether we can conceive *how it took place*. Whether we can or no, the fact remains a fact. Our investigation henceforward possesses that merely *scientific* interest which attaches to the study of every great and wonderful phenomenon. In this attitude of reverent scientific curiosity we repeat our question—Is the *mode* of creation inconceivable?

The only way in which we can form any idea at all of the mode of creation is by observing the manner in which we exercise the faculty of causation ourselves. We find that it is by an act of will. We *will* the things which, as free agents, we do. As this is the only mode of original causation with which we are acquainted, we must conclude that it was the mode of creation—that the Creator produced all things from nothing by an act of *will*.

How far is such a production conceivable by us? Just as far as the production of our own acts is conceivable by us. We can conceive a thing beginning to be in response to an act of the Creator's will, just as we can conceive a thing beginning to be in response to an act of our own will; but *how* such effects in either case follow from such a cause is incomprehensible to us. We know no more, *and no less*, how an act of the Creator's will produces a thing out of nothing than how an act of our own will moves a limb. The one is as inexplicable as the other.

To this then is the inconceivableness of creation reduced, viz., to the manner in which the *production* of a thing follows from the *willing* of it. But, as we have insisted at such tiresome length, this inconceivableness of *mode* does not touch the *possibility* or *fact* of production. It would not matter in the least if it were shown to-morrow that our theory as to the Creator's mode of operation was all wrong—that His way of working is quite different from ours, or from any conception we can form of it by analogy of our own. In the absence of any other clue, the said analogy supplies a tolerably satisfying basis of inference in a matter of comparatively speculative interest. In assuming that the Creator works as we do by *willing*, we are simply making the most of our limited intellectual resources.

As to the nature of this inconceivableness attaching to the *mode* of creation, it is clearly of that relative kind which arises from a deficiency in ourselves owing to the limitations of our state—limitations which make so many things within us as well as without us mysteries to us. Yet are they none the less *facts* to us. Who doubts his capacity to *will*, and by willing to *do*? Yet who knows how the *doing* springs from the *willing*? This relative inconceivableness of *mode* affords no more ground for denying the possibility of creation, than for denying the possibility of the acts we are ourselves doing every moment. For the relation of these acts to our will is as incomprehensible as the relation of created things to the will of the Creator.

The following lively statement of the point by Balmes is well worth adding:—

God wills, and the universe springs up out of nothing:—how can this be understood? To him who asks this I say—Man wills, and his arm rises; he wills, and his whole body is in motion: how can this be understood? Here is a small, weak, and incomplete, but true image of the Creator—an intelligent being who wills, and a fact which appears. Where is the connection? If you cannot explain it to us in so far as concerns finite beings, how can you ask us to explain it with respect to the Infinite Being? The incomprehensibility of the connection of the motion of the body with the force of the will does not authorize us to deny the connection. Therefore, the incomprehensibility of the connection of a being which appears for the first time with the force of the infinite will cannot authorize us to deny the creation.¹

When Agnosticism rejects creation as inconceivable, presumably it has a more conceivable substitute to offer us instead. Herbert Spencer, at any rate, is bound to provide such a substitute, for he maintains that, 'while the process of special creation cannot be rationally conceived, the negation of it is perfectly conceivable.'²

We might set off against this the equally dogmatic

¹ *Fundamental Philosophy*, vol. ii., p. 183.

² *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1895.

declaration of Professor Huxley, that the hypothesis of creation is 'perfectly conceivable, and therefore no one can deny that it may have happened'—that it is an alternative 'not scientifically unthinkable.'¹ However, let us take 'the Apostle of the Understanding' on his own ground, and see how he himself 'rationally conceives' this 'negation.' His 'perfectly conceivable' substitute for the creation of matter is a 'persisting force' which 'transcends human knowledge and conception,' and is 'an unknown and unknowable power!' There is no denying that 'negation' is here at a discount; the 'perfect conceivableness' is hardly so apparent. The reader will recall with new interest the same 'Apostle's' eminently 'rational conception' of the origin of life heretofore quoted; it is very concise, but supplies endless food for thought. *Life arose 'through successive complications'!*

In conclusion we will reward the reader's patience with a tit-bit of 'advanced philosophy'—something our American cousins would call "'reel" good'—an up-to-date agnostic Genesis. We extract it from a wildly gushing life of Darwin, contributed to the 'English Worthies' series by Mr. Grant Allen, a gentleman who, since the extinction of greater lights, has been making himself very prominent as an evolutionist of the most 'advanced' type. This *tour d'imagination* portrays the ideal realization (if we may use such a combination of words) of 'the illuminating doctrine of Evolution' as representing 'a cosmical process, one and continuous, from nebula to man, from star to soul, from atom to society.'² Comment seems needless; and we content ourselves with directing the reader's attention by means of italics to a few specially pure gems of thought or reasoning.

The evolutionist looks out upon the Cosmos as a continuous process unfolding itself in regular order in obedience to definite natural laws. He sees in it all, not a warring chaos restrained by the constant interference from without of a wise and beneficent

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886, pp. 202, 203.

² Page 191.

external power, but a vast aggregate of *original contents* [?] perpetually working out their own fresh redistribution in accordance with *their own inherent energies*. . . .

At the very beginning [?] the matter which now composes the material universe *seems to have existed* in a very diffuse and nebulous condition. The gravitative force, however, with which every atom of the whole vast mass was *primarily endowed*, caused it gradually to aggregate around *certain fixed and definite centres* [?]

Biology next steps in with its *splendid explanation of organic life*, as due initially to the secondary action of radiated solar energy on the outer crust of such a cooling and evolving planet [!] How the first organism came to exist, biology has not yet been able *fully* to explain to us; but aided by chemical science it has been able to show us *in part* how some of the simple organic bodies *may have been originally built up*, and *it does not despar of showing us in the end* how the earliest organism may actually have been produced from the prime elements of oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and carbon.

Psychology in the hands of Herbert Spencer and his followers, not wholly unaided by Darwin himself, . . . has traced *the origin and development of mind*, without a single break, from its first faint and half-unconscious manifestation in the polyp or the jelly-fish, to its final grand and varied outcome in the soul of the poet, or the intellect of the philosopher.

Sociology . . . taking from biology the evolving savage . . . has shown how he has grown up to science, to philosophy, to morals, and to religion.

And there you are !

E. GAYNOR, C.M.

THE GLEN OF ALTADAVIN

MY first visit to Altadavin was in the month of August, 1883, during a mission in Aghaloo, the next parish to Errigal-Truagh, in which Altadavin is situated. The Rev. Daniel O'Connor, then P.P. of Errigal-Truagh, now Canon and P.P. of Newtownbutler, was my kind cicerone. In May and June, 1884, we gave a mission in Errigal-Truagh, where my work lay in the outlying district of Portclare, in which the Glen is situated, which I then twice revisited.

My object in writing the present article, is to draw attention to this remarkable spot, which, much to my surprise, has, I find, received scarcely any mention either in ancient or modern authors, and except to those living in its neighbourhood, and to some few interested in archæology, appears to be generally unknown even in Ireland. I shall first, then, give simply my own description of Altadavin, from the impressions left on my memory after a lapse of fourteen years, interspersed with a few topographical notices ; and shall then say what of interest I have gleaned from ancient authors and archæological sources that sheds any light on its history and surroundings. And this I shall do especially to show, that the claim which the local tradition has ever made to the connection of Altadavin with St. Patrick rests on most probable and solid grounds.

Errigal-Truagh is a very extensive parish, of the diocese of Clogher, chiefly situated within the county of Monaghan, but having some fifteen or sixteen townlands, called the Portclare district, belonging to county Tyrone, of which Altadavin, in the barony of Clogher, is one. There are three churches in the parish : the principal one, that of St. Mary, Ballyoshin ; that of the Sacred Heart, Carrickroe ; and that of St. Patrick at Clara, within two miles of Altadavin.

This is a small valley or glen,¹ some four miles south-east of Clogher, extending nearly a mile from north to south. The hills that bound it on either side are from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high, lined with steep rocks and jutting crags. The sides and the glen itself are thickly wooded with fir trees, stunted oaks, larch, ash, birch, hazel, holly, and underwood. A small clear stream runs murmuring through the glen. This stream is nameless, both in the map, and in local nomenclature. Issuing from Lough More (*i.e.*, the Great Lake), half a mile south of the head of the glen, it flows through Lough Beg (the Little Lake), which lies quite near the entrance of the valley. Both these lakes are small; the latter much the smaller one, and not bigger than a good-sized fish-pond. They are named in Irish great and little, only by way of comparison.

I may mention, *en passant*, that Lough Beg has a tiny islet on its waters. It is a floating island planted with a few shrubs of the sallow genus. To those living within view of the island, along the hill-side of Cullabeg, which is very near Lough Beg, and of Cullamore,² near to Lough More, it serves the purpose of a barometer, as they readily conjecture by its movements, when rain or storm is at hand. The little stream, after running through the glen, passes by the eastern side of Lough Fimore (*i.e.*, Great Wood), another small lake half a mile north of the glen, and sends a tiny tributary to its waters; thence it pursues its course to join the river Blackwater, whose ancient name was Avonmore (Abhain-Mor), at Favour Royal.

Apropos of this demesne, I regret to learn from Canon O'Connor, that

Mr. Moutray, its proprietor, and 'lord of the soil,' some seven or eight years ago, denuded the Glen of its fine unbraided adornment of trees, and even the holly and hazel had to yield before the woodman's axe. He [the Canon] was pleased, however, on revisiting the Glen, last summer, to find a dense undergrowth of natural trees again growing up. But it

¹ Marked in the Ordnance Map, Long. 78° 43' 00" Lat. 55° 41'.

² In the map it is called Culla Mugg, and is 818 feet high.

must be many years before they reach the stately proportions of the former forest trees which lent such a secluded and picturesque aspect to the spot.

To return to my own description of Altadavin, as it was on my visit in 1883. The varied scenery of the lonely glen; its purling stream, its dense green shade, its rocks and craggy steeps charmed me—as though I had entered upon some new fairy-land—with its romantic beauty, which is at once soft and calm, weird and grand, sometimes even wild and savage; and the enchantment grew the more with every onward step. On passing nearly half way through the glen, a tongue of rocky ground, spread thick with trees and underwood, rises to the height of some forty or fifty feet, intersecting the valley for about three or four hundred paces, and forming on either side a deep ravine. That to the right has a path which runs down the whole valley; whilst that on the left, through which the stream flows, terminates by opening out into a meadow-like green sward, enclosed on the east by the precipitous ridge which here ends, and on the north and west by hilly slopes, on which rise tall firs and other trees; whilst the little stream to the left winds round these slopes, to continue its course through the rest of the valley.

This little green meadow, so to call it, is perhaps a hundred yards long by forty wide, smooth and soft as some velvet lawn; and being entirely secluded, in the midst of its wild and romantic surroundings, from all view of outside scenery, with the sky of the heavens above for its canopy, it forms a spot of singular loveliness and charm. On the right, close under the side of the rocky steep, is a well or fountain of pure water, of crystal clearness and most refreshing coldness, springing from the cliff. It is a spot where the imagination, unaided, may readily draw vivid pictures of scenes, which, one is told, here had place long ages ago. For the tradition in the neighbourhood of Altadavin is, that here in this little meadow St. Patrick preached to the people, instructed his neophytes, and at this very well—blessed by himself, and ever since called by his name—he baptized them in its waters.

From beside the well we ascended the cliff by a very steep, narrow path, midst a growth of underwood and tangled *froughans*.¹ About twenty feet above the meadow there opened on our right, with a view of the valley below, a small, fairly-level space of ground, paved, as it were, with large layers of detached rock. Here stood by itself, resting on layers of rock below the surface, a great block, between four and five feet high, nearly square—perhaps, as I have been told, thirty or forty tons weight. In its centre is a round natural hollow, forming a basin some fourteen inches in diameter at the top, and a few inches less in depth, which was then at least half full of clear water.

Following the directions of my cicerone, I baled out the water. At the bottom of the basin were a large number of pins which visitors, it may be of many generations, had deposited there from some traditional custom, or perhaps in lieu of votive offerings.² Placing these on the margin of the basin, I wiped it quite dry, and examined it carefully to see if there was in it any aperture or perforation by which the water might ascend, but could discover none. It appeared to me to be smooth, hard, and solid. After replacing the pins, I watched for a few minutes until I saw the water reappearing. I was told that it would take some twenty minutes for it to reach the level at which it was before, and that the basin was never known to be without water, whatever might be the heat and dryness of the season.

We then continued our ascent to the summit of the

¹ *I.e.*, bilberry stalks.

² There are other traditional ways of thus exteriorizing the interior sentiment, by making use of some outward sensible token; *e.g.*, there is the practice so common at holy wells of leaving behind small pieces of rag attached to the bushes or shrubs close by. This custom prevails not only in many parts of Ireland, but survives also to the present day amongst the Protestants of Celtic Cornwall. Or, to give another example:—On occasion of a Redemptorist mission at Famed in Co. Donegal, the late Primate McGettigan, then Bishop of Raphoe, conducted the Fathers to St. Columkille's cell and holy well on the western shore of Lough Swilly, where he was careful to instruct each one of us to observe religiously the immemorial practice of every visitor casting a large stone over his shoulder; thus to add another to the huge pile of accumulated *penances* that had been heaped up behind us by the numerous past generations of devout visitors to the Saint's rude hermitage.

ridge, some twenty or thirty feet above the rock-basin, where, on turning a corner to the left, comes close in view a massive structure of natural rock, wearing rudely the shape of a fixed altar, with rock rising behind to serve as its reredos. Both together form one huge monolith. The altar is nearly four feet in height, not less than six feet in length, and more than two feet in width. In the middle of the altar-table a portion is marked out by a deep carving, doubtless for the sacred vessels at the celebration of Mass. And here alone, it would seem, has the hand of man been exercised on the monuments of Altadavin, which, for the rest, are all of purely natural formation; and no chisel was ever laid on them.

Fronting the altar on the gospel-side is another huge structure of rock, so formed by nature out of a single massive block as to have the appearance of a gigantic high-backed chair. It measures from the basement to its head not less than eight feet; the square high back rising some six feet above the seat. In this chair, tradition reports, St. Patrick sat, and at this altar celebrated the Sacred Mysteries; and from time immemorial both altar and chair have been called by his name.

We then retraced our steps down to the rock-basin. The water was still rising, and had nearly reached the level at which we had first found it. I watched till it had done so and had ceased to flow. My first thought, to which I at once gave utterance, was a strong desire that the British Association, when they next held their meeting in Ireland, should make a pilgrimage to Altadavin, and endeavour to explain, if they could, by what natural causes this marvellous phenomenon is effected. It may, no doubt, be capable of such explanation; but to my unscientific and superficial view it appeared to be nothing short of miraculous. For the block, in which is the basin, rises entirely isolated; beneath it are layers of other large detached rocks, so that the idea of its being fed by a spring from below appears to be out of the question; whilst that of the basin being supplied from the droppings of overhanging boughs is obviously untenable; moreover, the basin, though of a porous and absorbent

sandstone,¹ always contains a certain quantity of water, even in the driest seasons.

I can here only state my own experience as to the measure of water, and the time it took to rise in the basin, which were the same on the three visits I made to the rock—and Father Callan, the present P.P., tells me that he has a like experience as to the time. But I have since been informed that these points are not, perhaps, to be relied upon as always uniform; and, of course, after heavy rains the basin may be found full and overflowing.

I do not remember being told whether, according to any local tradition, this rock-basin held any place in the religious ceremonial of St. Patrick, or what that might be. I learn from Canon O'Connor that experts who have visited Altadavin are of opinion that the rocky ridge which intersects the valley is a *moraine*, consisting of immense boulders of sandstone, and that the hollows and basins found in many of them were formed naturally, perhaps during the glacial period, by the friction of harder substances upon them in some mighty convulsion or upheaval of nature. Many of these huge blocks are, on the other hand, quite smooth; according as they were torn up from their *situs* in the bed-rock.

Amongst the more notable visitants at the Glen in recent times have been Archbishop M'Hale, in 1870, in company with Bishop M'Nally of Clogher, who then resided in that town; Bishop Loughlin, of Brooklyn; Monsignor Farley, now Assistant-Bishop of New York, on the occasion of the Dedication of St. M'Cartin's Cathedral at Monaghan; and the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Bishop of Clonfert, in company with Dr. Lennon, of Maynooth, and Canon O'Connor, the 18th of August, 1897. The Most Rev. John Hughes, Archbishop of New York, was brought up in the neighbourhood of the Glen. I have sought in vain for some reference in ancient authors to Altadavin; whilst in writers of more

¹ Canon O'Hanlon, in his notice of Altadavin, says that the rock there is 'pronounced by experts to be of a very silicious sandstone of the Yorkdale series.'—(17 March, vol. iii., p. 670.)

modern date I have met no mention of its name except in O'Hanlon's *Lives*, and in Lewis's *Dictionary*.¹

The connection claimed for Altadavin with St. Patrick rests solely on the tradition that lives in the neighbourhood, which is supported by many reasons of the highest probability, and these it is now my object to set forth. It is, in the first place, quite certain, from the *Tripartite* and other *Lives*, that the Saint spent some time, on more than one occasion, at Clogher, which is only four miles distant from the Glen of Altadavin; and that he made several apostolic journeys in its neighbourhood. On his way to found the churches of Donagh, Tehollan, Tullycerbet, Aughnamullen, and Donaghmoyne, as described in the *Tripartite*, his course lay in the direction of the glen. Between Altadavin and Donagh he blessed a well, since called St. Patrick's Well, situated in a remote locality, in the townland of Derryveagh, where a tongue of that townland extends between Derrynerget and Dernalusset, near Carrickroe, before referred to as one of the three districts of Errigal-Truagh, where our fathers said Mass, and preached on the Sundays of their mission in that parish.

On the lands of Lislana [says Canon O'Hanlon], not far from Clogher,² in the direction of Aughentain, may be seen another St. Patrick's chair and holy well. They are situated in a most exquisitely beautiful wooded glen. The 'chair' is simply a hollow recess in the natural rock, and the well is a tiny spring close to it.³

Again, we learn from the *Lives* that St. Patrick frequently in his apostolate came into direct antagonism with the whole system of Druidism; since its prevalent influence was one of the chief hindrances to the conversion of many to Christianity. Hence he opposed the Druids wherever he found them, overturning their idols and pillar-stones, and burning their books. Thus we read in the *Book of Lecan*, that St. Patrick at one time burnt one hundred and eighty

¹ O'Hanlon, vol. iii., p. 670. *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 1837, vol. i., p. 609; "Errigal-Trough."

² That is three miles west.

³ Vol. iii., p. 672.

druidical books. And it was on account of the Saint's determined opposition to their superstitions that the Druids made many attempts on his life. Now, it is generally thought, and on very probable grounds, that Altadavin was specially set apart by the Druids for the exercise of their religious worship. The wild rocky glen is just the sort of place they would naturally select :—

For [writes Bishop Healy] the Druids worshipped not in temples made with hands, but in 'groves,' and on 'high places' under the shade of the spreading oaks. . . . Their dwellings were surrounded with oak groves whose dark foliage threw a sombre and solemn shade over the rude altars of unhewn stone on which they offered their sacrifices.¹

Here they could in secret solitude perform their weird and mystic rites at the overshadowed well, and immolate their victims at the altar on the high place. The legendary folk-lore which still lingers among the people from ancient time, and has been embodied in the tales of William Carleton, who was born and brought up in the immediate neighbourhood of the glen, point to it as a spot of awe and marvel. Moreover, its proximity to Clogher would render the connection of the Druids with Altadavin all the more probable. For Clogher was the chief city of an ancient territory, known as Ergal (*Anglice*, Oriel), the people of which were distinguished as Orghialla; and at Clogher was the principal royal residence. I will here again avail myself of a quotation from the Bishop of Clonfert :—

One of the principal functions of the Druids was to act as haruspices, that is, to foretell the future, to unveil the hidden, to pronounce incantations, and ascertain by omens lucky and unlucky days. Hence we always find some of them living with the king in his royal rath; they are not only his priests, but still more his guides and counsellors on all occasions of danger and emergency. It is probable that one or more of them abode in the raths of all the great nobles who claimed to be *riks*, or kinglets in their own territories. They were sworn enemies of Christianity, and frequently attempted to take St. Patrick's life by violence or poison. In the remote districts of the country

¹ *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, p. 3.

some of them remained for several centuries after the island generally became Christian; and to this day we can find traces of ancient Druidism in the superstitions of the people.¹

Again, at Clogher, was one of the principal colleges of the Bards² who, with the Druids and Brehons, were the three great orders and privileged classes of pagan Ireland. The Bards were allied with the Druids in many of their superstitions; from all such St. Patrick sought to purify the Order, for, so far from being hostile to it, he encouraged it much. In the college, at Clogher, the Bards studied in order to qualify themselves for taking the degree of *Ollamb*, that is, chief poet, or doctor in poetry. But as this degree could not be obtained without the performance of certain rites which involved offerings to idol gods, St. Patrick abolished these profane rites, and thus made the profession pure and lawful for those who should become Christians. This college, however, seems to have gradually declined before the monastery founded by St. MacCairthinn, the first Bishop of Clogher, by the direction of St. Patrick.³ On this, Walker, in his *Historical Memoirs*, 1786, observes:—‘All the eminent schools delectably situated, which were established by the Christian clergy in the fifth century, were erected on the ruins of these colleges.’⁴

Clogher had been from ancient times a special seat of pagan worship. There was there a celebrated oracular pillar-stone, dedicated to a god called Kermend Kelstack, covered over with plates of gold. According to legend, a hero of antiquity, Connor MacNessa, in the first century of the Christian era, consulted the oracle at Clogher, which predicted that, though a younger son, he should obtain the sovereignty of Ulster. The prophecy proved true. He became king of Ulster; and the ruins of his palace of Emania, now called Navan Fort, are still seen two miles west of the city of Armagh.⁵ Cathal Maguire, a leading

¹ *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, pp. 4, 5.

² *Irish Druids and Old Ireland's Religions*, p. 37. Bonwick, 1894. He mentions other colleges of the Ollambas at Armagh, Lismore, and Tamer.

³ *Brennan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, c. ii., p. 31.

⁴ *Bonwick*, p. 37.

⁵ See *Pagan Ireland*, by Wood-Martin, M.R.I.A., 1895, and Joyce's *Short History of Ireland*, p. 36.

ecclesiastic of Clogher, who died in 1498, records that the stone was preserved up to his times (doubtless without the gold inside the porch of the cathedral. From this stone, *Cloch-air*, 'stone of gold,' according to Colgan and others, Clogher derived its name. But others hold this etymology doubtful; since it is always written Clochar; *i.e.*, 'a stony place,' and not Clochoir; besides, there are other places in Ireland called Clochar.¹

I have mentioned the above details, which otherwise might appear irrelevant, with the view of showing that St. Patrick, during his residence at Clogher, and his evangelization of that city and its neighbourhood, would certainly have directed all his efforts to extirpating the prevalent pagan and druidical rites, and to diverting their profane objects to Christian uses; for, as Petrie says: 'It was not uncommon for St. Patrick to dedicate pagan monuments to the worship of the true God.'² And, in one of the Lives of St. Patrick it is related that he preached at a fountain (well) which the Druids worshipped as a god.³

The following passage from the *Tripartite* relates something analogous to the phenomenon of the rock-basin:— 'Patrick went into Greeraide of Loch Technet. He founded a church there, to wit in Drumne; and by it he dug a well, and it hath no stream [flowing] into it or out of it; but it is full for ever; and this is its name, *Bith-lán* ('Ever-full').'⁴ It thus appears in Tirechan's *Collectanea*: 'Et perexit ad tramitem Gregirgi, et fundavit ecclesiam in Drumme, et fontem fodi [vit juxta eam: non habet flu] men in se et de se, sed plenus semper.'⁵ What is here called Greeraide of Loch Technet, and Trames Gregirgi (or Gregaridhi)—which means the lower boundary of the district of Gregory, now Lough Gara, once known as Loch Technet—is co-extensive with the barony of Coolatin, Co. Sligo.

¹ *T. H. S. Papers*, II. 497-17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴ *Tripartite*, Part ii., Rolls' Series, 1887, P. i., l. 109.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Part ii., p. 319.

Altadavin, locally pronounced as if written Altadhowen, has been interpreted by some to mean 'the glen of the gods, or of the demons,' but its truer meaning, generally accepted by the learned, is the glen of the descendants of Damene, *Alt-ui-damene*, Damlin or Davin being a patronymic of the ancient king or dynast of the territory of Oriel,¹ who resided at Clogher. Hence Clogher in the time of St. Patrick, and later on, is called in the *Annals*, Clogher-mac-damene; *i.e.*, Clogher of the sons of Damene.²

But before any mention of the royal line of Damene, we have historical record of Clogher and its kings. The following is from the *Four Masters*:—

The age of Christ, 111. The first year of the reign of Feidhlimidh Reachtmair,³ son of Truathal Teachtmair, as king over Ireland. Bainè, daughter of Scal [king of Finland], was the mother of this Feidhlimidh. It was from her Cnoc-Bainè in Oighialla [Oriel] was called, for it was there she was interred. It was by her also Rath-mor of Magh-Leamhna [Moy Lency] in Ulster was erected.⁴

Queen Bainè, in her day, must have been a sovereign of more than ordinary mark, for she still lives in popular legend and story, though her memory has been invested in the course of ages with much that is fabulous and grotesque.⁵ Two great monuments that record her reign endure to the present day, *viz.*, the fort of Rathmore, which she built for her royal residence, and Cnocbaine, the place of her interment.

Canon O'Connor has conclusively identified Cnoc-Bainè with the Hill of Knockmany—a modernized form of the same name—very near to Clogher, where is what Mr. Wakeman, the distinguished artist and antiquarian, entitled 'the

¹ O'Flaherty's *Cyggia*, translated by Hely, Book iii., ch. 75.

² *Mac* in Irish means son, and *Uí* (or *O*) grandson or descendant.

³ He is commonly known as King Felimý. For records of his reign, see O'Flaherty and Keating.

⁴ *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to 1616*, vol. i., p. 103. Edited by John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A. 1856.

⁵ Thus the witch Oonagh, in Carleton's *Legend of Knockmany*, is said to be no other than the historical Queen Bainè.

megalithic sepulchral chamber of Knockmany.¹ Here Queen Baine was interred, and a remarkable cromlech of the second century stands over her grave. The name of Queen Baine is also still preserved in that of the hills and townland of Mullaghbeney, situated in close proximity to Knockmany, and in Knockabeney, near Carrickroe. Canon O'Connor likewise identifies Rathmore (the Great Rath), erected by Queen Baine, with the large earthen fort situate within the palace grounds of Clogher, which was the chief stronghold and place of residence in after ages of the princes of Oriel.

Moy Leney, or Lemain, which was also anciently called Clossach, is described by Colgan as 'a level district of Tyrone in the diocese of Clogher.' It extended for some distance west of Clogher to beyond Ballygawley, which places, as also Errigal-Keeroge² and Augher to the north, were included in its area. The river Blackwater flows through the territory. Near Augher was the ford, Ath-ergal, across the river, where passed the interesting conversation between St. MacCartin and St. Patrick, to be given presently from the *Tripartite*. A stream formerly called the Laune, or Launy, which has its rise to the south among the hills beyond Fardross, flows by Clogher to the Blackwater, through Moy Leney, whence it derives its name, which it preserved long after that district had become merged in the more extensive territory called Oriel, which, besides a part of Tyrone, embraced the counties of Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, and Fermanagh.

As Lemain was the scene of several interesting incidents narrated in the *Tripartite* of St. Patrick's missionary work whilst he was in the immediate neighbourhood of Clogher

¹ See his learned article under that heading in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 1876.

² Errigal (Aibergal, pronounced Arrigle), according to Joyce, primarily means a habitation, and is often applied to an oratory, hermitage, or small church. He connects it with the Latin *erigere*. Thus Errigal Trough would mean the church in the barony of Trough, anciently called Trinch Chlo Chialaigh. Others say it means a bright fishing weir. Others again, say that Errigal, Ergal, Oirghalla, are various forms of the same name, *erigal*, Oriel, and that these two parishes of Errigal retain to the present day the etymon of the old territory.

and Altadavin, I shall here recall them, and shall do so in the original words of St. Evin, his biographer :—¹

Once as St. Patrick was coming from Clochar from the north, his champion, to wit, Bishop MacCairthinn, lifted him over a difficult place.² This is what he said after lifting Patrick : ‘ Oh ! oh ! ’ ‘ My God’s doom ! ’ saith Patrick, ‘ it was not usual for thee to utter that word. ’ ‘ I am now an old man, and I am infirm, ’ saith Bishop MacCairthinn, ‘ and thou hast left my comrades in churches, and I am still on the road. ’ ‘ I will leave thee, then, in a church, ’ saith Patrick, ‘ that shall not be very near, lest there be familiarity [?], and shall not be very far, so that mutual visiting between us be continued. ’ And Patrick then left Bishop MacCairthinn in Clogher, and with him [he placed] the [silver reliquary called] Domnach Airgit,³ which had been sent to Patrick from heaven when he was at sea coming towards Ireland.

Thereafter Patrick went into Lemain : Findabair⁴ is the name of the hill on which Patrick preached. For three days and three nights he was preaching, and it seemed to them not longer than one hour. Then Bridgit fell asleep at the preaching, and Patrick let her not be wakened. And Patrick asked her afterwards what she had seen. *Dirit illa* ; ‘ I saw white assemblies,⁵ and light-coloured oxen, and white corn-fields, speckled oxen behind them, and black oxen after these. Afterwards I saw sheep and swine and dogs and wolves quarrelling with each other. Thereafter I saw two stones, one of the twain a small stone, and the other a large. A shower dropt on them both. The little stone increased at the shower, and silvery sparks would break forth from it. The large stone, however, wasted away. ’ ‘ Those, ’ saith Patrick, ‘ are the two sons of Echaid, son of Crimthann. ’ Coirbre Damargait⁶ believed, and Patrick blessed

¹ According to the learned, the *Vita Septima* or *Tripartite* (i.e., Life in three parts) excels all the other six original Lives which compose the *Acta S. Patricii* in Colgan’s *Trias Thaumaturga*, in length, antiquity, and authenticity. St. Evin, who wrote it, was living in 504, and had probably seen and conversed with St. Patrick, who died in 493.

² This was Ath-ergal. See above. St. Patrick was generally accompanied in his missionary journeys by his family or household, twenty-four in number, all in holy orders. Their names and functions are given in the *Tripartite*. Of these Bishop MacCairthinn was his champion, or rather strong man, to bear him over the floods, and perhaps defend him against rude assaults in an age of lawless violence. See *Ireland’s Ancient Schools*, &c., ch. iii., p. 65.

³ This was a copy of the Gospels, some fragments of which still remain, preserved in the shrine called Domnach-Airgid, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

⁴ Or Finn Abhuir, now called Findermere, near Clogher.

⁵ *Candidatorium synodum*, *Tr. Th.*, p. 150.

⁶ The younger son, from whom a long line of Oriel princes and many Saints were descended—whilst Bressal, the elder son, died childless.

him and blessed his seed. Bressal, however, refused [to become a Christian], and Patrick cursed him. Patrick, besides, expounded the vision of Brigit in an excellent manner.¹

Patrick raised Echaid, son of Crimthann, from death. Echaid had a daughter, to wit, Cinnu. Her father desired to wed her to a man of good lineage, namely, to the son of Cormac, son of Cairbre son of Niall. As she was walking, she met holy Patrick with his companions.² Patrick preached to her to unite herself to the Spiritual Spouse, and she believed and followed Patrick, and Patrick baptized her afterwards. Now, while her father was a-seeking her, to give her to her husband, she and Patrick went to converse with him. Patrick asked her father to allow her to be united to the Eternal Spouse. So Echuid allowed that; if heaven were given to him for her, and he himself were not compelled to be baptized. Patrick promised those two things, although it was difficult for him [to do so]. Then the king allowed his daughter Cinnu to be united to Christ, and Patrick caused her to be a female disciple of his, and delivered her to a certain virgin to be taught, namely [to] Cechtumbar of Druim Dubain, in which place both virgins have their rest. Now, after many years, the aforesaid Echuid reached the end of his life; and when his friends were standing around him, he spake: 'Bury me not,' he saith, 'until Patrick shall have come.' And when Echuid had finished these words he sent forth his spirit. Patrick, however, was then at Saball Pátraic, in Ulster, and Echuid's death was made manifest to him: and he decided on journeying to Clochar Macc n Doimni. There he found Echuid [who had been] lifeless for twenty-four hours. When Patrick entered the house in which the body was lying, he put forth the folk who were biding around the corpse.³ He bent [his] knees to the Lord, and shed tears, and prayed, and afterwards said with a clear voice: 'O king Echuid, in the name of Almighty God, arise!' And straightway the king arose at the voice of God's servant. So when he sat down steadily, he spake, and the weeping and wailing of the people were turned into joy. And then holy Patrick instructed the king in the method of the faith, and baptized him. And Patrick ordered him, before the people, to set forth the punishments of the ungodly, and the blessedness of the saints, and that he should preach to the

¹ Visionem, quæ erat, et presentis et futuri status Ecclesiæ Hiberniæ imago, coram adstantibus exposuit S. Patricius.—*Tr. Th.*, p. 150. 'A prediction,' says Dr. Healy, 'that has been wonderfully verified by the event.' *Ireland's Ancient Schools*, &c., p. 111.

² See *supra*, p. 228, note 2.

³ *Cechtumbar*, Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 150. She is also called Eithembur, Cethuberis, Cechtamanin.

⁴ Compare Matt. ix. 25; Mark v. 40; Luke viii. 54; Acts ix. 40

commonalty that all things which are made known to them of the pains of hell and of the joys of the blessed who have obeyed, were true. As had been ordered to him, Echu preached of both things. And Patrick gave him his choice, to wit, fifteen years in the sovrantry of his country, if he would live quietly and justly, or going (forthwith) to heaven, if this seemed better to him. But the king at once said : ' Though the kingship of the whole globe should be given to me, and though I should live many years, I should count it as nothing in comparison to the blessedness that hath been shown to me. Wherefore I choose more and more that I may be saved from the sorrows of the present world, and that I may return to the everlasting joys which have been shown to me.' Patrick saith to him, ' Go in peace, and depart unto God.' Echu gave thanks to God in the presence of his household, and he commended his soul to the Lord and to Patrick, and sent forth his spirit to heaven.¹

This quotation is the more interesting, as containing the only mention made of St. Brigid in the Lives of St. Patrick. The Saint had just then founded the church of Clogher for St. MacCairthinn, who, it is stated in Tirechan's *Collections* in the *Book of Armagh*, was the uncle of the holy Brigid—' Brigte'—the abbreviated form of the name. This fact would explain her presence at Clogher on this interesting occasion.²

The beautiful story of ' St. Patrick and King Eochaidh ' has been clothed in graceful verse, adorned with poetic description, by Aubrey De Vere, in his *Legends of St. Patrick*.

Druim-Dubhain (pronounced, I have been told, Drum-davin and Drumhain) was a church, says Colgan, close beside Clogher.

To the east of Rathmore [writes Canon O'Connor] in the hollow ground fronting the Palace, are to be seen two adjoining springs of limpid water, tastefully surrounded by a brick-work enclosure. They still are called to this day ' The Sisters,' and were so called on account of a convent which stood on the sloping ridge towards the south of these springs, which ridge of hill is yet called the ' Nun's Hill.' This hill would seem to correspond with the ancient name, *Druim-dubhain*, on which stood a celebrated convent.

It had been originally founded by St. Patrick himself,

¹ *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, Part iii., Rolls' Series, 1887, pp. 175-181.

² *Ireland's Ancient Schools*, &c., p. 111.

and over it he had placed St. Cechtumbar, the first of all the Irish virgins who received the veil from the Saint. To her care he entrusted Cinnu, the daughter of King Echu, who entered the convent, and in time became superioress. She was still living in 482. Both she and her saintly novice-mistress were interred in the church of Druim-dubhain, together with many other holy virgins, and seven bishops.

I would fain linger over many other Saints, disciples of St. Patrick, gathered from around Clogher and Altadavin; such as St. MacCarthinn, Clogher's first bishop; St. Fanchea, V. (Jan. 1), known also as St. Faine; her three sisters, Saints; and her brother, Enda, whom she drew from his life as a soldier, to the immediate service of Christ, to become the celebrated abbot of Aran, and a great Saint; St. Dympna,¹ too, V.M., surnamed *Scenè*, or the fugitive, who had to fly, in company with the old priest, St. Gerebern, who had baptized her, and a married couple as servants, from her native Clogher to Belgium, that she might avoid the face of her unnatural father. He pursued her to her retreat at Gheel, where, after causing the holy priest to be slain by his officers, and on their refusal to murder his daughter, then himself beheaded her with his own sword. From that time, throughout Belgium and Holland, she has been venerated and invoked as the titular Saint of those afflicted with insanity. Hence Gheel for some twelve centuries has been a sanatorium for persons subject to nervous and mental disorders, where they are treated with great success, and innumerable cases of cure and relief are recorded to have been obtained by visiting her shrine. In certain parts of Ulster St. Dympna is still held in high veneration, and one parish in Monaghan, ten miles from Clogher, viz., Tedavnet, takes its name from the virgin Martyr.²

I could make mention of many more, but must forbear;

¹ Called also Damnoda and Domnat, May 15th

² See the brief notices of early Irish saints in Joyce's admirable *Short History of Ireland*, pp. 172-179. The name Tedavnet is thus derived, *i.e.*, *Teach*, a house; and Damnoda, or Davnet, *i.e.*, Dympna. Hence, the house or religious foundation of Dympna.

and will conclude with the touching words of St. Patrick himself in his *Confession*, his last work, written as he was drawing to his end, and reviewing the wondrous things for Ireland that God had wrought through him: 'The sons of the Scoti and the daughters of the chieftains appear now as monks and virgins of Christ, especially one blessed Scottish lady of noble birth, and of great beauty, who was adult, and whom I baptized.' This lady is believed to be St. Cechtumbar, who was the first to receive the veil from St. Patrick's own hands, and whom he appointed to preside over what hence was probably the earliest of his religious foundations in Ireland, namely, the Convent of Druim-dubhain at Clogher.

T. LIVIUS, C.SS.R.

ARCHBISHOP TROY

THE POLICY OF 'RALLY' AND CONCILIATION

II.

IT was at one time surmised that Dr. Troy might be Coadjutor of Armagh. But a communication was received by Archbishop Butler, from the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Salviati, dated November 17, 1781, intimating that there was no intention of deviating from an old-established rule drawn up for the General Congregation, by Cardinal Prefect Corsini, to the effect, that it would not be expedient to appoint a member of a religious order to the primacy. The see of Dublin having become vacant, October 29, 1786, by the death of Archbishop Carpenter, a strong opposition was organized against the appointment of Dr. Troy as his successor.¹

Dr. Butler, writing, December 2, of that year, to

¹ The appointment of Dr. Troy to Dublin was carried with difficulty, though strongly protected. No objection was taken to his character. He had studied at Rome, and was respected there, but the fact of his being a Dominican Friar was by many considered as a valid objection,—*Castlereagh Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 457.

Dr. Plunket of Meath, refers to the appointment of a proper person to the see of Dublin:—

The Archbishop of the capital of Ireland, being, as it were, the representative of us all in the eyes of Parliament, Government, and the whole nation; nay, to Rome itself, his appointment is interesting to our national Church, to our hierarchy, and to the general good of religion. I am told by several that Dr. Troy is most likely to be the elect. All I can say is, I should be afraid, since the late storm against the Regulars, and from the Act of Parliament, and from what was confidently told me by one high in the Administration, in the affair of a coadjutor to the Primate, that the voting at the present critical time for a Regular might hurt the cause of religion on a future day.

On the very next day after the penning of this letter, December 2, Dr. Troy's translation to Dublin was sanctioned by Pope Pius VI., having been recommended by Propaganda, on the 27th of November, same year. Dr. Troy took possession of the Metropolitan See, February 15, 1787, to the greatest satisfaction of all classes in the Archdiocese, as D'Alton assures us.¹

In 1787, there was another fierce outbreak of Rightboyism. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General, brought in a bill for preventing tumultuous assemblages. Amongst other insulting clauses, this proposed measure included one directing the magistrates to demolish the Roman Catholic chapels in which any combinations should have been formed or an unlawful oath administered. Archbishop Butler had shown, in his *Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion*, that many of the Rightboys had evinced as much enmity towards the Catholic bishops and priests, who denounced them, as they had towards Protestant ministers; and had taken forcible possession of those chapels in which their acts were most reprobated. He mentions fifty Catholic chapels which the rioters nailed up and blockaded. An accusation was also urged against the Rightboys by Mr. Fitzgibbon: that it was their custom to drag those supposed not to be friendly to them from their beds at night, and to bury them alive in a grave lined with

¹ *Archbishop of Dublin*, p. 183.

thorns, or to place them naked on horseback, and tied to a saddle covered with thorns : and, in addition, to have their ears sawed off. Mr. Grattan, whilst anxious to check the lawlessness, called the attention of the House to the condition of the peasantry of the south, who were ground to the earth, having to pay £6 and £7 an acre for land, with a wage of only 5*d.* or 6*d.* a day ; and, in addition, a 10*s.* or 12*s.* tithe for potatoes. In Connaught potatoes paid no tithe ; and the hearth tax in the North, only a very moderate one. Mr. Grattan denounced the penal clause of the bill in his most vigorous style :—

He had heard of transgressors being dragged from the sanctuary, but never of the sanctuary being demolished. This would go far to hold out the laws as a sanction to sacrilege. If the Roman Catholics were of a different religion from Protestants, yet they had one common God, and one common Saviour with the hon. gentleman ; and surely the God of the Protestant temple was the God of the Catholic temple. What, then, did the clause enact ? That the magistrate should pull down the temple of his God ; and should it be rebuilt, and as often as it was rebuilt for three years, he should again prostrate it, and so proceed, in repetition of his abominations, and thus stab the criminal through the sides of his God : a new idea, indeed ! But this was not all ; the magistrate was to sell by auction the altar of the Divinity to pay for the sacrilege that had been committed in His house.

A petition against this abominable clause was presented to the Irish Parliament, signed by Dr. Troy and the Archbishops, on the part of the clergy ; and by the Earl of Kenmare, on behalf of the Catholic gentry and laity :—

Your humble petitioners have been most earnest, whether in the midst of foreign alarms, or intestine commotions, to prove the sincerity of those sacred and unreserved assurances which they gave of allegiance to their Sovereign King George the Third, and zeal and goodwill to their country and fellow-subjects.

Popular commotions are not peculiar to any period of time, any nation or religious denomination of the people, but happen in every age and every country, and so far from being the offspring of the Roman Catholic tenets, are in open violation of them.

In the suppression of the disturbances which happened of late, in the south of Ireland, the Catholic nobility and gentry, their

prelates, and inferior clergy, have been *most active*, and will continue the same strenuous exertions on every future occasion.

During the late paroxysms of popular phrenzy, everything most sacred in your petitioners' eyes has been abused and profaned, *chapels have been nailed up and blockaded*, their pastors, threatened and insulted in the most opprobrious manner, and in many places driven from their parishes.

In a Bill brought into the honourable House, they have read with equal concern and astonishment, a clause empowering the civil magistrate to pull down, level, and prostrate any Roman Catholic chapel in which, or in the vicinity of which, any unlawful oath is tendered, upon the testimony of *one witness*.

They consider such a clause disgraceful to their religion as Christians; injurious to their honour, character, and loyalty as subjects (as naturally impressing the mind of their Sovereign with the notion that his Catholic subjects are combining, in the most awful and sacred of all places, against his crown and dignity), and eventually destructive of the indulgence which of late a mild and humane legislature has granted them, after a long trial of their fidelity, while it laboured under the severest oppressions: as such a clause, besides holding forth a suspicion of their allegiance, has a natural tendency to afford a pretext for repealing the favours already granted to the whole body of their communion, in case any deluded individual, either actuated by licentiousness, or stimulated by their enemies, should oppose the magistrate in the prostration of chapels which were left standing in times of persecution.

Your petitioners have also seen with great apprehension and concern, in another clause of the said Bill, to prevent outrageous obstructions of divine service, that any protection of the Roman Catholic chapels is carefully avoided, while the Dissenting meeting-houses are specifically provided for, in an equal degree with the churches of the Established religion—a distinction which your petitioners can consider in no other light than as meaning to lay their houses of worship open to all the violations of any lawless rabble, and thereby bring additional disrespect upon the only influence in their power, which they have so anxiously exercised to preserve peace and order.

Amidst the profligacy of morals, of late so prevalent amongst the lower orders, who have shaken off that restraint under which they had been heretofore kept by their pastors, and from other collateral causes, it is to be feared, that the utmost advantage would be taken of such an apparent liberty; and it is too evident that not only one witness, but several will be easily found, who would swear before a magistrate that such oaths as are prohibited had been tendered in the specified places, although no such oaths had been so administered.

As was usually the case in the Irish Parliament, more candour and liberality were to be found with the English statesmen than with Irish Government officials; and so Mr. Orde, the Secretary, remarked that:—

He never could have concurred in the clause for pulling down the chapels, and he was happy that it was abandoned by his friend. He lamented that anything should have appeared in print purporting that those insurrections had arisen from a popish conspiracy. He declared that he not only did not believe it true, but in several places *he knew* it not to be true. He affirmed that the insurgents had in some places deprived the Roman Catholic clergy of one-half their income.

April, 1789, on the occasion of the recovery of George III. from his fit of insanity, a solemn High Mass was celebrated in the old chapel of Francis-street, by Dr. Troy. A new *Te Deum*, specially composed by the celebrated Giordani, was then sung for the first time. Plowden informs us that

So illustrious an assemblage had never met in a Catholic place of worship, in Ireland, since the Reformation. Besides the principal part of their own nobility and gentry, there were present the Duke of Leinster, the Earls and Countesses of Belvedere, Arran, and Portarlington, Countesses of Carhampton and Ely, Lords Tyrone, Valentia, and Delain, M. De La Touche Mr. Grattan, Major Doyle, and several other persons of the first distinction.¹

When the country was disturbed by the Protestant Peep-of-Day Boys, and the Catholic Defenders, Dr. Troy zealously co-operated with the other Catholic prelates to suppress their disturbances, and was instrumental in establishing comparative harmony in the archdiocese of Dublin. As an acknowledgment of these important services, the Marquis of Buckingham transmitted the following letter to Dr. Troy:—

SIR,—The infirm state of my health having laid me under the necessity of requesting his Majesty's permission to resign the government of Ireland, I feel that I cannot close the public duties of my administration without expressing to you the strong sense I entertain of the zeal and loyalty which you have mani-

¹ *Hist. Review*, vol. ii., pp. 273, 274.

fested upon every occasion towards his Majesty's person and government.

My sense of the very praiseworthy conduct of the Catholics of Ireland (as a body), will be best collected from the testimonials which I have borne to their good conduct in my official and public communications with them. But I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of repeating that testimony to you individually as placed at the head of the Catholic Church, in Dublin, and of assuring you of the satisfaction I shall feel in representing to his Majesty your meritorious conduct in endeavouring to impress upon the mind of your people every principle that can tend to endear to them the blessings of our Constitution, and the person of our excellent Sovereign.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your very humble servant,

NUGENT BUCKINGHAM.

STOWE, *October 25, 1789,*

Right Rev. Dr. TROY,

Titular Archbishop of the

Roman Catholic Church of Dublin.

In Cogan's *Meath*,¹ a letter appears, dated July 24, 1789, addressed by Dr. Butler of Cashel, to Dr. Plunket of Meath, which cast a curious side-light on the ecclesiastical history of the time :—

You have heard before this that the Rev. Dr. Lanigan has been appointed, on the 25th of last June, Bishop of Ossory, notwithstanding the strong postulation sent to Rome in favour of the Rev. Father O'Connor (a Dominican), and subscribed to by three metropolitans, Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam, and I may say, by the four, as my name, I find by what my agent writes to me, was also affixed to it, not only without my consent, but with my express and strongest opposition to it. Several other bishops, I am told, had joined in the demand; nay, the Queen of Portugal and Mr. Fitzherbert, the late Secretary, were gained over to second the cause. Such a push in favour of a friar, had it succeeded, would have severely wounded not only our hierarchy, the authority and influence of our secular clergy, but would have also furnished our enemies when anything would be proposed in our favour in Parliament, with powerful arguments to oppose it. Thanks to God! His Providence has most seasonably prevented the evil, and I am the more happy at it as I am confident it was on account of what I wrote last May to Cardinal Antonelli, and to my agent, of the fatal consequences that might

¹ Vol. iii., p. 131.

ensue to religion from Rome's naming those in preference to the vacant sees of this kingdom, who are the most obnoxious to Government. Your lordship remembers how near we were to seeing the nomination of the R. C. bishops of Ireland *pass into the hands of the King*, and can't but feel with me the imprudence of taking a step which could recall an event we had at the time I allude to, such difficulty to ward off. Dr. Troy's and the friar's interest, Mr. Bodkin, my agent writes to me, begins to decline every fast.

In 1791, divisions made their appearance amongst the Irish Catholics. Two parties were formed in their General Committee, the aristocratic and the democratic. The former regarded with suspicion and dislike the relations between some of the agents of the democratic party and the French revolutionists; and, moreover, they did not approve of their sturdy and outspoken method of seeking redress from the Irish Parliament. Sixty-four members of the aristocratic party seceded from the Committee. As a result of a temporary compromise, Richard Burke, only son of the celebrated Edmund Burke, was invited over from England, and appointed Parliamentary Agent to the Irish Catholics. The object of this appointment was that Mr. Burke would be guided by the advice of his illustrious father; and that whatever was supported by the great opponent of the French Revolution could not be supposed to rest on French principles.

The result was a very moderate measure of relief, introduced by Sir H. Langrishe, and seconded by Mr. Secretary Hobart. The bill, when passed (1) admitted Catholics to the practice and profession of law; (2) it took away the necessity for a licence from the Protestant bishops to open a Catholic school, as enjoined by the Act of 1782; (3) it repealed the Statute which prohibited and made illegal marriages between Catholics and Protestants; (4) it removed those obstructions to arts and manufactures that limited the number of apprentices.

The Catholics were not at all satisfied with the miserable measure of relief granted by this Act. By direction of their committee, Mr. Simon Butler, brother of Lord Mountgarret, published a pamphlet, entitled a *Digest of the Popery Laws*,

bringing into one view the whole body of penalties and disabilities to which Catholics still remained subject :—

Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the State, civil or military ; excluded from all the benefits of the Constitution in all its parts ; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities ; expelled from grand juries, restrained in petty juries ; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment, occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience ; from the Bench, from the bank, from the exchange, from the university, from the College of Physicians ; from what are they not excluded ?

A vindication of the conduct and principles of the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the charges made against them by certain grand juries and other interested bodies was also published by order of the committee :—

As to tumult and sedition, they challenge those who make the assertion to show the instance. Where have been the riots, or tumults, or seditions which can in the most remote degree be traced to the proceedings or publications of this committee ? They know too well how fatal to their hopes of emancipation anything like disturbance must be. Independent of the danger to those hopes, it is more peculiarly their interest to preserve peace and good order than that of any body of men in the community. They have a large stake in the country, much of it vested in that kind of property which is most peculiarly exposed to danger from popular tumult. The General Committee would suffer more by one week's disturbance than all the members of the two Houses of Parliament.

Plowden, the official historian of the Irish hierarchy of that period, states¹ that :—

The Roman Catholics being sensible of the calumnies attempted to be affixed to them by their enemies, and wishing to screen themselves against the mischievous imprudence of some individuals, whose close connections with the political societies of the North, most of them condemned, agreed upon the expedient of giving the most solemn publicity to their real sentiments, by circulating through the nation the following admonition, composed and signed by Doctors Troy, O'Reilly, Bray, Bellew, and Cruise, five bishops then in Dublin :—

' DUBLIN, *January 25, 1793.*

' DEAR CHRISTIANS, — It has been our constant practice, and it is our indispensable duty, to exhort you to manifest, on all

¹ *Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 398.

occasions, that unshaken loyalty to his Majesty, and obedience to the laws, which the principles of our holy religion inspire and command. This loyalty and obedience have ever peculiarly distinguished the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of their being actuated at present by the same sentiments; but think it necessary to observe that a most lively gratitude to our beloved Sovereign should render their loyalty and love of order, if possible, more conspicuous. Our gracious King, the common father of all his people, has, with peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman Catholic subjects of this kingdom to the wisdom and liberality of our enlightened Parliament. How can we, dear Christians, express our heartfelt acknowledgments for this signal and unprecedented instance of royal benevolence and condescension? Words are insufficient; but your continued and peaceable conduct will more effectually proclaim them, and in a manner, if not more satisfactory to his Majesty and his Parliament. Avoid then, we conjure you, dearest brethren, every appearance of riot; attend to your industrious pursuits for the support and comfort of your families; fly from idle assemblies; abstain from the intemperate use of spiritous and intoxicating liquors; practise the duties of our holy religion. This conduct, so pleasing to heaven, will also prove the most powerful recommendation of your present claims to our amiable Sovereign, to both Houses of Parliament, to the magistrates, and to all well-meaning fellow-subjects of every description. None but the evil-minded can rejoice in your being concerned in any disturbance.

‘We cannot but declare our utmost and conscientious detestation and abhorrence of the enormities lately committed by seditious and misguided wretches of every denomination, in some counties of this kingdom; they are enemies to God and man, the outcasts of society, and a disgrace to Christianity. We consider the Roman Catholics amongst them unworthy the appellation, whether acting from themselves, or seduced to outrage by arts of designing enemies to us, and to national prosperity intimately connected with our emancipation.

‘Offer your prayers, dearest brethren, to the Father of Mercy, that He may inspire these deluded people with sentiments becoming Christians and good subjects; supplicate the Almighty Ruler and Disposer of empires, to direct his Majesty’s councils, and forward his benevolent intentions to unite all his Irish subjects in bonds of common interest, and common endeavours for the preservation of peace and good order, and for every purpose tending to increase and secure national prosperity.’

A Declaration had been already published, signed by Dr. Troy and his clergy, and afterwards by the Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, disavowing, as Catholic teaching,

any such maxims, as that princes excommunicated by any authority could be lawfully deposed or murdered; that the Pope could absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance; that any heretic could be lawfully injured or murdered; or that faith ought not to be kept with heretics.

The Catholic Convention (Back-lane Parliament), having assembled in Tailor's Hall, Back-lane, Dublin, a petition to the King, containing a representation of the Catholic grievances, was signed by Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan on behalf of themselves and the other Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of Ireland, and by several delegates for the different districts, which they respectively represented. On the 2nd January, 1773, the delegates attended the levee at St. James's, were introduced to his Majesty by Mr. Dundas, Secretary for the Home Department, and had the honour of presenting their petition to the King, who was pleased most graciously to receive it.

The result was a message from the King at the opening of Parliament, recommending that 'the situation of his Catholic subjects should engage their serious attention.'

February 4, 1793, Mr. Secretary Hobart presented to the House a petition signed by John Thomas Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin; Archbishops O'Reilly, Bray; Dr. Bellew of Killala; and some representatives of the Catholic laity, setting forth

That the petitioners are subject to a variety of severe and oppressive laws, the further continuance of which they humbly conceived their dutiful demeanour and unremitting loyalty for more than one hundred years, must evince to be equally impolitic and unnecessary.

The petition was read, and ordered to lie on the table. Mr. Hobart then introduced his new Emancipation Bill.

1. It restored to Catholics the right of voting at elections for Protestant Members of Parliament, and to vote for magistrates in cities and towns.

2. They were allowed to serve on grand juries and to become justices of the peace.

3. The 29th of George II. was repealed so far as allowing

a challenge against any Catholic on a petty jury, in causes where a Protestant and a Catholic were parties.

4. Catholics could enter Trinity College, Dublin, and obtain degrees.

5. They might open colleges to be affiliated to Trinity College, provided they were not exclusively for the education of Catholics, and the masters, fellows, &c., not exclusively Catholic.

6. Catholics were rendered capable of being elected professors of medicine upon the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun.

7. Catholics seized of a freehold of one hundred pounds a-year, or possessed of a personal estate of one thousand pounds; and Catholics, on taking the Oath of Allegiance, seized of a freehold of ten pounds a-year, or possessed of a personal estate of three hundred, were allowed to keep and use arms and ammunition.

8. Many civil and military offices were open to Catholics on taking the oath—a very insulting one.

9. Finally, it proposed that no Catholic shall be liable or subject to any penalty for not attending Divine Service on the Sabbath Day in his or her parish church.

The motion for the introduction of the Bill was seconded by Sir Hercules Langrishe.

On the 9th April the Bill was passed into law, principally on account of the recommendation of the King and the support of the Government.

It has been well observed that during these negotiations the Catholics were led by men of capacity. They availed themselves of every circumstance, and every ally—the Opposition, the Court, the French success—without binding themselves so far to any as to exclude the assistance of the other. The French success, by terrifying their enemies, served the Catholic cause very much, but the Catholics had too much sense to express their approbation of French principles. Their prudent conduct made the king their patron, and his lieutenant's secretary moved their Bill. The Opposition struggled to get for them everything; but if not everything, as much as they could, and not to break with

Government because they could not get all at once. The Catholics very prudently, therefore, did not in terms ask for everything, whilst they left everything open for themselves to ask, and Parliament to give.¹

N. MURPHY.

REASON'S SYNTHETIC JUDGMENTS²

I INTEND to treat this subject mainly in the way of reply to the Rev. Fr. Fuzier, who, in a paper presented to the last Congress, professed to refute my teaching in regard to certain judgments which I held should be called at once *synthetic* and *a priori*. The paper to which I allude is found in the third section of the general report of that last Congress, and its pretended refutation of my teaching commences there at page 25 under the italicized heading: '*Refutation des jugements synthétiques a priori du Rev. O'Mahony.*'

At the beginning of his remarks Fr. Fuzier took care to remind his hearers that a detailed explanation of the doctrine he proposed to refute was published in the first volume of the general report of the Congress of 1888. Let me add that the explanation there given occupies ten pages of forty-five lines to the page, that is to say, extends to four hundred and fifty lines of the volume. Now, of these four hundred and fifty lines, the Rev. Father presents, as it were, *a précis* extending to sixteen lines, in the form of three non-consecutive extracts. The first of these gives examples of the kind of judgments I considered ought to be called at once *a priori* and *synthetic*, naturally understanding these terms according to the sense in which I distinctly stated I wished to understand them, and in which alone, I explained at some length, I considered that in this question they should be understood.

¹ Plowden, *Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 432.

² A Paper read in French by the Author at the late Scientific Congress of Catholics held at Fribourg.

The examples Fr. Fuzier quoted are not all those I presented in the course of my paper as illustrating the general truth of my teaching. But they are sufficient to give a true account of it, and more than sufficient to effect its refutation, if that teaching can be refuted. Fr. Fuzier rightly notices that they form a 'series.' He even remarks that I had given certain rather curious series of such judgments—'*des series assez curieuses.*' I hold there is only one *series* of the kind, and that quite other than *curious*, as it offers only judgments which are the first natural dictates of common sense; given through each thinking mind's immediate experience, and, for that reason *synthetic*; given by the pure act of thought, reason's own act, and for that alone to be called *a priori*.

Taking them as they are found in the first extract my critic has chosen, in the descending order of the perfections they express, these judgments are:—(1) 'There exists an intelligent being,' or, 'a being actually living is intelligent;' then, what that supposes; (2) 'There is a being that lives,' in other words, 'something actually acting is living;' then (3) 'Something existing acts,' or, 'there is an agent;' and finally, what all that presupposes (4) 'Something exists.'

Here, in reality, we have but four judgments with certain changes of terms, and still further changes of the kind may be introduced without adding to the truths these judgments express. For instance, the proposition, 'there is an agent,' is really no other than the statement that there is a *cause*; taking the word 'cause' in its primary sense as signifying a subject apt to cause or which may cause, whether as a matter of fact it has caused or is actually causing or not. In this way several other propositions of which there is frequent question in philosophy, may be referred to one or other of these four.

Taking them as I did immediately after Fr. Fuzier's first extract, in the ascending order of their perfections, they are:—(1) a being (something) exists, (2) something existing acts, (3) something acting lives, (4) something living thinks.

There [I said] you have judgments just as true, and, as true judgments, just as synthetic in form as the contingent ones I drew

from the fact of our existence; nevertheless just as necessary in their order, and as evidently so in their way, as any analytics you like. I say, *in their order*, which is the real, as that of analytics is the ideal; and *in their way*, that is, seen to be essential through reason's synthesis of subject and attribute, just as the analytics are seen to be through thought's analysis of the subject.

So much for the judgments to be considered, and my teaching in regard to them. Now for my critic's promised refutation.

I.

I first note that he does not deny those judgments to be *a priori*. His contention is that they are not synthetic. Of all the reasons I brought forward in favour of my position in regard to them he takes notice only of those given in a passage where, accentuating the synthesis they present, I remarked, 'first, they are evidently synthetic, since the idea of *agent*, for instance, does not give that of *life* nor any reason for attributing life to it; which should also be said of the notion of *life* in regard to that of *thought*. And this is precisely why we have no right to say *every* thing that is acting is living or *every* living being thinks'—though, I would here add, we have a right to say 'every thinking being lives,' and 'every living being acts'; the latter two judgments being as clearly analytic as the two previous ones are synthetic.¹ On this point I shall have something more explicit to say. For the present let it suffice to note that admitting, at least not denying, my judgments to be *a priori*, Mr. Fuzier only undertakes to refute the assertion that they are synthetic.

Apparently in view of his intended refutation, and as if making quite a new observation, at any rate, as it were laying down his refuting principle, he remarks: 'These

¹ Thus even it may be said, because the ideal judgment 'a thinking being lives' is analytic or explicative, having a predicate that represents but part of the subject, the converse, viz., 'a living being thinks' being a real judgment is synthetic or ampliative, having a predicate that superadds to the subject. For, in reason's order, thought adds perfection to life, as life does to act, and act to actuality, and actuality itself to reality or existence to real essence in contingent being.

judgments belong to the real and existing order.' Exactly, that is what I observed, as has been noticed, immediately after his first extract. More, it is a remark I frequently reverted to in the course of my paper. I even insisted on it at the beginning when determining the exact sense of the problem I desired to propose to the Congress:—

Are there [I said] judgments so formed that in the simple consideration of the subject we see no reason for attributing to it the predicate (and which should consequently be called *synthetic*), yet which have the character of judgments such that their truth presented to the spirit as *actual* is by it immediately recognised as *essential* (thus to be termed *a priori*) as uncaused truths, independent of any hypothesis, evidently *primordial* in the *real* order and, as such, *in that order* absolutely necessary?

Why did I insist so much on this point? Because it touched the very root of the question I proposed to discuss. I had asserted, and it was known that in several articles on this and cognate subjects, published in France and elsewhere, I had maintained, that in the ideal order all *a priori* judgments are analytical, and are so for the simple reason that, in this order, *all* judgments are analytical. If, consequently, I considered any *a priori* ones not analytical, clearly in my opinion they should be of the other order, all of the real. There, then, I held and hold—among judgments of the real order of knowledge—there, and there only lies the root of the question as to whether or not there are those which should be called at once 'Synthetical' and *a priori*.

It could not accordingly be here a question of abstract judgments such as 'a straight line is the shortest way from one point to another,' or any such Kantian formulas. No more could it be a question of general principles or axioms such as 'all that commences or changes does so by the act of another,' or 'every phenomenon is effected,' or 'every effect requires an effector or cause,' or any such axiomatic utterances so often discussed in our Congress under the general title of 'Principle of Causality.' With their universal subjects and admittedly abstract character, these judgments being all of the ideal order, ought, I have held, all be called analytic. In definitive then, my question was

this—granted that there are not any of the universal, abstract, or ideal kind, are there synthetic *a priori* judgments among those of the real order?

I maintained there are, that there is a series of them, a series which elsewhere I called that of 'the vertebrae of real science, the backbone of philosophy, the objective basis of all our knowledge.' 'Hence,' I said in concluding the second section of my paper, 'these judgments are in the *real order* the dialectic principles on which rests thought's self-evidence for its supreme truth, for the existence of the Essential, of the Real-Ideal, whereunto as to its term every spirit aspires.' It is therefore evident that in giving examples of judgments of that sort, my fundamental supposition, the very foundation of my position, ought to have been that they are—as Father Fuzier observed those I gave are—*all of the real order*.

II.

Up to this, it will be seen, my critic and I are in perfect agreement. There is not on his side a shadow of 'refutation.' Here it ought begin to show. Here a beginning at least of the promised refutation ought to appear, and that by the application of his supposed principle of refutation to the four judgments in question. Well, before going further, I remark that, without word of comment, he passes by the first two, which in my eyes are rather more noteworthy than the others as being more manifestly *a priori*. Perhaps he left them aside for being the first, and as such, the least strikingly synthetic. Be that as it may, aside he has left them. He makes no mention of them in the course of his supposed 'refutation.' He apparently only thinks of trying to refute the two last. But, how does he do so? I here quote his own words, for here, if anywhere, ought to show the point of his argument:—

These judgments [he premises] are of the real and existing order, and, therefore, the concept of the subject is not the generic concept of *agent* or *living*, but the specific concept of such and such a *category* of agents and living beings (*des agents et des vivants*), that is to say, of the agents and living beings (*des agents et des vivants*) of which it was question in the attribute.

Having thus laid down and explained his refuting principle, he proceeds :—

Consequently, in these judgments ‘some agents live,’ ‘some living beings think’ (*des agents vivent, des vivants pensent*) the subject and the attribute are identical, their comprehension is the same, enveloped in one, developed in the other ; and if, by analysis, you develop the comprehension of the two subjects, you have the following tautologies :—

Certain agents, these that live, are living ;

Certain living beings, those that think, are thinking.

These judgments are therefore analytic : you find in the subject such as it is taken in the proposition, the reason to attribute to it the predicate.

These judgments ! What judgments ? Not mine : my judgments are—‘an agent lives, a living being thinks’ (un agent vit, un vivant pense). Thus they appear in each of the three passages my critic has chosen. Neither there nor anywhere else in my paper is it question of ‘certain agents,’ or ‘some agents,’ ‘certain living beings,’ or ‘some living beings’ (ou des agents ou des vivants).

Let me not be told that there is here indeed a difference from the point of view of grammar, or at most of logic, but not of philosophy, at least not in regard to the present question. There is here the greatest possible difference of the kind, and especially from the latter point of view. It is just as if I had said :—‘Undeniably *a being* actually living is infinitely powerful,’ and then someone should say to me :—‘It is not undeniable that *some beings* actually living are infinitely powerful. I deny your statement. I undertake to refute it by a very simple argument.’ What could I reply but—‘Please don’t trouble yourself with drawing up an argument on the subject, simple or complex. Simply note that the proposition you mean to refute, any way you take it, is not mine.’

III.

Of course, there is here no question of good or bad faith, of any kind of intended injustice on the part of Father Fuzier. The good Father had already given my judgments quite correctly, and that twice in my own words ; a fact which

renders this transformation on his part so passing strange: all the more that, immediately after, in view of a fresh remark, he cites a third passage from my paper, in which they are again given as—‘*an agent lives, a living being thinks.*’ The passage is:—

It is enough for us to become aware of the fact that an agent lives, or a living being thinks, to know that not only has there been always an agent living, and always a living being thinking, but what says much more, that the fact of *life* in general as well as that of *thought* is uncaused. It is enough, I say, for reason to cognize the truth thus presented to it as actual in order to recognise it as essential and as such *a priori*.

‘There,’ my critic kindly remarks, ‘is a very high conception, but it too is furnished by analysis and not by synthesis.’ He apparently there confounds the question as to the existence of *a priori* ‘conceptions,’ which I reject, with that as to the existence of *a priori* ‘judgments,’ which, in the sense explained, I maintain, and of which alone it is here question. Throughout, indeed, he appears to me somewhat to confound conception and judgment, the direct act of forming concepts with the reflex act of comparing them, and thereupon deciding how, in reason’s way, one is to be affirmed of the other, or denied. Even when speaking of ‘judgments relating to the real and existing *order*,’ he seems to me not to think of real as distinct from ideal or verbal *attribution*. What in English is called the ‘existential import of propositions’ does not, apparently, occur to him at all. This possibly is how these subjects of real judgments got transformed, in his mind, into logical ‘categories’ calling for some rational analysis. Be the explanation what it may, the transformation of terms I have noticed once effected, his subsequent criticism proceeds on the assumption that he is dealing with judgments having equivalently plural nouns for subjects—*des agents et des vivants, telle ou telle categorie d’agents et de vivants*.

Now, these and all such judgments are radically different from mine, particularly so in regard to the present question, for the simple reason that they are obviously not *a priori*—

'as objective judgments or by reason of the truth expressed.'¹ Each of Fr. Fuzier's propositions may be taken as representing an undeniable truth—one, moreover, that for us now may be called a 'first truth' (*une vérité première*), like motion or sensation, but not a primordial truth (*pas une vérité primordiale*), not an essential, not a *necessary* first truth; hence not *a priori* in the sense at present commonly received, and which I distinctly explained I meant to adopt in the present discussion.² True, for my propositions, as for those which were put in their place, 'the *comprehension* of the subject is the same,' but the *extension* of the subject is different; and that here makes all the difference in the world. It makes the difference between judgments showing truths given to each rational agent by the natural act of reason, so naturally recognised as primordial, as *a priori* truths, and judgments of which this can in no sense be said.

For instance, take the last one of mine Father Fuzier quoted—'A living being thinks;' that is manifestly given to each thinking soul by the very act of thought; while the one substituted for it—'some living beings think'—is as manifestly not so given. Again, supposing thought's necessity, which must be supposed if the proposition be *a priori*, it is necessary that there should be *one* thinking, absolutely speaking, there need be no more; 'some beings think' is a contingent, therefore an *a posteriori* truth, since clearly one suffices for thought, as one does for life, for act or for actuality. Precisely on that account, real reason's essential first truths, such as mine, all radically differ from the contingent first truths of sense, such as motion, suffering or simple feeling, and all such data whereof modern scientists

¹ 'En tant que jugements objectifs ou à raison de la vérité exprimée, doivent être dits *a priori*:' words taken from my first paper, explaining the precise point of the question to be discussed.

² See my original paper. Compare Dr. Ward, 'Philosophical Axioms,' *Dublin Review*, 1869. By Axioms, he says, 'We mean, *necessary first truths*.' That he then takes as a sufficiently practical definition for '*a priori* judgments.' So I have taken it. I would, however, observe that by 'Axioms' are commonly understood *necessary and universal* first truths. Now my question was in effect:—Are there not truths as thoroughly *first*, and as truly *necessary* as any yet which are *not universal*, not being of the ideal or abstract order, and precisely for that reason, not analytic?

would make the only real principles of science. These are, indeed, for us here now abiding truths, like those of my critic's propositions, but, as also like them, importing plurality of beings, are not essential, not primordial, not *a priori*. Thus, ontologically as well as logically, philosophically, in the full sense of the word, his formulas are different from mine, and are so in regard to the present question, to the extent of having nothing whatever to do with it.

CONCLUSION

Here, then, briefly, is my answer to Fr. Fuzier's *Refutation des jugements synthétiques a priori du Rev. O'Mahony*. Speaking only of the four he quoted, I say that, in the way of criticism, he did not touch the two first, and touched the two last only to put two others essentially different in their place. Not alone, therefore, has he not effected his promised 'Refutation,' he has not yet tried to effect it. Now, let him try. To any one of the series let him make an objection serving to show it is not synthetic, or, being so, is not *a priori*. I shall reply to his objection with pleasure, all the more for feeling sure that any objection of the kind, however answered, cannot fail, if not in my sense to solve, at least to make clearer and clearer what I hold to be the problem that really lies at the root of this question.

Touching his criticism of the judgments which he put in place of mine, namely, that, as appertaining to the real and existing order, they are tautologies, and, therefore, analytic, let him look to it. But, I ask, can the same be said of mine? Can it be said that in each of them the predicate only repeats the subject 'as it is taken in the proposition,' and that this subject means but the person thus actually judging? So that these admittedly first facts of philosophy: 'Something exists' (*aliquid existit*), 'something existing acts,' and the like, rightly worded out, come to mere tautological platitudes, such as: 'Something existing (myself here now) exists: 'Something acting (myself at present) acts,' and so on! Is that a true criticism of the natural judgments of man's reason as to the significance, the

necessity and the import, of *existence, action, life, and thought*? Certainly not. Being self-affirmatives of reflection, real principles of reason, the subject in each of them is indefinite as the attribute is essential and the attribution unconditioned. The affirmation accordingly thereby understood to be made is that of the necessity of existence, or actuality, action, life, and thought *in general*.

Assuredly what consciousness primarily testifies to each one is that he is here now thinking, with all that for him the fact imports. No man thereupon dreams of judging that thought's truth, any more than that of life, or act, or actuality, depends on its being true of him as subject. Each one thinking knows that in a few hours he shall have ceased to think. Meanwhile, sitting on reason's throne, in the universal court of reflection, in the light of the law and in virtue of the powers of reason's act, now his, he self-affirms that there is always someone thinking, that, unlike motion or sensation, of absolute necessity there must be thought, as there must be truth, and in act there must be being.

True, in the formulas which express these principles, the copula is non-modal, simply '*is*;' for exists, acts, lives, thinks, logically mean is existing, acting, living, thinking. But it should always be remembered that as copula of reason's self-judgments in reflection's order, synthetic or analytic, real or ideal, the verb-substantive is taken, not in the active only, but in pure act's voice, therefore in perfection's unconditional mood and eternity's absolutely present tense. In the course of my first paper I explained how such self-affirmation is logically made. I showed how the truths these judgments represent, naturally cognised by experience as actual, are, at the same time, as naturally recognised by reason as essential, so seen to be '*absolutely primordial verities*:' hence are self-affirmed, not in virtue of any Kantian or Kaiserine '*imperative dictate*' *ab extra*, perforce blindly binding, but in harmony with the law of reason's own inmost light and life.

For the fundamental position of my thesis it would be quite enough to maintain that any judgment of the series,

were it only the first, has both the characteristics thus claimed for it. Still I maintain they all have them. They are all synthetic, as given by the immediate act of experience; they are *a priori*, for the act that gives them is reason's own.¹

T. J. O'MAHONY.

¹ Part of the foregoing had to be omitted in the reading, so as to keep within the prescribed twenty minutes. When the main point of the conclusion had been read, the President asked if Father Fuzier was present. As he was not, discussion commenced on the subject in the usual way. Upon this, I note, no one took up Father Fuzier's contention, that the judgments in question are not synthetic; the discussion was wholly confined to the sort of *a priori* character I claimed for them. Referring to it in a thoroughly appreciative, though rather brief, report of the proceedings of the Philosophical Section of the Congress (*Revue Neo-Scholastique*, Nov. 1897), Father de Munnynck (of Louvain) writes: 'Mgr. Kiss drew attention to the properties which Kant assigns to his synthetic *a priori* propositions. He begged Dr. O'Mahony to observe that not one of his examples is a universal proposition, and that, consequently, they should not be called synthetic *a priori* in the sense of Kant.' I beg to add I replied, in effect, that I did not say they should, and in my original paper had specially emphasized the fact that they should not, as not being universal. The remark of the eminent Professor of the University of Buda-Pesth was thus in reality tantamount to observing that my thesis was what it professed to be, and, being that, was quite other than Kant's, its assertions and the examples given in proof thereof being wholly other than his. What my thesis in this way formally asserted was, that there are *a priori* judgments, in the sense commonly received since Kant's time, propositions giving 'absolutely primordial verities' or 'necessary first truths' (Dr Ward), yet which, unlike those of Kant, are *not* universal, not being, like his, of the ideal or abstract order of attribution, but *real* judgments, statements of immediate experience, and, therefore, truly synthetic, while all Kant's examples, and all similar abstract, universal principles, I held to be analytic in one or other of the three ways in which I had previously shown a judgment might be said to be so. Father de Munnynck concludes his notice with the remark that the point at issue is 'by no means a question of words, but one which involves very grave psychological and ontological problems. All the more reason ought there be for laying bare the root of it, and trying, at least, to show where its last fibres enter the ground of self-evident truth.'

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

PROTESTANT WITNESSES AT THE MARRIAGE OF CATHOLICS CAN CATHOLICS VALIDLY MARRIED AT A REGISTRY OFFICE, OR IN A PROTESTANT CHURCH, AFTERWARDS RECEIVE THE NUPTIAL BLESSING?

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. Can a priest on the English mission permit Protestant witnesses to a marriage in his church on his own responsibility? They are valid witnesses I know—are they licit?

2. Can he (a priest on the English mission) give the nuptial blessing—privately of course—to a Catholic couple who were married in the Registrar's office, or in a Protestant Church?

Yours, &c.,

SACERDOS.

1. A priest should not, on his own responsibility, admit non-Catholics to assist as witnesses at a marriage. An answer to this effect was given by the Holy Office, 19th August, 1891:—

Se sia lecito assumere gli eterodossi a testimoni nel matrimonio dei Catholicci.

And the reply was:—

Non esse adhibendos; posse tamen ab Ordinario tolerari ex gravi causa, dummodo non adsit scandalum.

According to this reply, therefore, non-Catholics should not *per se* be admitted as formal witnesses of a marriage. They may, however, for a grave cause be admitted where no scandal will be given. The bishop—not the officiating priest—is the judge of the sufficiency of the reason for their admission. If there be anywhere a recognised custom of admitting non-Catholic witnesses, we may assume that the bishop regards their admission in that place justified by the circumstances, and we require no express authorisation to follow the usual practice.

2. In England—for it is to that country only our correspondent refers—even Catholics may, of course, marry validly before a registrar or a Protestant clergyman. We assume that they are not *peregrini* contracting in *fraudem legis*. But such a marriage is gravely sinful; and if the parties contract before a heretical minister (as such), and with a heretical rite, they incur excommunication, specially reserved to the Holy See in the Bull *Apostolicae Sedis*.¹

Manifestly a priest's first duty, in regard to such persons, is to bring them to repent of their sin, make reparation for the scandal given, and seek absolution from censure, if a censure has been incurred. In some dioceses special legislation defines the manner in which public reparation of the scandal given is to be made. Having succeeded in getting the parties to repent of and repair the evil done, our correspondent asks whether he should give them the nuptial blessing.

By the nuptial blessing, we may understand either the simple blessing of the Ritual or the solemn blessing of the Missal. Many theologians hold (and rightly, we think) that *per se* there is, in ordinary cases, an obligation *sub veniali*, to seek the solemn blessing.² All must admit that there is *per se* a obligation to give the solemn blessing to those who ask it. Others think it is not strictly obligatory to receive the solemn nuptial blessing, though the Church strongly exhorts the faithful to receive it. But, outside a case of necessity, Catholics contracting marriage are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to receive the blessing of the Ritual, and that even where the law of Trent has not been promulgated.³ Nor does this obligation cease when a marriage has been, lawfully (in case of necessity) or unlawfully, though validly, contracted without the presence and blessing of a priest.

Clarum est [says Gasparri] *inito valide matrimonio praeceptum grave manere sponso petendi hanc Ritualis benedictionem*

¹ Conf. *Collect. Prop. Fidei*, n. 2,202. Bucerotini, *Comment. De Contract. Ap.*, Sess. 7, c. 9.

Sanchez, St. Alphonsus, Becker, *De Sacrament. Mat.*, p. 558; Gasparri, *De Mat.*, n. 1,021; Rosset, *De Sac. Mat.*, v., n. 2,868.

² Lehmkuhl, ii., n. 693; Feije, n. 551.

³ Conf. Lehmkuhl, ii., n. 693.

. . . Haec vera sunt non modo de matrimonio defectu parochi coram testibus contracto, *sed in genere de matrimoniis validis clandestinis.*²

Catholics, then, who have contracted validly, in the office of a registrar or in a Protestant church, are still bound to present themselves to receive, and the priest should impart—if the parties have satisfied the requirements above mentioned—the simple blessing of the Ritual. The matrimonial consent is not to be renewed, for the marriage is already, we assume, certainly valid. The priest does not recite the words of the Ritual: *Ego vos conjungo*, &c.; but everything else is done as the Ritual prescribes in the ordinary marriage rite. So much for the blessing of the Ritual.

May the solemn blessing of the Missal be also given to such persons at a nuptial Mass? Even some of those who maintain that there is an obligation to receive the solemn blessing, in the first instance, concede that there is not an obligation to supply it afterwards, when it has been omitted at a marriage validly contracted. It is, however, in ordinary cases, certainly lawful to supply this blessing; nor is there anything to prevent the parties in the question proposed from getting it. Local legislation should, of course, be kept in view; and, moreover, it may easily, in certain circumstances, give offence and scandal if such persons were to get the solemn blessing, in a place where the blessing is not usually given to more faithful and deserving members of the Church.

We do not quite understand why these blessings, if given at all, should be given ‘privately.’ The public reception of the blessing of the Ritual would be one of the best, not to say the most necessary, means of repairing the scandal. The solemn blessing cannot, unless by special dispensation, be separated from the nuptial Mass, and, therefore, the question of imparting it privately does not seem to arise.

D. MANNIX.

¹ Gasparri, *De Mat.*, ii., n. 1,009.

LITURGY

QUESTIONS ON THE SCAPULARS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly answer the following :—

1. Is there any decree ordering that, when several scapulars are worn on one pair of strings, each scapular should be *joined* to the strings?

2. Does the decree demand that there should be *immediate contact* between each of the scapulars and the strings; or is it enough, if the strings actually *touch only one of the scapulars*, provided that the other scapulars are joined *mediately* to the strings, by being sown to them, through the scapular to which they are immediately attached?

3. Supposing that the decrees mentioned in 1 and 2, exists, is a scapular invalid if it be not made in accordance with them?

SACERDOS.

No decree, such as that to which our correspondent refers in his first question, exists, as far as we have been able to discover. On the contrary, there exists a decree which, implicitly at least, declares that all the scapulars need not be attached to the same cord or strings.¹ All that is essential is that the scapulars should consist of a square or oblong piece of woollen material of the requisite colour: that they should be joined together at the edge to which the strings are attached: and that one set of the scapulars thus united should hang on the breast, the other on the back of the wearer. The colour of the strings is immaterial, unless in the case of the red scapular. For the red scapular has received the approbation of the Holy See, and has been indulgenced only on condition that it be made according to the pattern shown to Sister Apolline Audriveau by our Lord Himself. And in this pattern the red scapulars were united by strings of red woollen material resembling that of which the scapulars themselves were composed. Hence, when a number of

¹ *Decr. Auth.*, 408, 1^o.

scapulars, including the red scapular, are attached to the same strings, these strings should be red in colour and of woollen material. It is not certain that, in the case just mentioned, the red strings should be immediately attached to the red scapular. Probably if the several scapulars were suspended as a whole to the red strings, the condition regarding the red scapulars would be sufficiently fulfilled even though the red strings were not in direct and immediate contact with the cloth of the scapulars. But, for precaution's sake, we would advise that the red strings should be attached directly to the red scapulars, and that the other scapulars be attached by a few stitches along the edge to the red scapular.

Our correspondent's second and third questions are based on the hypothesis that the decrees referred to in his first question in reality exists. As no such decree does exist it is unnecessary to reply to these questions.

QUESTIONS REGARDING PROCESSION AND BENEDICTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following queries in next issue of I. E. RECORD and oblige.

INQUIRER.

1. May banners of the B.V.M. or of the saints be carried in procession of the Blessed Sacrament?

2. May prayers in the 'vernacular,' other than those prescribed for October devotions, be recited by the minister while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for Benediction?

3. May the choir sing hymns in the 'vernacular' while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

1. Nothing could be more appropriate, nothing more in accordance with the spirit of the Liturgy, or the custom of the Church, than to carry in processions of the Blessed Sacrament, banners bearing pictures of our Blessed Lady, or representations of the mysteries of her life, or of the power of her intercession, or of the depth of her love for the souls redeemed by the Blood of her Divine Son. The same is proportionately true of banners bearing pictures real or

allegorical of the saints. Such banners, like the vestments of the clergy, the canopy, the candles and lanterns, add to the solemnity, as well as to the impressiveness of the procession, and contribute to the external majesty and pomp, which should, as far as possible, surround our Sacramental Lord when borne in public procession.

It should hardly be necessary to prove the admissibility of these banners in processions of the Blessed Sacrament. The custom of bearing them in procession is, we think, almost, if not altogether, universal. To convince sceptics, however, we may just mention that the various bodies who take part in processions of the Blessed Sacrament, whether they be school children or members of confraternities, are to have their own peculiar banner borne at their head. Speaking of the order of the procession of the Blessed Sacrament on Corpus Christi, Wapelhorst says:—

(b) *Pueri et puellae scholam catechismumve frequentantes pietate coram cerillo.*

(c) *Confraternitates laicorum cum suis insignibus.*

2. This question, too, is to be answered in the affirmative. Prayers approved of for public worship may be publicly recited in the vernacular while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. The only condition, in order that prayers in the vernacular may be recited in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, is, that they should have the approval of the Ordinary of the diocese. Surely our correspondent would not impugn the lawfulness of reciting, in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, the prayers in honour of the Sacred Heart, which are usually recited during the time the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for Benediction on the first Fridays, or first Sundays of the month? Neither, we hope, would he impugn the custom of reciting during the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament the *Divine Praises*, to the recitation of which, in these circumstances, the Congregation of Indulgences has recently attached an additional indulgence.

3. The answer to the third question is the same as that given to the second. Vernacular hymns, approved of by

the Ordinary of the diocese, may be sung during the time the Blessed Sacrament is exposed previous to or after Benediction. This point has been explicitly defined by the Congregation of Rites in several decrees, two of which we here quote from *The Ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Functions*:—¹

Quaes. An liceat adhibere publicam quarundam precum recitationem vulgari sermone conscriptarum coram SSmo. Sacramento exposito?

Resp. Affirmative dummodo agatur de precibus approbatis.

Quaes. Utrum liceat generaliter ut chorus musicorum (id est cantores) coram SSmo Sacramento solemniter exposito, decantet hymnos in lingua vernacula?

Resp. Posse, dummodo non agitur de hymnis *Te Deum* et aliis quibuscunque liturgicis precibus, quae nonnisi latina lingua decantari debent.

**MAY A MOVABLE THRONE BE USED FOR EXPOSITION OF
THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT?**

**WHY DID THE GOTHIC CHASUBLE FALL INTO DISUSE?
WHY WAS THE PRESENT EPISCOPAL MITRE SUBSTITUTED
FOR THE SMALLER ONE OF EARLIER TIMES?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I trouble you for an early reply to the following questions?

LAICUS.

1. When the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed in the monstrance, may the monstrance be elevated on a movable throne placed on the altar?

2. When and why did the old chasuble, known as the Gothic chasuble, fall into disuse?

3. Why is the present large and unshapely mitre used instead of the small and beautiful one of pre-Reformation days?

1. When the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed in the monstrance, the monstrance should, generally speaking, be placed on a throne of some kind, more or less elevated above the table of the altar. This is prescribed for the

solemn exposition of the forty hours, in the *Instructio Clementina*, and by nearly all writers for any solemn exposition whatsoever. But nowhere, so far as we are aware, is it decided that the throne should be a permanent structure, such as those that we frequently find erected over the tabernacle on the high altar in modern churches. Indeed historically speaking, the movable throne was introduced long prior to the permanent one: and, moreover, it is of the movable throne that most writers, including Clement XI. in his famous Instruction, speak. The fixed throne forming part of the structure of the altar is comparatively modern, and was, doubtless, introduced as much for its ornamental effect as for its convenience. Our correspondent need not, therefore, have any doubt about the lawfulness of a custom which dates back to the time when solemn exposition of the Blessed Sacrament was first introduced, and which is still widely prevalent.

2. Writers are not agreed as to the time at which the ancient Gothic chasuble dwindled from its ample portions into its present handier if less picturesque form. Some say the change was made as early as the tenth century, while others maintain that the change took place in the sixteenth century. Probably we may reconcile these extreme opinions by saying, that the change began at the earlier date, but was not completed until the later. This much seems to be certain, the change had taken place by the sixteenth century, and so great was the change it seems also to be certain, that it must have been brought about very slowly and gradually.

The reason for the change is manifest. The Gothic chasuble covered the whole body, including the arms, in its ample folds. Hence, when the celebrant had to use his hands, as at the incensation, consecration, &c., the chasuble had to be rolled up to his shoulder, and held there by the sacred ministers. A relic of this custom is still to be seen in our modern Solemn Mass, when, during the incensation, the sacred ministers hold up, or make a pretence of holding up, the celebrant's chasuble at the shoulder, and in both Solemn and Low Mass when, at the consecration, the

ministers raise the celebrant's chasuble. The inconvenience felt in saying private Masses with the Gothic chasuble soon brought about a modification, and gradually reduced the chasuble to its present form. The following, translated from Cardinal Bona, bears out the views we have just expressed :—

The Latins, to avoid the inconvenience arising from the width and fulness [of the Gothic chasuble], covering, as it did, the whole body and arms, began by degrees to cut away the sides, until it was reduced to the form which we use at the present day.

3. *De gustibus non est disputandum* is a venerable adage, and out of respect for it we will refrain from discussing the relative æsthetic qualities of the older and newer forms of the episcopal mitre, and will content ourselves with answering our correspondent's question. The question implies that the small mitre endured until the time of the so-called Reformation, or thereabouts. This is not so. The middle of the thirteenth century might be put down as the date at which the change from the old to the new form began. At the beginning of that century the old form still prevailed, as we learn from contemporary paintings of bishops of the period; while from a similar source we know that at the beginning of the fourteenth century the mitre had assumed proportions as great, if not greater, than the mitres now in use; and from the fourteenth century to the eighteenth the mitres increased in height, until they had become really 'unshapely.' But in the present century a change in the opposite direction has taken place, and the mitres worn by bishops, in these countries, at least, resemble in height and appearance, the mitres of the late thirteenth century.

THE QUALITY OF THE CANDLES TO BE USED DURING MASS, &c.

A correspondent wishes to know whether it is lawful to use other than wax candles at Mass, at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, when giving Communion outside of Mass, and, generally, when the Blessed Sacrament is exposed. He is aware that some priests contend that only wax candles should be used

on these occasions, while others maintain that it is not obligatory to use wax candles at all; and others again assert that when several candles must be used some should be of wax, but, also, that some may be of another material.

The candles used at Mass should all be wax. This is a strict obligation, unless, on the score of poverty, a dispensation has been procured. Of course we speak only of the candles prescribed by the rubrics; that is, the two candles which should be lighted during the Mass celebrated by a simple priest, and the four with which the altar should be adorned during a prelate's Mass. In addition to these candles, which are purely ceremonial, there may be others of an inferior material for the purpose of giving light.

During any exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, whether it be the exposition which immediately precedes Benediction, the exposition for the Forty Hours' Adoration, or any other exposition whatsoever, at least ten wax candles should be lighted. One author would allow Benediction with as few as six wax candles; but we are inclined to believe that he had in mind private, rather than solemn exposition and Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. The *Instructio Clementina* commands that twenty wax candles should be kept continuously burning during the *Quarant' Ore*; and although this instruction does not impose any obligation outside of Rome, and is concerned solely about the exposition of the Forty Hours, its provisions present a model which should be followed as far as circumstances permit in every solemn exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament. Of course, in addition to the prescribed number of wax candles, any number of candles of a cheap material may be lighted round about the altar on which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

When giving Communion outside of Mass two wax candles should be lighted on the altar. The obligation of using wax candles in this case is the same as the obligation of using them at Mass.

D. O'LEARY.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANCIENT IRISH CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is not without disappointment, a feeling which I share with very many others, that I contemplate Dr. MacCarthy's latest and (as we are to infer) last communication. It is a production that calls for even a 'compiler's' pity. For in what relation do we, the great Dr. MacCarthy and the humble author of *The Ancient Irish Church as a Witness to Catholic Doctrine*, now stand? Mark but the present position of our controversy. It is this. In the January I. E. RECORD I placed before my polite antagonist a series of solid facts and arguments. With these—unless he preferred to beat a succession of retreats, more than any Xenophon could fittingly record, from quite a number of his chosen entrenchments—it was absolutely indispensable for him to seriously and systematically grapple. That this was his only alternative, I take sober and independent judgments to witness. We are now in possession of his reply. And what are its contents? In any one way does he traverse, or even try to traverse, the case which I presented? No. Does he deal with one solitary division of it? No. With one particle of a part of it? No. But, to cover his graceful retirement, he devotes a letter of five printed pages to the introduction and discussion of new matter, and is as silent as a Harpocrates on all that ought to have first engaged his earnest consideration; with now not a word to say about the Bobbio Missal, or about the facts which annihilate his contention that that venerable document is inadmissible as evidence of early Irish doctrine; not a word to say for his misspelling of 'Bobbio,' in face of Italian literature which condemns him; not a word about the pretended (but never proved) irrelevance of St. Cummin's Penitential to the special subjects of my book, by whichever of the St. Cummins, all Irishmen, that Penitential was written; not a word to show that heresy had made no inroad into Ireland in the age in which that Penitential was drawn up; not a word about the appearance here, for instance, of Pelagianism towards the year 640, as noticed in the pontifical letter to which, for the second time, I invited his attention; not a word about the St. Gall *Ordo* of Penance,

treated by him as another piece of irrelevance on my part, his original assertion that this *Ordo* is 'purely Anglo-Saxon' being subsequently modified (and nullified) by the admission that the writing in the MS. is Irish; not a word about the incestuous unions (in regard to which I was charged with libel)¹ formerly somewhat prevalent in Ireland, as facts uncontroverted make apparent; not a word about Bishop O'Cooley or his alleged parentage of Archbishop O'Murray; not a word about the laughable meaning erstwhile appended by my critic to *sine vestitu* in the ancient *Arca* or *Communion*s; not a word about *nomina*, or the rubric in the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal, once Mabillon, the erudite editor of that Missal, is brought into court against him; not a word about the tremendous question of *bi* versus *to*, both expressions yielding *the very self-same sense* in the passage in the Canon referred to,² although, against the use of *to*, I was heretofore solemnly threatened with Ménard, who has not been produced yet, for the sufficiently satisfactory reason that he left nothing whatever behind him upon English translations of the Mass, and so wrote nothing that could clothe the one English preposition with any degree of preference over the other.³ There even exists no proof that this famous French Benedictine had the least knowledge of the English language.⁴ Nor, let me here say, are all the English Prayer Books that have ever been published unanimous for *by*, as Dr. MacCarthy will find out for himself if he will only extend his researches over a large enough number. In fine, my critic no longer combats my statement, my inoffensive statement, that the computation of Easter is an astronomical question, now that Lingard and Lanigan, to whose authority that of many others might easily be added, are arrayed against him. Thus, former strongholds are abandoned all along

¹ Dr. MacCarthy, who brands me as a libeller, maligned the monastic scribes in his December letter, by ridiculing the idea that they were at all regardful of what tenets might characterise the theological scripts which they undertook to copy, and this month we have him talking of the 'perhaps malicious ingenuity inveterate in the Brehon legists.' What next, I wonder!

² Adrian Baillet says of a critic:—'C'est un Chicaneur . . . lorsqu'il fait un procès sur une particule inutile, ou sur une phrase qui ne change rien au sens' [italics mine]. See his *Jugemens des Savans*, i., p. 54: Paris, 1722.

³ Ménard's note is simply the following:—'43. *Quorum meritis*. Ita in versione Colini, in liturgia que sancto Petro tribuitur: *Oratur tñ pro te, biest, quorum intercessione*.' See his *Vita et Observantia S. Gregorii Magni*. *Lib. in Sacris Ecclesiæ, Migne Patrologia Lat. lxxviii. col. 276*. Paris, 1861.

⁴ In Ménard's time (1585-1644) but few of the continental *litterati* thought English worthy of notice.

the line of operations by Dr. MacCarthy; and so, to enlist an old expression, he evacuates Flanders. He allows that I have 'adopted an effectual method of bringing the present discussion to a close;' and, doubtless, not a few will be disposed to agree with him, if having put forward so much, so very much, that he is unable to answer, can count for anything towards such an issue. Saith an Arabian adage, 'He who defends his nose sometimes cuts it off;' ¹ and with the wisdom of the aphorism my courteous opponent seems disinclined to quarrel. Of course it is not for me to urge any man to his destruction.

Here, before entering upon Dr. MacCarthy's new matter, I desire to add something to my last letter on two points: (1) on *nomina* in the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal; (2) on the O'Coffey and O'Murray question.

First, with regard to the Memento. It has already been pointed out that Mabillon evidently did not consider *nomina* a rubric in the Memento of the Dead in the Bobbio Missal. I have now to say that the use and custom of that Missal are totally against its being so treated. Ancient Missals, it is hardly necessary to premise, are not, without due inquiry, to be read through modern Missals, with which they do not quite correspond, but by their own individual light. Now, in the Bobbio Missal, wherever names were to be introduced, the uniform rubric is the abbreviated pronoun 'ill.' (the MS. has it 'll' ²) or 'ill. & ill.,' as circumstances require. Of this rubrical direction I have counted in its pages no fewer than sixty-six examples, unrelieved by a single occurrence of *nomina*, or *N.*, or *NN.*, or *N. et N.*; ³ and this, on the point raised against me, should, I conceive, be decisive in my favour. The following is a specimen instance from the *Missa Romensis Cottidiana*:—'In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica . . . una cum devotissimo famulo tuo ill. Papa nostro, sedis apostolicæ & Antestite nostro,' &c. ⁴

From this we revert to the case of Bishop O'Coffey and Archbishop O'Murray. In the *Annals of Ulster* the former is briefly mentioned as the latter's *athair* or 'father.' Dr. MacCarthy

¹ Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, i., p. 526: Bonn, 1838.

² Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 346, note: Paris, 1724.

³ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., pp. 279, 322, 324, 344, 346, 347, 348, 350, 351, 352, 356, 359, 360, 361, 362, 364, 378, 384, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390, 391: Paris, 1724. Some of these pages contain two, three, four, or five instances of 'ill.' as a rubric.

⁴ Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, i., pt. ii., p. 279: Paris, 1724.

contends that Bishop O'Cooley, had he been only Archbishop O'Murray's 'fosterer or tutor,' would have been referred to as his *aite*, not *athair*. It was not at all unusual, however, for an *aite*—a 'fosterer or tutor'—to receive the title of *athair*, or 'father.' For example, in the Irish Life of St. Senán in the *Book of Lismore*, that holy man is represented as addressing his *aite* as 'O father Notal,' *A athair, a Notal*: again, 'O chosen father,' *A athair thogaidh*: and Notal replies to him as 'My dear son,' *A moic innaoin*.¹ Hence the mere presence of *athair* in the *Annals of Ulster*, in connection with Bishop O'Cooley, is insufficient to prove that Bishop O'Cooley was Archbishop O'Murray's parent: while the difference in their surnames presents a difficulty which Dr. MacCarthy will in vain struggle to get over.

We pass on now to the new criticisms. In his third paragraph Dr. MacCarthy says:—'To show the intelligent use made of the "works quoted," the following is accepted as correct: "the Brehon Laws assume the existence of a married as well as an unmarried clergy. They make reference to two classes of bishops: "the virgin bishop" and the "bishop of one wife." The "virgin bishop," if he lapsed into sin, did not, they say, recover his grade or pristine perfection, according to some; but the "bishop of one wife" did, provided he performed his penance within three days.' Misled by the foregoing, many readers of the I. E. RECORD must have concluded that I 'accept as correct' the existence of 'a married as well as an unmarried clergy' in early Christian Ireland, and that in doing so I claim to be supported by the authority of the Brehon Laws. They will be somewhat astonished when I inform them that what is set forth as my view is not mine at all, but is a Protestant argument which I devote some space to refuting! How then have I been so misrepresented? By the omission of the five words which I now place in italics. '*Another common objection is this*: the Brehon Laws assume the existence of a married as well as an unmarried clergy.' And so forth. In a manner which will, no doubt, gain him many additional admirers, Dr. MacCarthy chooses to commence his quotation of me at the colon; and this, with his own introductory remark, puts a false construction on my language. The word 'objection,' it is true, occurs twenty lines further on in his letter; but, so far is it from helping any

¹ *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, p. 61 (lines 2038-2042: Oxford, 1890.

one to a right understanding of the matter, that I appeal to candour to determine whether he has not conveyed, to those who have not my little book to refer to, the impression that I profess an opinion which assuredly I do not. One who can fearlessly mutilate an author in the fashion indicated should be particularly chary of any talk about 'breaches of good faith.'¹

As to the wording of the aforesaid objection, now that it is clearly established as such, I may say that I had the Vicar of Ballyclough, the Rev. Thomas Olden, M.A., in my mind when I stated it. An extract from his *Church of Ireland* is appended for comparison.²

Dr. MacCarthy makes much ado about nothing when he writes that the references to the 'virgin bishop' and the 'bishop of one wife' (an expression which is cleared up in my book) are to be found in the ancient commentary on the Brehon Laws, not in the Laws themselves. The Brehon Laws and the Brehon commentaries, however, are preserved in the same MSS., and these MSS. may be called the Brehon Laws for all practical purposes. The very editors of the official edition are not superior to such a general designation of their contents.³ Nor is the phenomenally accurate Dr. MacCarthy, who, like Hudibras of yore, can

'distinguish and divide
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side,'

above describing a MS. which contains—(1) excerpts from St. John's Gospel; (2) a Missal; (3) an *Ordo* of Baptism; (4) an *Ordo* of Visitation of the Sick, including Extreme Unction and Communion; (5) an Irish tract on the Mass; (6) three Irish spells—by the name of the *Stowe Missal*.⁴ Truth to say,

¹ Only one charge of this sort was made against me. After I showed its injustice Dr. MacCarthy did not revive it.

² 'Still more important is it that the Brehon Laws assume the existence of both married and unmarried clergy. Amongst the provisions relating to ecclesiastics we find that if a bishop should fall into sin, a different penalty is prescribed in the case of the married and the celibate. If the offender is a bishop of one wife, he may recover his grade or position by performing penance within three days, but if he is a celibate he cannot recover it at all.' See Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, pp. 121-122: London, 1892.

³ They say:—'According to these Laws he could not return to his dignity of bishop, but he might attain to a "higher grade," that is, that of aibhilletoir, i.e. thaumaturg or miracle-worker, either as a hermit or a pilgrim. Now this provision is in the commentary. See *Senchus Mor*, i., pp. 57, 58, 59: Dublin, 1865.

⁴ The opening sentence of his paper *On the Stowe Missal*, is:—'The MS. known as the Stowe Missal was enclosed in a costly shrine,' &c. See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxvii., p. 135: Dublin, 1877-86.

it is the chief contents that give the style to the whole in these composite MSS. But, in this respect, Dr. MacCarthy should allow others as much liberty as himself.

Dr. MacCarthy is at some pains to suggest that my knowledge of the Brehon Law collection is 'second or third hand.' For this supposition there is no foundation in reality.¹ The particular volume of the *Senchus Mor* to which I gave a reference—the Rev. Mr. Olden's reference is a wrong one—has been in my possession for twenty years.

We are not done yet, it seems, with errors of the press. Dr. MacCarthy points to some more. I admit them. The clause not rendered in a translation from the *Leabhar Breac*—and which was crucified by the unbelieving Jews, out of spite and envy—appears in my manuscript as supplied to the compositor. Evidently, in setting the type, his eye skipped from the 'which' at the end of one line to the 'which' at the end of the next one; hence the omission. Hardly anyone, however, except Dr. MacCarthy, would say that this omission leaves 'the English reader to infer that the native writer did not believe in the crucifixion.'

Dr. MacCarthy should not be too severe upon printers' errors. There is a very fair crop of such in his own various publications. There are some in all the letters that he has written against me. In his last we have 'a *Synodus Hibernensis*,' and 'rescension.' As 'rescension,' however, occurs twice, perhaps it is the critic, not the compositor, that is to blame for this specimen of bad spelling. 'P. 161,' too, a reference to my book, should be 'p. 164.'

But to continue. In quoting a letter of St. Columbanus, it seems that I exhibit 'a recension' (I correct Dr. MacCarthy's orthography of the word) 'and a translation, each equally notable.' Well, the Latin, whatever may be said against it, was taken by me from Migne's edition of the writings of St. Columbanus: and it is precisely the same in that of Gallandus. As to the translation of *adversariis potius mureas dantis quam resistetis*, if Dr. MacCarthy has any fault to find with 'yielding help to, instead of withstanding the enemy,' I would refer him to the learned Catholic archaeologist, the Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D.,

¹ Charging those whom he attacks with trusting to second-hand information seems a favourite proceeding with Dr. MacCarthy. He supposes even the veteran Dr. Whitley Stokes not to have 'acquaintance at first-hand with national history.' See the *I. E. Record*, 3rd Series, xii., p. 178: Dublin, 1901.

author of the immortal works *The Church of our Fathers* and *Hierurgia*, who renders the passage in this identical fashion.¹

Next, I am remarked for having *sitam* for *sita*, and *abierat* for *obierat*, in a quotation from the *Book of Armagh*. The correct Latin is, of course, *sita* and *obierat*. But, after all, in the actual *Book of Armagh*, both words are exactly as I give them. Of the two printed editions referred to by me, one (that from which I made the extract) follows the readings of the MS. for the text, and gives the necessary emendations in footnotes: the other does the reverse. I suppose if I had written *sitam* [*sita*], *abierat* [*obierat*], Aristarchus himself could have said nothing against me.

'Celebrate, O festive Juda, the joys of Christ'—a translation of the opening line of St. Cummian Fota's hymn—should certainly be: 'Celebrate, O Juda, the festive (or 'festal') joys of Christ;' and it stands so, I find on inspection, in my manuscript. The transposition of the word 'festive' is the work of the compositor. Hence, all that is said about 'the new *Gradus ad Parnassum*' is uncalled for, as far as I am concerned. I am prepared to admit that Dr. MacCarthy is very great in Latin prosody. It is a pity that he is not equally great in English syntax. I gave a single specimen of his free and easy defiance of the rules of grammar in my last letter. A hundred such atrocities—I have been going through his writings lately—in present stock. Terms moderate: country orders carefully executed: parcels of the broken head of Lindley Murray forwarded with despatch.

With regard now to the petitions in the *Stowe Missal*, eleven, as with me, are reduced to eight by Dr. MacCarthy's scheme of punctuation. But where does he get that punctuation? He will not, I opine, tender us the assurance that he can trace it all to the original MS., the punctuation of which is rather peculiar. And is the sense materially, or at all, affected by his doughty alterations?

Dr. MacCarthy is visibly not among the admirers of Dr. Warren, a liturgiologist of the first order. It was very honourable, however, of that gentleman, who, perhaps, like Porson, thinks errors 'the common lot of authorship,'² to apologise for the mistakes of his

¹ Rock, *Did the Early Church in Ireland acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy?* answered in a *Letter to Lord John Manners*, p. 50: London, 1844.

² Porson, *Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis*, Preface, p. xxxiv.: London, 1790.

transcript. Whatever I have seen, I have not seen any of Dr. MacCarthy's apologies. The 'Textus Receptus,' as, in an access of modesty, he calls his own edition of the *Stowe Missal*, is not immaculate, any more than Dr. Warren's. No doubt, in his scorn of the Oxford editor, Dr. MacCarthy, as it were, falls down in adoration before himself, as to an unerring transcriber. It is an amusing fact, nevertheless, that (to say nothing of ancient MSS.) he cannot transcribe from himself or others with entire correctness: he must either add or leave out, or otherwise change. In the little that he now professes to take from his own edition of the *Stowe Missal* he varies from himself in punctuation in four instances: in his December letter, he alters the punctuation in the two lines which he copies from Mabillon, and substitutes a small letter for a capital: in the same letter he leaves out three words (*i.e.* 'Far from it') in the course of an extract, on the first page, from his own essay *On the Stowe Missal*, and again substitutes a small letter for a capital: in his August effusion, he interpolates two words, not mine (I place them in italics), in a quotation from *The Ancient Irish Church*, stating that the Quartodecimans 'kept Easter on the 14th day of March,' no matter what day of the week it fell upon; and so I might go on, launching forth among his publications, till there was more space run away with than you would care to waste on such a subject.

In conclusion, if I am to part from Dr. MacCarthy at this point, I am sorry for it. He attacked my book—which, like every other book, has its demerits—intending to do it harm. He has done it nothing but service: a service for which I again thank him. His assaults have had a stimulating effect upon the sales: and, otherwise, I have made more by the controversy than he has. As the Spanish proverb says:—'The ox that horned me tossed me into a good place'—*El buey que me acornó en buen lugar me echó*.—Yours, &c.,

JOHN SALMON.

[This controversy must now cease.—ED. I. E. RECORD.]

¹ As previously noted, 'March' is here a typographical error for 'month.'

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE
CANADIAN BISHOPS ON THE MANITOBA SCHOOL
QUESTION

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD ARCHIEPISCOPOS EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE
LOCORUM ORDINARIOS FOEDERATARUM CIVITATUM CANADENSIIUM
PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS EPISCOPIS ALIISQUE
LOCORUM ORDINARIIS FOEDERATARUM CIVITATUM CANADENSIIUM
PACEM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Affari vos, quod perlibenter atque amantissime facimus, vix Nobis licet, quin sua sponte occurrat animo vetus et constans Apostolicae Sedis cum Canadensibus vicissitudo benevolentiae consuetudoque officiorum. Ipsis rerum vestrarum primordiis comitata Ecclesiae catholicae caritas est: maternoque semel acceptos sinu, amplexari vos, fovere, beneficiis afflicere nunquam postea desiit. Certe, immortalis vir Franciscus de Laval Montmorency, primus Quebecensium episcopus, quas res pro avorum memoria pro salute publica felicissime sanctissimeque gessit, auctoritate gratiaque subnixus romanorum Pontificum gessit. Neque alio ex fonte auspicia atque orsus agendarum rerum cepere consequentes episcopi, quorum tanta extitit magnitudo meritorum. Similique ratione, si spatium respicitur vetustiorum temporum, non istuc commeari nisi nutu missuque Sedis Apostolicae consuevere virorum apostolicorum generosi manipuli, utique christianae sapientiae lumine elegantiores cultum atque artium honestissimarum semina allaturi. Quibus seminibus multo eorum ipsorum labore sensim maturescentibus, Canadensium natio in contentionem urbanitatis et gloriae cum excultis gentibus sera, non impar venit. Istae sunt res Nobis omnes admodum ad recordationem iucundae: eo vel magis, quod earum permanere fructus cernimus non mediocres. Ille profecto per-

magnus, amor in catholica multitudine studiumque vehemens divinae religionis, quam scilicet maiores vestri primum et maxime ex Gallia, tum ex Hibernia, mox quoque aliunde, auspiciato advecti, et ipsi sancte coluerunt et posteris inviolate servandam tradiderunt. Quanquam, si optimam hanc hereditatem tuetur posteritas memor, facile intelligimus quantam huius laudis partem sibi iure vindicet vigilantia atque opera vestra, venerabiles Fratres, quantam etiam vestri sedulitas Cleri omnes quippe concordibus animis, pro incolumitate atque incremento catholici nominis assidue contenditis, idque, ut vera fateamur non invitis neque repugnantibus Britannici imperii legibus. Itaque communium recte factorum vestrorum cogitatione adducti, cum Nos romanae honorem purpurae Archiepiscopo Quebecensium aliquot ante annis contulimus, non solum ornare viri virtutes, sed omnium istie catholicorum pietatem honorifico afflicere testimonio volumus. Ceterum de institutione laborare ineuntis aetatis, in qua et christianae et civilis reipublicae spes maximae nituntur, Apostolica Sedes numquam intermisit, coniuncto vobiscum et eum decessoribus vestris studio. Hinc constituta passim adolescentibus vestris ad virtutem, ad litteras erudiendis complura eademque in primis florentia, auspice et custode Ecclesia, domicilia. Quo in genere eminet profecto magnum Lyceum Quebecense, quod ornatum atque auctum omni iure legitimo ad legum pontificiarum consuetudinem, satis testatur, nihil esse quod expetat, studeatque Apostolica Sedes vehementius, quam educere civium sobolem expolitam litteris, virtute commendabilem. Quamobrem summa cura, ut facile per vos ipsi iudicabitis, animum ad eos casus adiecinus, quos catholicae Manitobensium adolescentulorum institutioni novissima tempora attulere. Volumus enim et velle debemus omni, qua possumus, ope et contentione eniti atque efficere ut fides ac religio ne quid detrimenti capiant apud tot hominum millia, quorum Nobis maxime est commissa salus, in ea praesertim civitate quae christianae rudimenta doctrinae non minus quam politioris initia humanitatis ab Ecclesia catholica accepit. Cumque ea de re plurimi sententiam expectarent a Nobis, ac nosse cuperent qua sibi via, qua agendi ratione utendum, placuit nihil ante statuere, quam Delegatus Noster Apostolicus in rem praesentem venisset: qui, quo res statu essent exquirere diligenter et ad Nos subinde referre iussus, naviter ac fideliter effectum dedit quod mandaveramus.

Causa profecto vertitur permagni momenti ac ponderis. De

eo intelligi volumus, quod septem ante annis legumlatores Provinciae Manitobensis consessu suo de disciplina puerili decrevere : qui scilicet, quod leges Canadensis foederis sanxerant, pueros professione catholica in ludis discendi publicis institui educarique ad conscientiam animi sui ius esse, id ius contraria lege sustulere. Qua lege non exiguum importatum detrimentum. Ubi enim catholica religio aut ignorance negligitur, aut dedita opera impugnatur : ubi doctrina eius contemnitur, principiaque unde gignitur, repudiantur ; illuc accedere, eruditionis caussa, adolescentulos nostros fas esse non potest. Id sicubi factitari sinit Ecclesia, non nisi aegre ac necessitate sinit, multisque adhibitis cautionibus, quas tamen constat ad pericula declinanda nimium saepe non valere. Similiter ea deterrima omninoque fugienda disciplina, quae, quod quisque malit fide credere, id sine ullo discrimine omne probet et aequo iure habeat, velut si de Deo rebusque divinis rectene sentias an secus, vera an falsa secteris, nihil intersit. Probe nostis, venerabiles Fratres, omnem disciplinam, puerilem, quae sit eiusmodi, Ecclesiae esse iudicio damnatam, quia ad labefactandam integritatem fidei tenerosque puerorum animos a veritate flectendos nihil fieri perniciosius potest.

Aliud est praeterea, de quo facile vel ii assentiantur, qui cetera nobiscum dissident : nimirum non mera institutione litteraria, non solivaga ieiunaque cognitione virtutis posse fieri, ut alumni catholici tales e schola aliquando prodeant, quales patria desiderat atque expectat. Tradenda eis graviora quaedam et maiora sunt, quo possint et christiani boni et cives frugi probique evadere : videlicet informentur ad ipsa illa principia necesse est, quae in eorum conscientia mentis alte insederint, et quibus parere et quae sequi debeant, quia ex fide ac religione sponte efflorescunt. Nulla est enim disciplina morum digna quidem hoc nomine atque efficax, religione posthabita. Nam omnium officiorum forma et vis ab iis officiis maxime ducitur, quae hominem iungunt iubenti, vetanti, bona malaque sancienti Deo. Itaque velle animos bonis imbuere moribus simulque esse sinere religionis expertes tam est absonum, quam vocare ad percipiendam virtutem, virtutis fundamento sublato. Atque catholico homini una atque unica vera est religio catholica : proptereaque nec morum is potest, nec religionis doctrinam ullam accipere vel agnoscere, nisi ex intima sapientia catholica petitam ac depromptam. Ergo iustitia ratioque postulat, ut non mode cognitionem litterarum

alumnis schola suppeditet, verum etiam eam, quam diximus, scientiam morum cum praeceptionibus de religione nostra apte coniunctam, sine qua nedum non fructuosa, sed perniciosa plane omnis futura est institutio. Ex quo illa necessario consequuntur: magistris opus esse catholicis libros ad perlegendum, ad ediscendum non alios, quam quos episcopi probarint, assumendos: liberam esse potestatem oportere constituendi regendique omnem disciplinam, ut cum professione catholici nominis, cunctisque officiis quae inde proficiscuntur, tota ratio docendi discendique apprime congruat atque consentiat. Videre autem de suis quemque liberis, apud quos instituantur, quos habeant vivendi praeceptores, magnopere pertinet ad patriam potestatem. Quocirca cum catholici volunt, quod et velle et contendere officium est, ut ad liberorum suorum religionem institutio doctoris accommodetur, iure faciunt. Nec sane iniquius agi cum iis queat, quam si alteratrum malle compellantur, aut rudes et indoctos quos procrearint, adolescere, aut in aperto rerum maximarum discrimine versari.

Ista quidem et iudicandi principia et agendi, quae in veritate iustitiaeque nituntur, nec privatorum tantummodo, sed rerum quoque publicarum continent salutem, nefas est in dubium revocare, aut quoquo modo deserere. Igitur cum puerorum catholicorum institutionem debitam insueta lex in Manitobensi Provincia perculisset, vestri muneris fuit, venerabiles Fratres, illatam iniuriam ac perniciem libera voce refutare: quo quidem officio sic perfuncti singuli estis, ut communis omnium vigilantia ac digna episcopis voluntas eluxerit. Et quamvis hac de re satis unusquisque vestrum sit conscientiae testimonio commendatus, assensum tamen atque approbationem Nostram scitote accedere: sanctissima enim ea sunt quae conservare ac tueri studuistis, studetis.

Ceterum incommoda legis Manitobensis, de qua loquimur, per se ipsa monebant, opportunam sublevationem mali opus esse concordiam quaerere. Catholicorum digna causa erat, pro qua omnes omnium partium aequi bonique cives consiliorum societate summaque conspiratione voluntatum contenderent. Quod, non sine magna iactura, contra factum. Dolendum illud etiam magis, catholicos ipsos Canadenses sententias concorditer, ut oportebat, minime in re tuenda iunxisse, quae omnium interest plurimum: cuius prae magnitudine et pondere silere studia politicarum rationum, quae tanto minoris sunt, necesse erat.

Non sumus necii, emendari aliquid ex ea lege coeptum. Qui

foederatis, civitatibus quique Provinciae cum potestate praesunt, nonnulla iam decrevere minuendorum gratia incommodorum, de quibus expostulare et conqueri catholici ex Manitoba merito insistunt. Non est cur dubitemus, susteptum id aequitatis amore fuisse consilioque laudabili. Dissimulari tamen id quod res est, non potest: quam legem ad sarcienda damna condidere, ea manca est, non idonea, non apta. Multo maiora sunt, quae catholici petunt, quaeque eos iure petere, nemo neget. Praeterea in ipsis illis temperamentis, quae excogitata sunt, hoc etiam inest vitii quod, mutatis locorum adiunctis, carere effectum facile possunt. Tota ut res in breve cogatur, iuribus catholicorum educationique puerili nondum est in Manitoba consultum satis: res autem postulat, quod est iustitiae consentaneum, ut omni ex parte consulatur, nimirum in tuto positus debitoque praesidio septis iis omnibus, quae supra attigimus, incommutabilibus augustissimisque principiis. Huc spectandum, hoc studiose et considerate quaerendum. Cui quidem rei nihil obesse potest discordia peius: coniunctio animorum est et quidam quasi concentus actionum pernecessarius. Sed tamen cum perveniendi eo, quo propositum est et esse debet, non certa quaedam ac definita via sit, sed multiplex, ut fere fit in hoc genere rerum, consequitur varias esse posse de agendi ratione honestas easdemque conducibiles sententias. Quamobrem universi et singuli meminerint modestiae, lenitatis, caritatis mutuae: videant ne quid in verecundia peccetur, quam alter alteri debet: quid tempus exigat, quid optimum factu videatur, fraterna unanimitate, non sine consilio vestro, constituent, efficiant.

Ad ipsos ex Manitoba catholicos nominatim quod attinet, futuros aliquando totius voti compotes, Deo adiuvante, confidimus. Quae spes primum sane in ipsa bonitate causae conquiescit: deinde in virorum, qui res publicas administrant, aequitate ac prudentia, tum denique in Canadensium, quotquot recta sequuntur, honesta voluntate nititur. Interea tamen, quam diu rationes suas vindicare nequeant universas, salvas aliqua ex parte habere ne recusent. Si quid igitur lege, vel usu, vel hominum facilitate quadam tribuatur, quo tolerabiliora damna, ac remotiora pericula fiant, omnino expedit atque utile est concessis uti, fructumque ex iis atque utilitatem quam fieri potest maximam capere. Ubi vero alia nulla mederi ratione incommodis liceat, hortamur atque obsecramus, ut aucta liberalitate munificentiatque pergant occurrere. Non de salute ipsorum sua, nec de prosperi-

tate civitatum mereri melius queant, quam si in scholarum puerilium tuitionem contulerint, quantum sua cuique sinat facultas.

Est et aliud valde dignum, in quo communie, vestra elaboret industria. Scilicet vobis auctoribus, iisque adiuvantibus, qui scholis praesunt, instituere accurate ac sapienter studiorum rationem oportet, potissimumque eriti ut, qui ad docendum accedunt, aflatim et naturae et artis praesidiis instructe accedant. Scholas enim catholicorum rectum est cum florentissimis quibusque de cultura ingeniorum, de litterarum laude, posse contendere. Si eruditio, si decus humanitatis quaeritur, honestum sane ac nobile iudicandum Provinciarum Canadensium propositum, augere ac provehere pro viribus expetentium disciplinam institutionis publicam, quo politius quotidie ac perfectius quiddam contingat. Atqui nullum est genus scientiae, nulla elegantia doctrinae, quae non optime possit cum doctrina atque institutione catholica consistere.

Hisce omnibus illustrandis ac tuendis rebus quae haecenus dictae sunt, possunt non parum ii ex catholicis prodesse, quorum opera in serptione praesertim quotidiana versatur. Sint igitur memores officii sui. Quae vera sunt, quae recta, quae christiano homini reiue publicae utilia, pro iis religiose animoque magno propugnent: ita tamen ut decorum servant, personis parcant, modum nulla in re transilient. Vereantur ac sancte observent episcoporum auctoritatem, omnemque potestatem legitimam: quanto autem est temporum difficultas maior, quantoque dissensionum praesentius periculum, tanto insistant studiosius suadere sentiendi agendique concordiam, sine qua vix aut ne vix quidem spes est futurum ut id, quod est in optatis omnium nostrum, impetretur.

Anspicem coelestium munerum benevolentiaeque Nostrae paternae testem accipite Apostolicam benedictionem, quam vobis, venerabiles Fratres, Clero populoque vestro peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die VIII Decembris, An. MDCCCXCII Pontificatus Nostri vicesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

SOLUTION OF DOUBTS REGARDING EXTRAORDINARY
CONFESSORS OF NUNS

DUBIA QUOAD CONFESSARIOS EXTRAORDINARIOS RELIGIOSARUM

Die 1 Februarii 1892.

1. Il favore accordato alle monache di ricorrere ad uno straordinario 'quoties ut propriae conscientiae consulant ad id adigantur' è così illimitato e incondizionato che esse se ne possano servire costantemente senza ricorrere mai al confessore ordinario e senza poter essere sindacate neppure dal Vescovo su questo punto, e da esso in qualche modo impedito se fossero guidate da ragioni biasimevoli e insulse?

2. I confessori aggiunti hanno alcuni doveri di coscienza di rifiutarsi ad ascoltare le confessioni delle suore, quando riconoscono che non esiste un plausibile motivo che le astringa di ricorrere ad essi?

3. Se parecchie suore (e peggio ancora se la maggior parte di esse) ricorressero costantemente a qualcuno dei confessori aggiunti, il Vescovo deve tacere, o intervenire con qualche provvedimento per tutelare la massima sancita nella bolla 'Pastoralis': 'Generaliter statutum esse dignoscitur, ut pro singulis monialium monasteriis unus dumtaxat confessarius deputetur'?

4. E posto che debba intervenire, qual provvedimento potrà legalmente adottare?

Ad I. Negative.

Ad II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

Ad IV. Moncat Ordinarius moniales et sorores, de quibus agitur, dispositionem Articuli IV Decreti 'Quemadmodum'¹ exceptionem tantum legi communi constituere, pro casibus dumtaxat verae et absolutae necessitatis, quoties ad id adigantur, firmiter remanente quod a S. Concilio Tridentino et a Constitutione s. m. Benedicti XIV incipien. 'Pastoralis Curae' praescriptum habetur.

¹ Decretum hoc relatatum fuit vol. xxiii., 505.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MY LIFE IN TWO HEMISPHERES. By Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Two vols. 32s. London; T. Fisher Unwin.

THESE two splendid volumes relate the principal events in the life of one of the most remarkable Irishmen of the nineteenth century. They are full of interest from many points of view. Here, however, we are naturally concerned most with those parts of them which deal with the relations of Church to society in our own country and in our own times; for Sir Charles, from his earliest days, was closely connected with ecclesiastics, and took all through his life the deepest interest in the action and government of the Church, and in its influence on the course of public affairs. It is, therefore, not alone to the Church historian of the future, but also to those members of the clergy who desire, at the present day, to influence the world around them, and to be guided in their action by the experience of the past, that these volumes will be found most useful.

We do not say that the author is to be regarded either as a prophet or as a guide; but his views on things ecclesiastical are always worthy of attention. They are the views of a very friendly critic, and of one who, though a Liberal and champion of Liberalism, evidently values the Catholic faith as the most precious gift that any man can possess, and who would be as ready, if the occasion called for it, to sacrifice every earthly interest, as his Northern forefathers were, in order to preserve it intact for himself and others. In his second volume he tells us that he looked up to Montalembert 'as the ideal of what a Catholic gentleman should be, genuinely pious and a strict disciplinarian, but entirely free from religious bigotry or intolerance, the rooted enemy of despotism, and the friend of personal and political liberty everywhere.'

This is clearly not the place to review the history of Liberalism and Conservatism in Church government, or to discuss the merits of the fierce contests that raged in France and elsewhere between the champions of the two great schools. It is sufficient

to note that Duffy is always on the left, but never on the extreme left.

We must refer our readers to the volumes themselves for confirmation of this appreciation of ours ; but, in the limited space at our disposal, we wish to emphasize the importance of the autobiography from the point of view of ecclesiastical history. No one can accurately gauge the strength of the forces that were at work in Ireland from 1848 to 1879, who does not read this work. The two ecclesiastics who were most closely associated with Sir Charles, though in very diverse ways, were Dr. Murray of Maynooth, and Canon Doyle of Wexford. There is frequent mention of them in the two volumes.

There are very many other interesting references to matters and persons ecclesiastical—to Cardinal Cullen, Dr. Newman, Father Burke, O.P. ; Dr. Moriarty, Dr. O'Hanlon, Canon Doyle, Father O'Shea, &c. We may not always accept the principles of the writer ; we may not agree with him in all his appreciations of persons and of things ; but we must always recognise in him a Liberal of the very best and highest type, a genuinely religious Catholic, and a man of extraordinary versatility. Perhaps the element that attracts us most in these volumes is the sympathy of the author with art, literature, and science, and the evidence of his intercourse with many of the greatest men of his time in all these departments. This is a feature which he possessed in common with his model, Montalembert, and, indeed, with nearly all the men of the mid-century period who were noted for their high political ideals.

J. F. H.

THE EUCHARISTIC CHRIST. By Rev. A. Tesnière. Translated by Mrs. A. R. Bennett-Gladstone. New York : Benziger Brothers.

IN 1856 a religious society of priests, called the Congregation of the Most Holy Sacrament,¹ was founded in Paris by Père Eymard. Six years later it obtained the canonical approval of Pius IX., and in 1895, besides the mother house in Paris, there were foundations established in Marseilles, Rome, Brussels, and Montreal. This Congregation, as its name implies, is devoted exclusively to the worship and apostolate of the Blessed Sacra-

¹ See I. E. RECORD, June, 1895.

ment. In their churches there is perpetual exposition; and by sermons, writings, and the organization of Eucharistic associations and congresses, the fathers of the Congregation seek to awaken and propagate devotion to Jesus, hidden under the sacramental veil.

To one of those associations, viz., the Confraternity of Priest-adorers, attention has already been directed in the pages of the I. E. RECORD.¹ We may state here that this aggregation, as it is called, was canonically erected at Rome, on the 16th January, 1887, with the approval of the Pope and the commendation of a large number of archbishops and bishops from different parts of the world. It consists of priests who undertake 'to make every week one continuous hour of adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament, either exposed or shut up in the tabernacle.'² It is scarcely necessary to specify the objects of the Association. Briefly they are—1. To draw the priest nearer to the Eucharist. 2. To form ardent apostles of the love of Jesus for man. 3. To secure the triumph of the Church by united prayer before the tabernacle. 4. To make reparation for the coldness and ingratitude of indifferent Catholics. It is not surprising that an idea at once so beautiful in itself, and so practical from the point of view of personal sanctification and missionary success, should have 'struck a responsive chord.' At present there are over fifty thousand priests enrolled in the Association. Of these, three thousand are in the United States, and nearly three hundred in Ireland, where, it should be added, the devotion has only been a few years established.

'In the interest of this Confraternity [writes Dr. M'Mahon, in his learned preface to the book before us] many works have been published in French. The present, *The Eucharistic Christ*, is the first that has been put into English dress, in the hope that its reflections and pious thoughts may find favour among the American members of the Confraternity.'

We trust they may also find favour among ourselves, and that the circulation of this book will help to propagate a devotion which is peculiarly suited to the needs of our age. Advertise-

¹ See I. E. RECORD, July, 1894.

² This is the principal condition of membership. The Rev. A. Simon, Wilton College, Cork, the Director-General for the United Kingdom, will send full conditions of membership on application, with stamped envelope enclosed.

ment, show, making a noise, are now more than ever in fashion. To see one's name in leaden type as having done, or spoken, or written something suitable, is the ambition of not a few, possibly of not a few whose serene wisdom should have taught them—

‘The ocean deep is mute, while shallows roar.’

In contrast with the brawling ways of man, how fearfully quiet and unobtrusive is the presence of God in His own world. So also remarks the writer of the preface :—

‘May we not also say [he writes] that the Spirit of the Blessed Sacrament, which Father Faber so beautifully shows to be the Spirit of the Holy Infancy, namely, simplicity and hidden life, is directly opposed to the spirit of the age, ever desirous of proclaiming and extolling its various beneficent deeds.’

In one hour of continuous adoration before the Most Holy Sacrament a thoughtful man cannot fail to learn this much, and, if it be not his own fault, he will derive from this exercise such refreshment as the world, with all its food-stuffs, and drink-stuffs, and mind-stuffs, cannot give. We have great pleasure, then, in introducing *The Eucharistic Christ* to the readers of the I. E. RECORD.

The first chapter is introductory, and explains at length the ‘Object and End of the Adoration’ :—

‘The adoration has a threefold object, and ought to be considered in a threefold relation. It is, first, our Lord Jesus Christ that it ought to honour beneath the Eucharistic veils; next it is the love of the adorer, which it ought to sanctify; and, lastly, it is our neighbour, which it ought to assist and to help, and especially the Church.’

The second chapter is occupied with the ‘Method of Adoration.’ Taking as a basis the following sentence from St. Thomas, which is a condensed treatise on religion : ‘Homo maxime obligatur Deo propter Majestatem egus, propter beneficia jam accepta, propter offensam, et propter beneficia sperata,’ F. Eymard designed the ‘Method of the Four Ends of Sacrifice.’ The third chapter contains a programme of ‘Acts of the Faculties and of the Virtues in each of the Four Ends;’ so that the adorer is furnished with a scientific and practical method of adoration, which makes it not only possible but easy to occupy the whole hour with appropriate thoughts and affections. But the author has done very much

more. In the succeeding chapters this method is applied to the following subjects, viz. :—‘The Institution of the Eucharist,’ ‘The Fact,’ ‘The Masterpiece of God,’ ‘The Priest,’ ‘The Sacrifice,’ ‘The Eucharist a Memorial of the Passion,’ ‘The Most Holy Body of Jesus,’ ‘The Precious Blood,’ ‘The Heart of Jesus in the Eucharist,’ ‘The Five Wounds,’ ‘The Eucharistic State,’ ‘The Diffusion of the Eucharist,’ ‘The Perpetuity of the Eucharist,’ ‘The Universality of the Eucharist.’

From this brief outline of its contents it will be seen that the book is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it was written. The first chapter will go far to induce the reader to become a member of the association; the second tells the novice how he is to carry out the principal condition of membership; while the bulk of the volume may be called, *Hours before the Most Holy Sacrament*.

So much for the merits of this work. Has it any faults? The style is tolerable: it might be better; but it is good enough for any reader, and particularly for anyone who intends to use the book as an aid to devotion. In such a work we look more to substance than to form. From this point of view the only positive fault we noticed is a certain amount of theological vagueness in the discussion of that most profound mystery, viz., the *modus existendi* of Christ in the Eucharist. We read, for instance, in page 50 :—

‘And in this point of consecrated bread, imperceptible, indivisible, . . . Christ continues to be living . . . with His face and its sweet expression, with His Heart whose palpitations our love or our coldness hastens or abates.’

And again on page 95 :—

‘The eyes of Jesus behold us through the holy species: His ears hearken to our prayers.’

But on page 149 we are told the Eucharistic annihilation is ‘inaction . . . there is neither sensibility nor movement, nor a glance of the eyes.’

We do not deny that those apparently contradictory statements may be true in different senses. We think, however, that an author should avoid the semblance of contradiction, and take care that his expressions leave no confused or false impressions on the minds of his readers. A footnote of reference to Franzelin, which evidently he had at hand, would at least have indicated

to the inquisitive reader a means of discriminating between the author's rhetoric and his theology. We shall discuss the two expressions that seem most contradictory, viz., 'The eyes of Jesus behold us through the holy species,' and, there is neither sensibility . . . nor a glance of the eyes.'

That Jesus sees us in some real way there can, of course, be no doubt. But has Jesus, as He is the Eucharist *formaliter*, the use of His eyes so that He looks at us through the Sacramental Species? It would seem that according to the common teaching of theologians, the mode of Christ's existence in the Eucharist excludes a connatural use of His eternal senses. 'Ex modo existendi inextenso in thesi declarato sequitur. . . . Christum Dominum, formaliter ut in hoc modo existendi sacramentali se constituit non posse *naturali* virtute suae humanitates evercere actus transeuntes in alia corpora, nec posse, spectata *solum naturali virtute* animam Christi agere in proprium corpus sive ad motum sive ad exercitium sensuum externorum.' (Franzelin de SS. Eucharistia Thesis XI.) The italics are Franzelin's, and are meant to convey that vision and hearing are not connatural to the sacramental mode of Christ's existence in the Eucharist. This learned theologian then proceeds to discuss the question whether or not by a *special miracle* the Word communicates such exercise of the senses to His sacred humanity (even as it is *formaliter* in the Eucharist) as befits the end of the sacrament, for instance, seeing and hearing. Here is his answer:—

'Hanc supernaturalem communicationem actuum visionis et auditionis per sensus ipsos Sacratissimi Corporis in statu Sacramentali quamvis communior sententia theologorum non admittat, ut fatetur Card. Cienfuegos amplissimus ejus assertor ac defensor, affirmant tamen S. Bonaventura, Tsambertus et alii non pauci saltem ut probabilem; simpliciter ut veram Lessius, Cornelius a Lapide, Gamacheus, Martinonus, Tannerus; prae caeteris vero . . . Card. Cienfuegos . . . Mihi certe haec sententia non propter diserta testimonia Scripturae et Patrum, quae proferuntur parum efficacia, sed propter ejus connectionem cum dignitate Sacratissimae humanitatis et cum scopo et fine Sacramenti . . . videtur probabilissima et pia; dummodo tamen non ita defendatur, ac si ea non admissa Christus in sacramento non vivens sed instar mortui conceipi deberet.' (Thesis XI.)

What then is to be thought of the expression: 'The eyes

of Jesus behold us through the holy species.'? 1. It is certainly true in this sense that Jesus has the same perceptions in the Eucharist that He has in heaven, and therefore, that nothing is hidden from Him who is present under the Sacramental veil. 2. According to a probable opinion the eyes of Jesus, as they are in the Eucharist, are, by a special miracle, endowed with power of actual vision. The expression, 'there is no glance of the eye,' is true in this sense, that the eyes of Jesus as they are in the Eucharist, are by the nature of the Eucharistic state destitute of actual vision, although, according to the probable opinion just mentioned, there is 'a glance of the eye' by a special miracle. It is beside my purpose to discuss the probability of this special miracle, as I have had in view only to reconcile our author's apparent contradictions. Sound theology, however, should be the basis of all devotion, and it is hard to say which is the greater misfortune; that theologians don't do more writing of spiritual books, or that spiritual writers too often try to improve on theology.

T. P. G.

SOME OF THE FRUITS OF FIFTY YEARS: ANNALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN VICTORIA. By the Most Rev. Thos. J. Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne. Melbourne: Massina & Co.

Some of the Fruits of Fifty Years is a happy alternative title of this quarto volume of ninety pages, which is more officially styled the *Annals of the Catholic Church in Victoria*. Those fruits are not merely recorded, but are rendered visible to the eye through the medium of finely executed illustrations of all the varied ecclesiastical buildings of Victoria. The Most Rev. Author's design in compiling this work was, it appears, twofold: (1) to commemorate the consecration of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, which took place on the 31st October, 1897; and (2) 'to preserve to distant generations a knowledge of the early history of missions, churches, schools, and religious houses, which if not now carefully compiled would, in great part, be lost for ever.' Judged by the illustrations alone which adorn the book, it must at once be confessed, that the material progress of the Catholic Church in Victoria is simply marvellous. Fifty years ago, Dr. Goold was appointed first Bishop of Melbourne, with

jurisdiction over the whole of Victoria. At that date there were only some six thousand Catholics in the whole Colony which was alike destitute of churches and schools. To-day this Colony forms an ecclesiastical province containing four bishoprics, namely, the archiepiscopal see of Melbourne, and the dioceses of Ballarat, Sandhurst, and Sale, each of which is equipped with churches, presbyteries, monasteries, and schools. Standing apart by reason of its style, position, and dimensions, is St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne. It was commenced in 1858, and its consecration last October, in the presence of the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, the Governor of the Colony, the Australasian bishops, and an immense concourse of all creeds and classes, synchronized with the Golden Jubilee of the diocese of Melbourne. It occupies an enviable position on the Eastern Hill. Some idea of its splendour may be obtained from the following details :—

‘Length along nave and sanctuary, 340 feet ; length along transepts, 185 feet. Width across nave and aisles, 82 feet ; width across transepts and aisles, 82 feet. The height of nave and transepts is 95 feet ; of the central tower, 260 feet, and of each of the front flanking towers, 203 feet. The dignity of the building externally is enhanced by the flying buttresses and the carved pinnacles. The whole building is lit with electric light. The carrying of the aisles along the sides of the transepts is another important feature, providing as it does, along with the chapels and arcaded sanctuary, imposing vistas and an air of dignity and mystery. The style is a late form of early English Gothic or decorated. The total area of the Cathedral is 35,000 square feet. The expenditure so far has amounted to £200,000.’

We have transcribed those items from the detailed description contained in the work which want of space compels us to omit. It is a pity the publishers did not contrive to give us some views of the interior of this noble minster, but we feel it is ungracious to make even so slight an adverse comment on a volume, the artistic workmanship of which is, on the whole, sumptuous and splendid.

Need we add, that the matter, which is both well ordered and detailed, is most interesting as affording an insight into the growth of the Church in the fairest province of Australia.

T. P. G.

COMMENTARIUS DE JUDICIO SACRAMENTALI. Joannis Baptistae Pighi, S. Theol. Doct. Ad Frutinam vocatus a G. M. Van Rossum C.S.S.R., S. Off. Cons. Editio altera.

THE first edition of this work appeared in August. In less than a month a new edition was called for. This is not surprising when we consider the importance of the matter. The occasion of the work was the *Commentarius* of Professor Pighi, which treated especially of *Occasionarii* and *Recidivi*. He dedicated his work to St. Alphonsus, and professed to follow his teaching. Father Van Rossum, therefore, as he tells us, expected to find 'Salutarem S. Doctoris in re tanti momenti doctrinam fideliter expositam et expugnatam' (p. 7). But he says: 'Quo magis in legendo progrediebar, eo magis auctorem deflectere animadvertēbam a prudentissima S. Alphonsi doctrina' (p. 7). While, therefore, declaring that the author was free to propose his own opinions, he thinks it unfair to give them to his readers as those of St. Alphonsus. 'Hanc,' says Father Van Rossum, 'monstrabo doctrinam cl. Professoris Pighi a saluberrimis S. Alphonsi praeceptis omnino alienam; simulque propriis S. Doctoris verbis quid ipse de occasionariis et recidivis doceat exponam' (p. 9). This work, as a clear exposition in a few pages of the teaching of St. Alphonsus, is of permanent utility, apart from the occasion which called it forth. It gives, moreover, the teaching of our best guides in those important matters.

We learn from words addressed to Benevole Lector (p. 5), that Professor Pighi published an Appendix in Italian, in which he answers the *Ad Frutinam* as to the more important points. This new edition deals with these, each in its proper place.

As to the form and order, the author gives the first chapter to 'Quo loco cl. Pighi S. Doctoris Alphonsi auctoritatem, atque doctrinam habeat.' Here, and indeed everywhere, he seems to us to cite Professor Pighi fully and fairly. 'Probe animadvertatur,' says St. Alphonsus, 'poenitentium salutem maxima ex parte dependere a bona agendi ratione confessoriorum in danda aut differenda absolutione occasionariis et recidivis.' Here we have indicated the matter of the second and third chapters: *De Occasionariis et De Recidivis*. The matter is too important to attempt an analysis; but we cannot help thinking that the languor in faith, and feebleness in dispositions with which

Professor Pighi seems to credit his countrymen, must be confined to the great centres of population ; and even in these, can we believe that they are general ? At home we have rarely to deplore such a state of things, and we are thankful that our people are well able to bear the remedies that are either necessary or useful for the cure of evil habits. We quite agree with Father Van Rossum that it would be fatal to make a rule of that which should be an exception. We willingly subscribe to the concluding words of No. 80, p. 150 :—

‘ Deinde ex eo quod plures hodiedum inveniuntur, quibus absolutio differenda non sit, non ideo cum omnibus poenitentibus eadem ratione est agendum. Quod fides languet apud multos, non ideo languet apud omnes ; quod languet in magnis civitatibus, non ideo languet in omnibus urbibus ; quod languet in urbe non ideo ruri languet ; quod languet in quibusdam regionibus, non ideo languet ubique terrarum. Propterea magna prudentia, discretionem et circumspectionem opus est, ne exceptiones in regulam mutantur, ne ea, quae in extremis sunt tentanda, in ordinario verum statu adhibeantur, ne cum omnibus ubique indiscriminatim agatur, acsi ubique et apud omnes fides languet. Nihil enim efficacius fidem everteret et morum corruptelam praecipitaret innumerarumque produceret animarum ruinam.’

We have been informed by the author of this work that owing to the difficulty of procuring it outside Italy, it will be sent to any priest in England, Ireland, or Australia, and may be paid for by means of a shilling postal order addressed V. R.—S. Alfonso, *via Merulana*, Roma.

J. M.



THE CONVENTION OF DROM-CEAT

A.D. 590

I. THE SITE OF THE CONVENTION

WITH truth has it often been said that the history and the scenery of our country share a similar neglect, and that both are permitted to remain unnoticed and uncared for, unless when the sneer of a Thackeray, or the calumny of a Froude, draws attention to the one or the other. It cannot be denied that there are in our land beauties of mountain, lake, and valley, which, were they found in Switzerland or in Italy, instead of in Ireland, would be famed throughout the world. 'The cold chain of silence' which thus hangs over our scenery, exerts an equally baneful influence over the most interesting episodes of our history, such as to the writer of ancient Greece or Rome would have furnished fit subjects for the display of eloquent narrative, or glowing declamation. It is true that at times our annals are defective, and that the critical writer hesitates to accept as facts what at best may only prove to be probable conjectures; still, had Livy, and Sallust, and Plutarch carried out that rule, where now would be the thrilling eloquence and touching biographies of pagan times? But, without wandering into the region of conjecture, we have more than enough of interesting material to engage the pen of the

essayist in the authentic and well-substantiated facts of our national history. Of these not the least inviting theme, and, as it seems to us, not the least important, is the Convention of Drom-Ceat, held, according to the best authorities, in the year 590.¹

On the eastern shore of the Foyle, by the scanty stream of the deep-channelled Roe, near the modern town of Limavady, in the present county of Londonderry, is the site of this famous convention. It is a spot which the pen of Macaulay would have gloried to depict. Scenes of sylvan beauty spread everywhere around. Wood and water, mountain and glade, smiling villas and lordly demesnes fill up a picture of no ordinary magnificence. And, as might be expected, it is as interesting in its historical, as it is in its natural aspect. The entire locality is teeming with reminiscences of the past, which even the Ulster Plantation was not able to destroy. Saints have hallowed this soil by their labours; some, like Canice, have shed a lustre upon it by their birth; others, like Neachtain of Dungiven, Muireadach O'Heney of Banagher, and Cadan of Magilligan (nephew of St. Patrick), have either founded churches in the vicinity, or sought a final resting-place by the slopes of the adjacent mountains. Princes and warriors have fought for the suzerainty of the rich champagne country around. In his castle by the Roe did O'Cahan dispense hospitality in a truly Irish fashion, till that honoured name was stained by the treason of Donald Ballagh, who became the foul instrument of treachery in the unscrupulous hands of Chichester and Montgomery—the latter of whom, with a zeal not altogether apostolic, grasped the mitre and the revenues of the united sees of Derry, Clogher, and Raphoe. But neither natural beauty, nor historical recollections, no matter how interesting, have contributed to render the spot so memorable as did the remarkable assembly convoked by Ædth MacAimmire, the powerful king of Ireland,

¹ Different dates have been assigned for this Convention, but we have adopted the year 590 because it seems supported by the best authorities. Dr. Reeves, in Colton's *Visitation*, gives this date, but in his *Admiralty* he seems to incline to the year 574 as the proper date.

and which was honoured by the presence of Columba, the great father of western monasticism, and apostle of the northern isles of Scotland. It may seem strange that the site of so remarkable an event should now be a matter of conjecture; but such is the case not only regarding this spot, but also regarding other equally memorable places in the north of Ireland.

Dr. Reeves, and after him Dr. O'Donovan, fixed upon the Mullagh, or Daisy Hill, in Roe Park, beside Limavady, as the site of the Convention; but we trust to give reasons sufficiently satisfactory for differing from authorities usually so reliable. It is worthy of remark that the Four Masters make no mention whatever of this Convention, though it is referred to by Adamnan, and all the ancient annalists, with whose writings they must have been familiar; but O'Donovan in a footnote to the Annals, under the year 575, speaks of the assembly, and names the Mullagh as the place where it was held. In Colton's *Visitation*, under the word 'Drumachose,' n., p. 132, Dr. Reeves thus writes:—

Independently of its connection with St. Caiméach, this parish is distinguished as having been the scene of the celebrated convention called Mordail-Droma-Ceat, which was held in the year 590, for the purpose of deciding the Dalriadic controversy, at which St. Columbeille was present. Adamnan styles it 'Regum in Dorso-cette Condictum.'

O'Donnell has preserved for us this clue to its position [we quote from Colgan's Latin version of O'Donnell as given by Dr. Reeves]. 'Columba, after sailing across the aforementioned river [that is Lough Foyle], at the part where it is broadest, turned the prow of his vessel to the river Roe, which flows into the aforesaid river, and the vessel of the holy man glided, with the divine assistance, up this stream, though from the scantiness of its waters it is otherwise unnavigable. But the place in which the boat was then anchored, thenceforth from that circumstance called Cabhan-an-Churaidh, *i.e.* "the hill of the boat," is very near Drumceat. After making a moderate delay at that place, the holy man, with his venerable retinue, set out to that charming, gently-sloping hill, commonly called Drumceat.

*Columba memoratum euripum [*i.e.* Loch Feabhail] qua longe patet, emensus, navigii cursus dirigi fecit per Roam annem, in predictum euripum decurrentem; quem fluxum, quamquam aquarum inopia alias innavigabilem, navis sancti viri divine virtute percurrit. Locus autem in quo navicula subinde stetit,

deinceps ab eventu Cabhan an Churaidh, id est, collis cymbæ appellatus, Druimchettæ pervicinus est. Cæterum modica eo loci mora contracta, Vir Sanctus cum sua veneranda comitiva contendit ad per amœnum illum collem, leniter acclivem, vulgo Druimchett vocatum.¹

Though at present [continues Dr. Reeves] there are no local traditions to help in the identification of the spot, it was well known in Colgan's time, who writes: 'To-day and for ever venerable, especially on account of the many pilgrimages, and the public procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which on the festival of All Saints is there annually made with an immense concourse from all the neighbouring districts in memory of the aforesaid synod there celebrated.' 'Hodie et semper venerabilis, maxime ob multas peregrinationes et publicam Theophoriam, quæ in festo omnium sanctorum in prædictæ synodi memoriam ibidem celebratæ in eo quottannis fit, cum summo omnium vicinarum partium accursu' (Act. SS. p. 204, n. 13). The hill called 'the Keady,' which commences about two miles out of Newtownlimavady, might be supposed, from the apparent similarity of the name, to be the spot, but there can be little doubt that the artificial mound in Roe Park, called 'The Mullagh,' and sometimes 'the Daisy Hill,' is the real Drumceatt. It is situate in a meadow, at a little distance from the house, on the N.W.; it rises to the height of about twenty feet, and measures about one hundred and ninety by one hundred and seventy feet. The prospect from it is exceedingly extensive and varied, commanding a view of Magilligan, with its Benyevenagh, Aghanloo, Drumachose, Tamlaght-Finlagan, and part of Innishowen. There is no local tradition about the spot, except that it is reckoned 'gentle,' and that it is unlucky to cut the sod. The truth is, the effects of the Plantation have utterly effaced all the old associations of the place.²

We have thought it but just to Dr. Reeves to give his note *in extenso*, inserting at the same time the translation of the two Latin quotations for the benefit of non-classical readers of the I. E. RECORD, that our reasons for differing from him may be the more immediately and clearly understood. We believe the site of the Convention to have been a small hill on the opposite side of the Roe from the Mullagh; and we believe, moreover, that the Keady derives its name from, and is only a modernized form

¹ iii. 4, *Tr. Th.* p., 431.

² Colton's *Visitation*, edited by Dr. Reeves. Note under the parish of Drumachose.

of the latter part of the word Drum-Ceatta. The initial C in Irish words being pronounced hard like the letter K would give us the word as if written Keatta, precisely similar in sound, and not very different in spelling from the modern Keady. The river Roe at this particular part may be said to run east and west, and the bank on either side may be correctly enough termed northern and southern. This will assist the reader to some extent in understanding the relative position of the hills for which claim is made for being the Drumceat of history. On the southern bank of the river is the Mullagh; about a quarter of a mile farther up the stream than where it passes the Mullagh, the river is engaged among rocks; so it may be assumed, for certain, that the hill of the Convention, on whatever side of the river it lies, cannot be farther up than the Mullagh; *i.e.*, we are to look for it somewhere near the Roe, and between the Mullagh and the mouth of the Roe. There are numerous hills on both sides of the river, and to select out one of them appears to be, to some extent, a question of probabilities. The hill required, probably is a remarkable one; so is the Mullagh. This seems to be the sole reason and sum total of its claims. Dr. Reeves, in a letter to the present writer, in 1876, stated that: 'when he first saw the Mullagh, he fixed on it as the site of the Convention,' without apparently any reason beyond conjecture, and Dr. O'Donovan adopted his view without further inquiry. This is the sole reason for the Mullagh being selected in preference to any of the other adjoining hills. The name Mullagh, however, is much against it:—1. Because a Mullagh cannot be a Drum. 2. As Drumceat was a well-known place, the Irish-speaking people would never have changed its name into the commonplace appellation Mullagh. No doubt the Irish traditions and language have now died out in the district, but they had not died out when this name was given to it.

A little farther down the river, on the same southern bank, is a ridge called Drumbally-Donaghey. Donaghey, if it be not a family name, might retain traces of Donagh (*i.e.* Dominica), and, therefore of the religious functions that used to be celebrated there. Near to Drumbally-Donaghey is

a pool in the river called 'the boat-hole,' which might be supposed to correspond with Cabhan-an-Churaidh, but it is a place where a boat usually was, and even now is occasionally kept; so no argument can be drawn from this in favour of Drumbally-Donaghey. Nor does there seem to be any reason for selecting any other of the ridges on the same side of the river.

On the north side of the stream, and just opposite the Mullagh, is a hill whose form attracts attention whether you view it when descending the river, that is, coming from Dungiven to Limavady, or ascending by the same road which runs along the southern bank of the river. The name of the hill is Enagh. Enagh is the Irish name still for a fair. In earlier times it meant a gathering for political purposes, and in later times an assembly for religious purposes.¹ The name, therefore, suggests that this was the hill so well known in Colgan's time, which, he says, is

To-day and for ever venerable, especially on account of the many pilgrimages, and the public religious ceremonies [Theophoriam], which, on the festival of All Saints, in memory of the aforesaid synod there celebrated, is there annually made, with an immense-concourse from all the neighbouring districts.

Drumceat (*i.e.*, the drum or ridge of the pleasant swelling ground), being a commonplace appellation, would easily give way in the lapse of time to the name Enagh. If you stand on Enagh, you have the most beautiful view in the valley of the Roe. Looking northwards you have Lough Foyle sweeping from Innishowen Head round the lovely shores of Greencastle, Moville, and Iskaheen, and bounded from this point of view by the range of hills which culminate in the ruined-crowned summit of Gremán, once known as 'Aileach of the Kings.'

Still looking north, but on this side of the Foyle, you see to your right the lowlands of Myroe, and Magilligan rising by swelling ridges like mimic Sierras, till they mount into the grand romantic ranges of Beneyevenagh, and the Keady. In fact, you find you are standing on a somewhat insulated

¹ See Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*.

ridge, which rears itself up one hundred and sixty feet high, in a valley stretching north and south, its narrowest part being that in which you stand, whilst before you it spreads out into the lowlands of Lough Foyle shores, and on the south it widens out in the direction of Dungiven, only turning more to the west. If you examine the rising swells just near you, you will see the ruins of Drumachose, St. Canice's Church, crowning one of them; whilst turning and looking up the south opening of the valley, you could, were it not for the intervening groves, see the ruins of Tamlaght Finlagan, St. Finloch's Church. The Roe, however, runs between the two, but there is a very shallow ford just in the line between them. It is probable that a hill would be selected, convenient for the clergy of both churches, and also on the side nearest to the more important church—the 'Magna Ecclesia de Ro;' and, we might also add, on the side nearest the county Antrim, for the convenience of those coming thence to the Convention. On what we have designated the north bank of the river—the side opposite to the Mullagh—there is an insulated rock like a huge mile stone or finger-post marking out Enagh, and called the 'Boat Rock.' It is the first you meet on either side when passing up the river from the Foyle. There is no other, indeed, for nearly half a mile further up, where the gorges of the river commence abruptly.

This particular spot is such as would just invite a boat's crew to land. The juxtaposition of this rock to Enagh (and from this point the hill looks most picturesque), and its being on the same side of the river with it, weigh much with us in deciding in favour of Enagh, not only as against the Mullagh, but against any other of the hills that rise along the river. The proximity of Enagh to the Keady (not the hill, but the townland of that name) seems to us also an argument in favour of our theory. It is probable that what we know did occur in many other cases occurred also in this, viz., that the name Keady, which is now confined to one townland, once extended over the whole district, and that the district got that name, perhaps, from this very hill. When a large townland was divided into two or three smaller

ones, the smaller got what we may term surnames. By degrees the later, or distinctive name, alone was preserved, while the original name clung to one of the divisions, and to that one because the original possessor may have retained it for himself. Colgan's description suggests to the mind that the hill was not *juxta*, but some little distance from the Roe. It was 'pervicinus,' *i.e.* quite near. The venerable man, he tells us, made a slight delay at the place where he landed, and then 'went to the assembly.' All the other hills are either too near or too remote to answer this description. The Mullagh is almost on the brink of the river. The appearance of Enagh is such as, from most points of view, would suggest to a Latin writer the derivation for Drumceat of Dorsum Cete, *i.e.* the back of a whale. No other hill around would suggest the same. Enagh agrees in every respect with the description of Drumceat. It is a 'collis,' for it is insulated; and it is at the same time a 'drum' or ridge. A 'drum' is a backbone; a spur that a mountain sends out, but more prolonged, and more easy of slope on its flanks than what we ordinarily mean when we speak of the spur of a mountain, and projecting also from a lower elevation of the mountain. It is not easy to find a place which one person could with propriety call a *drum*, and another with equal propriety term a *collis*; but it seems to us that both designations are applicable to Enagh, and to no other of the hills around. It is 'peramanus' whether considered in its own aspect, or in the delightful prospect it affords. It is 'leniter acclivis,' which none of the other hills are, and certainly not the Mullagh. These are the principal arguments that lead us to adopt Enagh in preference to the Mullagh, and though there may be but a balance of probabilities in favour of our theory, still the Mullagh seems to us entirely out of competition for claiming the ancient title of Drumceat. The most that can be said of it is, that it is a remarkable hill near the Roe, and when we have said this, we have repeated all that can be said about it.

An interesting tradition in favour of Enagh signifying a fair, and of a fair having been held there till the

time of Donald Ballagh O'Cahan at least, may be worth preserving in this place. The tradition was received from Mr. John O'Connor, a native of the locality, who died fifteen years ago at a very advanced age, and who was regarded as a depository of all the authentic traditions of the district.

On one occasion O'Cahan, then lord of the territory, mounted on a superb horse, and accompanied by his daughters all on horseback, visited the fair which was being held at Enagh. As he entered the place a beggarman solicited him for an alms. O'Cahan answered him only with a lash of his riding-whip. The beggarman drew himself up to his full height, and, gazing fixedly at the cruel and haughty chieftain, pronounced, in tones that struck terror into the listening crowd :—

‘Gar cnoc gan aonac,
Gar Ciannac gan eac.’

Which literally translated means :—

Soon the hill without fair,
Soon Cahan without horse.

Whether the words were uttered as a prophecy or a curse, their quick and unexpected fulfilment impressed them indelibly on the minds of the hearers, and made them be handed down from generation to generation. Enagh then means a fair, in this instance, just as it meant a place of religious assembly in Colgan's time.

To sum up the arguments in favour of Enagh, we say, that after the Mullagh—(1) Enagh is at least the most remarkable hill; (2) from its situation the hill likely to be chosen for the assembly; (3) answering perfectly to the description of Drumceat; (4) retaining (by its neighbourhood) traces of the name; (5) by its name indicating a place of religious concourse; (6) on the same side of the river, with and near to a remarkable rock standing up out of the bank, and called the ‘Boat Rock,’ with no reason that we can now see for prefixing the term ‘boat’ to it; (7) and lastly, affording space on its summit for the royal pavilions and tents, which O'Donnell tells us were scattered over the hill in the manner of military camps. On the top of the Mullagh there is no space for the like; Enagh, at least, is required for this. So much then for the site of this

famous Convention, a convention which left its mark not only on that, but also on subsequent ages, and which did so much for the consolidation and improvement of our ancient code of laws. We shall now see what were the principal objects of this great national assembly.

II. OBJECT AND RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION

In his *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*,¹ Eugene O'Curry sets forth in brief terms the principal objects for which this great parliament was held at Drumceat:—

The meeting at Drom Ceata [says he] was the last great occasion on which the laws and general system of education were revised. It took place in the year 590, in the reign of that Aedh the son of Ainmire, whose resistance to the impudent demands of the profession of poets, I had occasion to refer to in the last Lecture. Very soon after the refusal of the king to submit to the threats of satire on the part of the poets, and the consequences then supposed to follow from poetical incantations, he happened to be involved in two important political disputes. One of these was touching the case of Scanlan Mor, king of Ossory, who had unjustly been made a prisoner by the monarch some time before, and kept in long and cruel confinement; the other concerning the right to the tributes and military service of the Dalriadian Gædhelic colony of Scotland, to which king Aedh laid a claim that was resisted by Aedan Mac Gabhrain, the king of that country. For the more ample discussion of these weighty matters Aedh convened a meeting of the states of the nation at Drom-Ceata [a spot now called Daisy Hill, near Newtownlimivady, in the modern county of Derry]; which meeting took place, according to O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, in the year 574.

This great meeting was attended by all the provincial kings, and by all the chiefs and nobles of the island; and Aedh invited over from Iona the great patron of his race, St. Colum Cillé, to have the benefit of his wise counsels in the discussion, not only concerning the special objects for which the meeting was first intended, but many others of social and political importance. And so it happened that at this meeting the affairs of the poets and the profession of teaching were also discussed.

It was solemnly resolved at this meeting that the general

¹ Vol. ii., Lect. iv.

system of education should be revised, and placed upon a more solid and orderly foundation; and to this end the following scheme [according to Keating] was proposed and adopted.

Then follows the scheme referred to.

That St. Columb was not invited by King Aedh to this meeting is quite certain, and O'Curry corrects his mistake on this point in a subsequent lecture. 'St. Columcille having heard of this meeting and its objects,' says he, 'and being a great patron of literature, came over from his island home at I. or Iona, whither he had retired from the world to appease the king and the people, and quite unexpectedly appeared at the meeting. The poets at this time, with Dallan Forgaill as their chief, were collected in all their numbers in the vicinity of the hill of meeting, anxiously awaiting their fate; but their anxiety was soon relieved, as their able advocate had so much influence with the monarch and his people to procure a satisfactory termination to the misunderstanding between them and the priests.'¹ It was on this occasion that Dallan Forgaill, chief of the Bards, composed the famous poem in praise of the saint, entitled 'Amhra Chollium Chille,' or 'The Praises of Columb of the Church.' This poem is still in existence, and is constantly referred to by O'Curry in his lectures as one of the most beautiful specimens of ancient Irish poetry.

St. Columba's arrival at the meeting seems to have been an unpleasant surprise to King Aedh and his household. The king well knew the powerful influence of the saint, and naturally feared his opposition; but as he was his own near relative, and had come in the interests of peace, he could not do otherwise than treat the holy Abbot with at least outward reverence. Not so, however, his spouse. Filled with jealousy at the veneration manifested toward St. Columb and his followers, she secretly ordered her son Connall to insult and maltreat them, an order which he only too faithfully executed. In the old Irish Life of St. Columba, translated by Mr. W. M. Hennessey, and printed as an

¹ Vol. iii., Lect. xxxi.

appendix to the second volume of Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, the story is thus narrated :—

They afterwards saw Colum Cillé going towards the convention, and the assembly that was nearest to him was the assembly of Conall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire; and he was a worthy son of Aedh. As Conall saw them, therefore, he incited the rabble of the assembly against them, so that threescore men of them were captured and wounded. Colum Cillé inquired, 'Who is he by whom this band has been launched against us?' And it was told to him that it was by Conall. And Colum Cillé cursed Conall, until thrice nine bells were rung against him, when some man said, 'Conall gets bells [cloga],' and it is from this that he is called 'Conall Clogach.' And the cleric deprived him of kingship, and of his reason and intellect in the space of time that he would be prostrating his body.

Colum Cillé went afterwards to the assembly of Domhnall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, and Domhnall immediately rose up before him and bade him welcome, and kissed his cheek, and put him in his own place. And the cleric left him many blessings, viz., that he should be fifty years in the sovereignty of Eria, and be battle-victorious during that time, and that every word he would say would be fulfilled by him; that he would be one year and a half in the illness of which he would die, and would receive the body of Christ every Sunday during that time.

Of course the story would not be complete without a little more cursing on the part of the saint, for his ancient biographers are always crediting him with most extraordinary maledictory powers. The queen, it seems, was indignant at seeing her son Conall driven mad and deprived of the right to the throne, and Domhnall, who was only her stepson, appointed in his place. In her wrath she nicknamed the saint, calling him 'a crane' on account of his tall stature and emaciated form. Colum Cillé retorted:—

'Thou hast leave to be a crane,'
Said the cleric furiously.
'As just punishment to thy handmaid,
She'll be a crane along with thee.'
Aedh's wife and her waiting-maid,
Were turned into herons.
They live still, and make complaints,
The two old herons of Druim-Ceata.

Notwithstanding the immortality promised these lady-herons, their place, alas! knows them no more. The waters

of the Roe no longer re-echo their sad lamentations; the loneliness of Dromceat is no longer disturbed by their pensive wailings. We think they must have died.

It is not easy to explain this practice of the old Irish biographers of the saint, representing him as uttering maledictions so frequently, except we understand them as using the figure oxymoron to a very large extent. The very name he bears was given him by his young companions from the dove-like gentleness of his disposition, and indicated the very opposite of what his mistaken biographers attributed to him.

One of the objects for which this assembly was convened [says Dr. Reeves] was to determine the jurisdiction of the Albanian Dalriada. The question at issue is variously stated. O'Donnellus would have it that Aiden laid claim to the sovereignty of the Irish Dalriada, and required that it should be exempt from the rule of the Irish monarch. Keating and O'Flaherty, on the other hand, state that the dispute arose from the demand of Aidus, the Irish king, to receive tribute from the Albanian prince as from the governor of a colony. They agree, however, as to the decision, which was that the Irish Dalriada should continue under the dominion of the king of Ireland, and that the sister kingdom should be independent, subject to the understanding that either power should be prepared, when called upon, to assist the other in virtue of their national affinity.¹

It appears pretty clear that the Irish colony which had gone to Scotland from that part of Antrim called Dalriada (which corresponds, we believe, with the modern district of the Route), were still subject for many years to the Irish monarchy, just as the American colonies were subject afterwards to the British crown; but, when grown strong enough to throw off the yoke, they determined to assert their independence. They refused to be any longer tributary; and Aedh, the Irish king, feeling the loss to his treasury, as well as to his prestige, arising from this policy of independence, resolved to fix upon them irrevocably the law of subjection. This was the first object he had in view in summoning the national parliament of Drunceat. We may here remark in passing that Aedh selected this place for the meeting because

¹*Antiquities of Down and Connor*, Appendix, pp. 321-322.

it was within his patrimonial territory, where he was surrounded by friends and faithful clansmen, and where he was more secure than he would be at the palace of Tara. Some give him credit for wishing to accommodate his Scotch friends by selecting a locality convenient for them ; but there seems to be no foundation for this surmise.

The Dalriadan question first, and the total suppression of the bards next, were the points to be laid before the assembly at its opening.

The bards had become at this time simply intolerable. Their exactions were impoverishing the people, and their insolence had gone so far as to demand from the king the Royal Brooch, which was the most highly-prized and sacred heirloom of the royal family. We may form some idea of their numbers when we learn that in Meath and Ulster alone they exceeded at this time one thousand two hundred. Twice during his reign before this had Aedh banished them from the precincts of the palace, and they were obliged to take refuge in Ulidia, a little principality corresponding to the present county Down. Now, however, he was determined to utterly exterminate them. To give some idea of the mode in which the bards lived upon the people and oppressed them, and the reason why Aedh was maddened into adopting means to suppress the order, we will transcribe from O'Curry a brief sketch of the circumstances:—

At this time [says he] the Fileadh, or poets, it would appear, became more troublesome and importunate than ever. A singular custom is recorded to have prevailed among their profession from a very early period. They were in the habit of travelling through the country, as I have already mentioned, in groups or companies, composed of teachers and pupils, under a single teacher or master. In these progresses, when they came to a house, the first man of them that entered began to chant the first verse of a poem, the last man of the party responded to him, and so the whole poem was sung, each taking a part in that order. Now each company of poets had a silver pot, which was called Coiré Sainnté, literally the Pot of Avarice, every pot having nine chains of bronze attached to it by golden hooks, and it was suspended from the points of the spears of nine of the company, which were thrust through the links at the other ends of the chains. The reason— according

to the account of this custom preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Duna Doighré*, called the *Leabhar Bréac* [R.I.A.]—that the pot was called the ‘Pot of Avarice,’ was, because that it was into it that whatever of gold or silver they received was put; and whilst the poem was being chanted, the best nine musicians in the company played music around the pot. This custom was, no doubt, very picturesque, but the actors in it were capable of showing themselves in two different characters, according to the result of their application. If their Pot of Avarice received the approbation of the man of the house in gold or silver, a laudatory poem was written for him; but if he did not, he was satirized in the most virulent terms that a copious and highly-expressive language could supply.

Now, so confident always were the poets in the influence which their satirical powers had over the actions of the people of all classes, that, in the year of our Lord 590, a company of them waited on the monarch Aedh [or Hugh] son of Ainmiré, and threatened to satirize him if he did not give them the *Roth Croi* itself—the Royal Brooch—which from the remotest times descended from monarch to monarch of Erin, and which is recorded to have been worn as the chief distinctive emblem of the legitimate sovereign. Aedh [Hugh], however, had not only the moral courage to refuse so audacious a demand, but in his indignation he even ordered the banishment of the whole profession out of the country; and, in compliance with this order, they collected in great numbers into Ulidia once more where they again received a temporary asylum.¹

The question, then, of the bards formed the second great subject which the Convention had to discuss; and the third important motion to be brought before the assembly was the unjust imprisonment of Scanlan Mor, son of the king of Ossory. These were not, of course, the only points to be settled. The whole laws of the kingdom were to be revised and reduced to form, and regulations were to be made to provide for the education of the people, and to secure for the professors in the different learned branches a suitable maintenance. Considering the century in which these measures were adopted, and their influence on after generations, it will not seem wonderful that our country acquired at an early date the proud title of ‘*Insula Sanctorum et Docterum*.’ Hence King Alfred, about a century after this

¹ *Manners and Customs*, &c., vol. ii., lect. iii.

parliament, in a poem composed during his banishment in Ireland, thus wrote :—

I found in each great church,
Whether internal on shore or island,
Learning, wisdom, devotion to God,
Holy welcome and protection.

To St. Columb's defence of the bards at Drumceat may be justly give the credit of that learning which in after years made Ireland the lamp of Europe, and her sons the great evangelists of science and literature in the various lands of the Continent. On Columb's arrival at the council, king Aedh proposed to leave to his decision the vexed question of the Dalriadic tribute, but the saint modestly declined the honour, thereby reserving to himself the greater liberty of speech afterwards in opposing what he considered an unjust imposition. Colman, the saintly bishop of Dromore, was then called on to expatiate on the question at issue, and to defend the policy of the Irish monarch. He had been specially chosen by the clergy as their spokesman, and an abler at the time did not exist in the Irish Church. But the lustre of his eloquence paled before the more brilliant powers of Iona's abbot. The fate of a rising colony, and the very existence of the bardic order hung in the balance, and the side to which the scale would now incline depended on the great apostle of Scotland. He was no ordinary man in any sense of the word. 'Angelic in appearance, elegant in address, holy in work, with talents of the highest order, and consummate wisdom,'¹ he was well calculated to sway the councils of princes and prelates, many of whom were of his own kith and kin.

Both nature and education [says T. D. Magee] had well fitted Columbkille to the great task of adding another realm to the empire of Christendom. His princely birth gave him power over his own proud kindred ; his golden eloquence and glowing verse—the fragments of which still move and delight the Gaelic scholar—gave him fame and weight in the Christian schools which had suddenly sprung up in every glen and island. As prince, he stood on equal terms with princes ; as poet, he was

¹ Adamnan, 2nd Preface.

affiliated to that all-powerful bardic order, before whose awful anger kings trembled, and warriors succumbed in superstitious dread. A spotless soul, a disciplined body, an industry that never wearied, a courage that never blanched, a sweetness and courtesy that won all hearts, a tenderness for others that contrasted strongly with his rigour towards himself—these were the secrets of success of this eminent missionary—these were the miracles by which he accomplished the conversion of so many barbarous tribes and pagan princes.¹

Such was the man on whom now devolved the noble duty of defending the cause of liberty and learning. Every eye in that vast assembly was turned upon him as he rose, and every breath was hushed, till the gentle murmur of the Roe, as it hastened to the Foyle, was the only sound that broke the death-like silence. The monarch and his courtiers alike were awed; princes and prelates became willing listeners; nobles and clansmen were swayed by his eloquence; and the unarmed Abbot from the lonely and desolate isle in the northern seas became the bloodless conqueror of the Irish monarch and his mailed followers. Skilfully blending together the two great questions under discussion, he dwelt with all the passionate eloquence of his fiery nature on liberty—God's priceless gift to man—and learning, which teaches us to use that gift aright. Admitting that the bards had at times forgotten the rules of moderation, and forgotten too the fealty and homage due to the sovereign, these were faults, he argued, which salutary laws could easily correct, and which had only arisen from the deficiency of former legislation. In words to the following effect he continued:—

Is an entire order to be suppressed for the faults of a few of its members? and must our annals remain henceforth unwritten, our valiant men sink to earth unsung, because no tuneful bard exists to pen the one, or raise the mournful dirge at the grave of the other? Vice may then reign triumphant, for no wandering minstrel will dare to lash it; virtue may wither and die, for no learned Ollamh will survive to defend it. All that is sacred in the past, all that is cherished in the present, all of good that we hope for in the future, must perish in the common ruin of genealogists, historians, poets, astronomers, and physicians which

¹ *History of Ireland*, by T. D. Magee.

is sought to be accomplished to-day. If you would throw back your country to the darkness, not only of pre-Christian, but of pre-Druidic times, then suppress the energies of the rising colony in Argyle, and drive for ever from your shores the learned bards who have given you the inheritance of literature, and raised your name for erudition in foreign lands. But, if you would cherish liberty and learning, if you would secure for yourselves trustworthy allies and faithful historians, then break to-day the shackles that have too long bound your kinsmen in Scotland, and give to your bards a code of laws that will at once preserve and restrain them.

The eloquence and reasoning of Columba prevailed. The colonists were freed from the odious taxation, and a code of laws was enacted for the proper maintenance of learned teachers, and of approved schools, and at the same time for the due restriction of the number and privileges of the bards:—

It was solemnly resolved at this meeting [says O'Curry] that the general system of education should be revised, and placed upon a more solemn and orderly foundation; and to this end the following scheme [according to Keating] was proposed and adopted. A special ollamh, or doctor in literature was assigned to the monarch, as well as to each of the provincial kings, chiefs, and lords of territories; and to each ollamh were assigned free lands, from his chief, and a grant of inviolability to his person, and sanctuary to his lands, from the monarch and the men of Erin at large. They ordered also free common-lands for the purpose of free education in the manner of a university (such as Masraighé in Breifné, or Breifney-Rath-Ceamaidh in Meath, &c.) in which education was gratuitously given to such of the men of Erin as desired to become learned in history, or in such of the sciences as were then cultivated in the land. The chief Ollamh of Erin at this time was Eochaidh, the Poet Royal, who wrote the celebrated elegy on the death of St. Columcille, and who is better known under the name of Dallan Forgaill; and to him the inauguration and direction of the new colleges were assigned. Eochaidh appointed presidents to the different provinces. To Meath he appointed Aedh [or Hugh], the poet; to Munster he appointed Urmael, the arch-poet and scholar; to Connacht he appointed Seanchan Mac Cuairfertaigh; to Ulster he appointed Ferfírb Mac Muiredhaigh; and so on.

It will have been observed that the endowed educational establishments placed under these masters were, in fact, National Literary Colleges, quite distinct from the great literary and ecclesiastical schools and colleges which, about this time, forming themselves round individual celebrity, began to cover the land,

and whose hospitable halls were often [as we know] crowded with the sons of princes and nobles, and with tutors and pupils from all parts of Europe, coming over to seek knowledge in a country then believed to be the most advanced in the civilization of the age. . . . It appears, also, from the Brehon Laws, that the pupils were often the foster-children of the tutor. The sons of gentlemen were taught not only literature, but horsemanship, chess, swimming, and the use of arms, chiefly casting the spear. Their daughters were taught sewing, cutting or fashioning, and ornamentation, or embroidery. The sons of the tenant-class were not taught horsemanship, nor did they wear the same clothes as the classes above them.

All this has, in the law, distinct reference to public schools, where the sons of the lower classes waited on the sons of the upper classes, and received certain benefits [in food, clothes, and instruction] from them in return. In fact the 'sizarships' in our modern colleges appear to be a modified continuation of the ancient system.¹

It would be tedious, and, to most readers, uninteresting now to enter into all the details of the laws enacted on the score of education at this assembly. Suffice it to say that they were such as gave an impetus to learning for ages in our island, and made the names of Bangor, Moville (Co. Down), Clonard, and Clonmacnoise more familiar in Europe than are Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris to-day. But a few of the traditions and legends connected with St. Columba's coming to the Convention, and his stay at it, may prove more entertaining than a history of the laws enacted on the occasion.

We trust we wont be accounted sceptical if we decline making an act of faith in all the venerable traditions of that time, or if we venture to explain some of the reputed miracles on natural principles. The very fact of so many traditions existing about St. Columba—absurd and incredible though a number of them be—goes to prove that he was no ordinary man, but one whose influence was felt, and whose life far transcended that of his contemporaries; for with truth has Longfellow said:—

The heights by great men reached and kept,
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night.

¹ *Manner and Customs, &c.* vol. ii., Lect. iv.

III. LEGENDS ABOUT COLUMBA—HIS CHARACTER

In A.D. 1532 Manus O'Donnell, chief of Tyrconnell, compiled a Life of St. Columb in the castle of Port-na-trinamad, *i.e.*, the 'Port of the Three Enemies,' now called Lifford, and into this Life he compressed every tale and legend accessible at the period. Colgan, who translated a great part of this work of O'Donnell's from Irish into Latin, gravely reproduced it with the accuracy of a faithful translator in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, leaving, of course, to the Tyrconnell chieftain whatever honour accrued from the collection and compilation of the Columbian legends. Among these marvellous tales is a description of the saint's voyage from Scotland to Drumceat, the substance of which we beg to give in English. After stating that Columba set out with a retinue of many bishops, forty priests, thirty deacons, fifty clerics of lower grades, and Aedan, king of the Albanian Scots, with many chieftains, to attend the Parliament at Drumceat, he proceeds to tell us of a great tempest, excited by a ferocious sea-monster, which threatened to submerge the vessels and their crews. Those on board, in terror and alarm, begged of the holy man to deliver them from this monster, but the saint gave them to understand that God had reserved that honour, not for him, but for St. Senachus, who dwelt by the distant shores of Lough Erne. Just at the same moment Senachus, who was engaged in his forge (for he was a smith) in heating and hammering out iron, beholding by Divine permission the pressing danger of the servants of God, rushing forth from his workshop, flung the fiery missile aloft into the air. With a precision and velocity truly wonderful was it borne through the air from the woody shores of Doire Broscaidh to the ocean, where it fell direct into the gaping jaws of the furious monster, and, as might be expected, immediately killed it. In order that all might know that to St. Senachus was it due that he (St. Columb) and all in the vessel owed their escape, he prayed that to whatever shore of Ireland they might reach, there also might the carcase of the monster whale be driven. His prayer was granted, for when their barque touched the

shores of Lough Foyle, there they found the wild beast, rolled by the waters of the sea, before them. Opening its jaws, they took out the mass of iron, which St. Columba sent back to its lawful owner, St. Senachus, and out of it the clever blacksmith manufactured three bells, which he bestowed upon three several churches. Whether or not they were employed to peal the requiem of the slaughtered whale, and to perpetuate the memory of this successful mode of harpooning, the legend fails to state; but, to say the least, it is a wonderful story.

As miraculous events marked the early part of the saint's voyage, so, according to O'Donnell, did they continue to bless his entrance into the classic waters of the Foyle. Judging from pagan as well as from Christian traditions, this river seems to have been at all times endowed with wonderful understanding and feelings of commiseration for the distressed; for, as of old it rolled in pity a monumental stone over Feval, the son of Lodan, and even assumed the name of the hapless youth, so now it rose in reverence to the holy Abbot, and, gently swelling the scanty stream of the tortuous Roe, bore the sacred band in safety to the very spot where the assembly was convened. We think, however, that it is most probable the aid of a miracle was not required in this instance to enable St. Columb to sail up the Roe. To the most superficial observer it is evident that Myroe and the lowlands of Magilligan were at no very remote period part of Lough Foyle, and that the waters of the Lough came within an exceedingly short distance of Limavady. In a field about a quarter of a mile from that town portions of an anchor and some other remains of a boat were dug up not many years ago, and the field in which they were found is not much above the high-water level. The sub-soil is sand, such as is usually found along shores, and everything about the locality indicates that the whole district has by degrees been rescued from the waters. The very name—Myroe—points in the same direction. This word does not—as a modern derivation of it states—signify the territory or district of the Roe, for the word was not originally Magh-Ro, but Murrough or Murragh, as may be seen in the appendix to *Sampson's Survey*, where

mention is made of Bally-Murragh. According to Dr. Joyce, Murragh means a low-lying district, covered at times by the sea-water—a sea marsh, and this would aptly enough describe this locality at a period probably much later than that of the Convention of Drumceat. Now if the Foyle flowed up to Limavady, or near it, the waters of the Roe would at high tide be considerably swollen, and consequently would not be so unnavigable as at present. From its distant source in Glenshane mountain the Roe is fed by many tributaries in its course, notably by the ‘Burn of the round Bush,’ which rises in Sheskin-na-Mhadaigh, or ‘The Dog’s Quagmire,’ and by the stream from Lig-na-Peasta, or the ‘Pool of the Serpent;’ sweeping majestically past the old church of Dungiven, and the historic tomb of Cooley-na-Gall, it forms no inconsiderable volume of water before reaching the locality of Drumceat. If we suppose this volume checked in its course, and driven back by the incoming tide at Leim-a-Mhadaigh (Limavady), ‘The Dog’s Leap,’ it will at once be quite intelligible how the light curraghs of St. Columb and his followers could with ease sail up the Roe, till they anchored at the memorable rock, henceforth known as Cabhan-na-Churaidh.

Another circumstance related in an ancient poem ascribed to St. Molaise, is that St. Columb came blindfolded to the assembly, and remained so till its close. The reason assigned for this is that on his banishment, or his voluntary exile, whichever it was, he had been commanded by his confessor never again to look upon the land of his birth, and that now, when duty compelled him to come, he carried out to the letter the injunction laid upon him, and came to the great assembly at Drumceat with a sear-cloth covering his eyes. This story, though often repeated, seems highly improbable. If we believe the account of St. Columb’s leaving Ireland to have been the result of an injunction of St. Molaise, and not the voluntary act of a man burning with zeal to spread the Gospel, we must regard his return to his nativeland as a violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of his extraordinary penance. Such an ascetic as Columba was not likely to be guilty of such a violation. Besides, if he

remained in Ireland the entire time of the convention, as we are told he did, and that it lasted for thirteen months, it would be preposterous to suppose that he remained blindfolded for all that time. Moreover, we know that during his sojourn in Iona he visited, three times at least, his Irish monasteries, and there is no mention of this blindfolding then. This seems to be one of those idle tales which a mistaken zeal for his glory has foolishly interwoven with his history. It has, however, furnished a subject for the poet's pen, which has been turned to good account. In an ancient Gaelic poem attributed (but incorrectly) to St. Columb himself, and paraphrased most beautifully by Mr. T. D. Sullivan, the saint, whose longing eyes ever turned westward, fearing the violation of his penance if he settled in any island from which Erin could be seen, thus urges his companions to seek a distant settlement :—

To oars again, we may not stay,
For, ah! on ocean's rim I see,
When sunbeams pierce the cloudy day,
From these rude cliffs of Oronsay,
The isle so dear to me.

I may not look upon that shore
However low and dim it lies ;
Dear brothers, ply the sail and oar,
My word is passed—I see no more
That glory of my eyes.

Away o'er calm and angry tides,
Where'er our fragile craft is blown.
Whatever wind or current guides,
Away, away, till ocean hides
The hills of fair Tyrone.

Through Derry's oak-groves angels white
In countless thousands come and go ;
And gleams, as if of God's delight,
Fall calm and clear to mortal sight
Upon beloved Raphoe.

But far from Derry, far from Kells,
And fair Raphoe my steps must be ;
The psalm from Durrow's quiet dells,
The tones of Arran's holy bells
Will sound no more for me.

When the questions of the Dalriadic tribute, and of the existence of the bardic order had been satisfactorily settled, St. Columb then undertook to plead the cause of Scanlan Mor, the captive son of the king of Ossory. But here his eloquence was fruitless, for Aedh obstinately refused to liberate him. As usual, O'Donnell simplifies the whole matter by the introduction of a convenient miracle, which soon unbolts the doors of Scanlan's prison, which, by the way, was adjacent to St. Columb's monastery, the Dubh Regles of Derry. He tells us that when Aedh refused the request of the saint, Columba replied, that the Lord would liberate the prisoner for him. After this he set out for his monastery at Derry, which was some miles distant from Drumceat; and the following night he betook himself to prayer for the liberation of the captive. Whilst thus engaged, a fearful tempest, accompanied by peals of thunder, and flashes of lightning, raged among the camps of the assembly at Drumceat, and a luminous cloud sent forth brilliant beams of light, which penetrated the gloom of the prison in which Scanlan was confined; and then was heard a voice commanding the prisoner to go forth from his cell. Scanlan followed an angel who acted as his guide, and having in a moment of time, and without any apparent movement, transferred him from the prison to the monastery at Derry, left him there and immediately disappeared from sight. Probably the good Prince of Tyrconnell, at the time he wrote this, had been reading over the history of St. Peter's liberation from prison by angelic ministry, and by mistake transferred the substance of the story into the life of his patron. Adamnan's account of the matter is simpler, and we will transcribe it:—¹

At the same time, and in the same place [*i.e.* Drumceat], the saint wishing to visit Scanlan, son of Colman, went to him where he was kept in prison by king Aedh, and when he had blessed him, he comforted him, saying: 'Son, be not sorrowful, but rather rejoice and be comforted, for king Aedh, who has you a prisoner, will go out of this world before you, and after some time of exile you shall reign in your own nation thirty years.

¹ Adamnan, Book i., ch. ii.

And again you shall be driven from your kingdom, and shall be in exile for some days; after which, called home again by your people, you shall reign for three short terms,' all of which was fully accomplished according to the prophecy of the saint: for after reigning for thirty years, he was expelled, and was in exile for some space of time, but being invited home again by the people, he reigned not three years, as he expected, but three months, after which he immediately died.

He remained captive at Derry until the death of Aedh, who was killed by Bran Dubh in the battle of Dunbolg near Baltinglass in the county Wicklow, in 594, or according to others, in 598.

One other circumstance in connection with St. Columb's coming to Drumceat we may be permitted to notice before closing, and that is the fact of so many bishops following in his retinue and yielding him obedience. As belonging to the superior or highest grade of the priesthood, the bishops would naturally be expected to have the precedence; but here that order is reversed, and no less than twenty bishops follow in the wake of the illustrious abbot with a docility and submission worthy of novices. This circumstance was noted and satisfactorily explained by the Venerable Bede, and still later by Geoffrey Keating, in his *History of Ireland*, and by Dr. Coyle, Bishop of Raphoe, in his *Collectanea Sacra*, or Pious Miscellany. In the appendix to his *Antiquities of Down and Connor*, Dr. Reeves gives the substance of these remarks, and though the question is not of much importance in our present essay, a portion of Dr. Reeves' explanation may not be unacceptable to the readers of the I. E. RECORD:—

In the year 590 was convened a council at Drumceat, on the river Roe, one great object of which was to arbitrate between the respective claims of Aidus, king of Ireland, and Aidan, king of the British Scots, to the kingdom of Dalriada, in Ireland. And hither Columbkille also came from his monastery at Hy, attended by a company which is thus described by his contemporary, Dallan Forgaill:

'Twoscore priests was their number,
Twenty bishops of excellence and worth,
For singing psalms, a practice without blame,
Fifty deacons and thirty students.'

These lines, though written with great poetical licence, are of undoubted antiquity, and not only illustrate the ancient frequency of bishops, but confirm what Bede said of the

subjection of the neighbouring provinces to the Abbot of Hy. This subjection is satisfactorily accounted for, to use the words of Bishop Lloyd, by the consideration that : 'Whereas in almost all other places there were bishops before there were monasteries, and then it was not lawful to build any monastery without the leave of the bishop, here at Hy, on the contrary, there was no Christian before Columba came thither. And when he was come, and had converted both king and people, they gave him the island in possession for the building of a monastery ; and withal, for the maintenance of it, they gave him the royalty of the neighbouring isles ; six of which are mentioned by Buchanan as belonging to the monastery. And, therefore, though Columba found it necessary to have a bishop, and was pleased to give him a seat in his island, and, perhaps, to put the other isles under his jurisdiction, yet it is not strange that he thought fit to keep the royalty still to himself and his successors. It is no more strange that it should be so there than that it is so now in many places ; and at Oxford particularly, where a bishop now lives, and is as well known to be a prelate of the English Church as any other ; the government in the University exclusively of him ; and not only the Chancellor and his deputy have precedence of the bishop, but every private scholar is exempt from his cognizance and jurisdiction.' The power of order and jurisdiction, it is to be borne in mind, are quite distinct. 'A person may be consecrated bishop, to all intents and purposes as to the power of order without possessing any jurisdiction. *Vice versa*, a person of the clerical order may, although not actually a bishop, be invested with episcopal jurisdiction. Thus, if he be elected to a see, and regularly confirmed, he becomes, prior to his consecration, possessed of the jurisdiction appertaining to said see, and if it be metropolitan, the suffragan bishops subject to him as if he had been actually consecrated.'

The latter part of this extract Dr. Reeves gives on the authority of the learned Dr. Lanigan.

We have dwelt thus in detail on the circumstances, traditions, and legends connected with the ancient parliament held on the banks of the Roe, not so much for their own sake, as for that of the great assembly with which they are linked. Our English neighbours, it is true, are wont to scoff at our boasting of the ancient civilization of our country, and to turn into ridicule those great men of our land, who are still fresh in the minds of the people, and

Whose distant footsteps echo
Through the corridors of time ;

but, their sneers notwithstanding, we love to dwell on the

days of old, and like eagles to gaze upon the sun of glory which then illumined our island. We feel it an honour to belong to the race which led the van in evangelizing and educating the proudest nations of modern Europe ; who founded schools and universities where the sacred fire of knowledge was guarded with more than vestal care during the stormiest periods of Vandal and Gothic barbarism ; who, when the lamp of learning was extinguished from the Seine to the Tiber, opened the monastic halls of holy Ireland to the thousands of students that flocked to her shores. Surely the land and the age that produced such men as Columbanus, Virgilius, Fridolin, and a host of others equally celebrated, are not to be regarded as barbarous. And where in the history of any country is there a name more dearly or more deservedly cherished than that of the ‘ Dove of the Church,’ our own saint Columbkille ? No name brings before the Irish mind more glorious reminiscences than his ; and whether as a stripling in the paternal halls of Kilmacrenan, as a youth by the banks of Strangford Lough, in the school of St. Finnian, or as the great apostle in the lonely and penitential cell of Iona, he is ever to us a model of spotless purity, of burning fervour, of distinguished wisdom and prudence, and of a patriotism that, next to his love of God, consumes his very soul. Thirteen centuries have passed away since he breathed his last amid his sorrowing monks in Hy, and yet is he familiarly spoken of by the Irish people in every region, as if he had lived and moved amongst them from their childhood. The holy wells, popularly believed to have been blessed by him ; the stones where he knelt in prayer, and left the sacred impress of his knees ; the blessings or the maledictions uttered by him—what are they all but mementos—fond, though it may be fanciful—that a grateful race has cherished and nursed for generations regarding this wonderful man. The tall commanding form, the keen and flashing eye, the angelic loveliness of the countenance, the rich melodious voice, the copious and impressive eloquence which subdued even kings and courts, and swayed the destinies of nations yet unborn ; the statesmanlike and highly-cultivated mind—these have all been familiar to us

from childhood, and are pictures on which fancy has loved to dwell from our earliest years. Nowhere, however, does the innate nobleness of his character shine to greater advantage than at the Convention of Drumceat, where, in the presence of hostile kings and mutually jealous clans, he pleaded the cause of justice, of learning, and of mercy. The princes and the rulers of the land were there; the prelates, and priests, and poets had their respective positions in that assembly; various feelings and various interests were at work; but the master-hand of the Abbot of Iona blended into one harmonious whole the conflicting interests of the assembled thousands, and like another Moses, swayed a people scarcely less stubborn, and scarcely less fickle, than the tribes of Israel. If war between the Dalriadan colony and the parent country were averted, to Columba is the honour due; if the cause of learning in the persons of the poets were preserved from destruction, to the apostle of Scotland must the credit be given; and if the fetters of the captive, Scanlan Mor of Ossory, were not broken, it was not that the fervid eloquence of Columbkille was wanting, but that the heart of Hugh was steeled against the inroads of the slightest feelings of mercy for his prisoner.

What good for future generations the wise counsels of the saint effected at the Convention we cannot now sufficiently appreciate; but we know that it was the salutary regulations there enacted that made the schools of Ireland for so many centuries afterwards the light and glory of Christendom. To Columba was this mainly due, and to him must every son of Ireland, in ages yet to come, reverently bow, as the great father and protector of literature. Though the schools which sprang into existence about that time are now no more; though Bangor, Clonmacnoise, Clonard, Moville, Kells, and Derry, are stripped of their ancient glories; though the bards who governed the colleges have, like their schools, long since passed away; still the name of him, who pleaded so well the cause of master and pupil, is written, and for ever shall be indelibly written, on the hearts of the Irish people. While the Roe steals down from its distant fountain in

Glenshane, and mingles its waters with the turbid Foyle; while the winter storms beat vainly against the rocky battlements of Magilligan, and howl in fury round the summit of the Keady: while returning spring scatters its thousand beauties over the broad lands of O'Cahan, and restores the buds and blossoms to the widowed forests, so long shall the name of Columbkille be handed down with benedictions from generation to generation, and the blessings that his golden eloquence won for the people at the Parliament of Drumceat, be for ever lauded by the patriot, the philanthropist, and the scholar.

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

THE DECADENCE OF ECCLESIOLOGICAL ART IN IRELAND, AND SUGGESTIONS AS TO ITS REVIVAL

Domine, dilexi, decorem domus tue.

IN the present state of art, and especially ecclesiastical art, in this country, we are living in a most remarkable period. It may safely be asserted that more churches, chapels, parochial and conventual buildings have been erected in Ireland during the last fifty years than during any corresponding period since the close of the twelfth century. On every side we see large edifices, costing great sums of money, rising in cities and towns, and even in small country villages. It seems now that the moment has come to review our progress in ecclesiological art as expressed in these buildings of every degree. I use the word 'ecclesiological' advisedly, for the knowledge and the practical application of ecclesiology seems to me to be not only rarely shown, but to be absolutely wanting in the greater number of these church buildings, especially in their interiors, and what ought to be their essential fittings and

furniture. The study of ecclesiology, in its applied forms, is utterly neglected; whereas that of archæology, as a popular science, is ardently pursued, whether it relates to historical or mediæval buildings, or to the rude structures and labours of pre-historic periods. Every quarter of the year produces its own crop of archæological treatises on all sorts and conditions of objects of antiquity, possessing either a historic or artistic value—at least in the eyes of those who write about them. But as far as ecclesiology, pure and simple, is concerned, we seldom, if ever, read any article of interest or instruction, which might serve to guide us in the difficult task of re-edifying and restoring all those adjuncts to the services of the Catholic Church, which were swept away so ruthlessly during the last three centuries.

No student of our ancient ecclesiastical history can enter one of the numerous ruined churches in this land without noticing remains of these adjuncts, such as sedilia, aumbries, corbels, or holes for the reception and support of parcloles or screens, and rood beams, along with (in many cases) spacious porches, chancel-crypts, and the almost total absence of 'vestries' from the greater number of such antique churches and oratories. In this day of building and restoration, I think it highly advisable that we should endeavour to get back again those portions of the sacred edifices of the Church of which we have been so long deprived, without in the least degree impairing the usefulness of the buildings as regards the social needs of modern life and practice. It will not suffice, however, to stop short at the mere fact of restoring the buildings; we must try by studying what has been done around us in other lands, to recover and take up again the golden traditions of good taste which were abandoned in the sixteenth century, from two causes: namely, the destructive influence of the 'New Learning,' as it was then called (somewhat like the 'New Criticism' of our days), and the giving up of Christian models for the Neo-Classical forms, which were then being so ardently pursued by the talented architects, artists, and designers of the Renaissance.

In looking at the dire effects of the powerful wave of classicalism which swept over the minds and thoughts of European nations, from Italy to the furthest confines of the north, and even to the newly-discovered lands of America, we now see how many things that were both beautiful and true, in harmony with nature, and the genius of the different peoples that produced them, were despised, neglected, and laid aside for the revived so-called pagan ideals of Greece and Rome. I am fully aware that the art of the middle ages, in its struggle to obtain supremacy over brute matter—as in its solving of the complex problems involved in the solution of ‘vaulting,’ and the ‘thrust’ of vast masses of masonry—ran riot in the luxuriance of the flamboyant forms of its latter architectural period. But it had this merit, at least, that it was a glorious contest of human intellect against matter, in struggling to attain to the perfection of such marvellous creations as we still see left in an unfinished state, in such magnificent edifices as the cathedrals of Rouen, Chartres, Bourges, Amiens, and even our own beautiful specimen of late work in the choir of Holy Cross Abbey, county Tipperary.¹ Now, in spite of the terrible stoppages which occurred in all literary or artistic works in the country after the close of the fourteenth century, and even previous to that time, I consider that Irish ecclesiastical art was slowly but gradually advancing in the way of progress, on sure and certain lines. I have perceived many traces of this progress, even in the smallest and least known of the numberless churches and oratories which cover the face of our country. Take, for instance, one familiar example, amongst many, which occurs to me at this moment, in the now ruined and ivy-grown church of Kilmolash, in the county Waterford, on the banks of the

¹ In this choir, which was evidently planned by masons thoroughly acquainted with the southern European style—having worked in Portugal at the Abbey of Batalha, under Bishop William Hackett, of Kilkenny, *circa* A.D. 1465, there is a ‘sedilia’ which—so dense the ignorance respecting such matters—has been the subject of violent discussions between Irish archaeologists in past years, some asserting that it was a tomb, others that it was not, all seemingly unaware of its being simply the seat for the use of the ministers at the altar.

Finisk river. In this small but interesting edifice I can trace the progress of architectural knowledge and taste from the close of the sixth up to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Herein I have found decided signs of the 'iconostasis' or chancel-screen which separated the sanctuary from the nave, as in the Greek Church even to the present day; the aumbries, or deep square receptacles in the walls near where the altars were placed, and in the western façade, there is a late pointed doorway, of which the mouldings are of a distinctly flamboyant type, showing how the later builders were imbued with the taste then prevailing in the rest of Europe. I could multiply such instances.¹ My reason for now citing this one, is to demonstrate how the Irish ecclesiologists and architects of that day were progressing towards a style which, if it had not been rudely interrupted by civil and religious warfare, would have led to a development of architecture in Ireland, destined to produce works that would have been, doubtless, a glory to their country.

For, I believe firmly, as the Irish were distinguished not only as illuminators of manuscripts, and workers in metal, but also as builders—as witness Cormac's chapel at Cashel, Kilmalkedar, Aghadoe, and Tuam—long previous to the Norman invasion, so by their Celtic quickness of intellect and their intuitive faculty, especially in the domain of art, they would have attained a high degree of perfection in constructive and decorative work of every description. Many persons object to this theory, that all such artistic forms as are shown in the buildings that I have mentioned, have been importations from Byzantine and other foreign sources. Still, admitting that our Irish types had been, in a great measure, derived from such extraneous sources, I assert that the Celtic mind had modified, in a most remarkable degree, the leading characteristics of such imported models, so as to make them 'racy of the soil,' and full of

¹ There is a charming specimen of late work, most probably designed and erected by Bishop Hackett, in the shape of a small pointed arched doorway, carved in limestone, with profiles admirably adapted to the material, now standing in the outer wall of Kilkenny cathedral.

that quaint beauty which displays itself, to the admiration of civilized Europe, in the graceful curves of its manuscripts and of its goldsmiths' works.

In submitting these preliminary remarks to the readers of the *I. E. RECORD*, I am desirous of reviving in Ireland, and especially amongst the clergy and educated laity, the spirit of research into the past artistic story of our old churches, leaving aside for the moment their purely historic and archaeological aspects; and seeing whether we, in this day of revival, cannot take hold again of the golden cord of artistic tradition and of Catholic ritual in its fulness, which may lead us through the chaotic labyrinth of the misnamed—in so many cases—ecclesiastical art of the present day in our land.

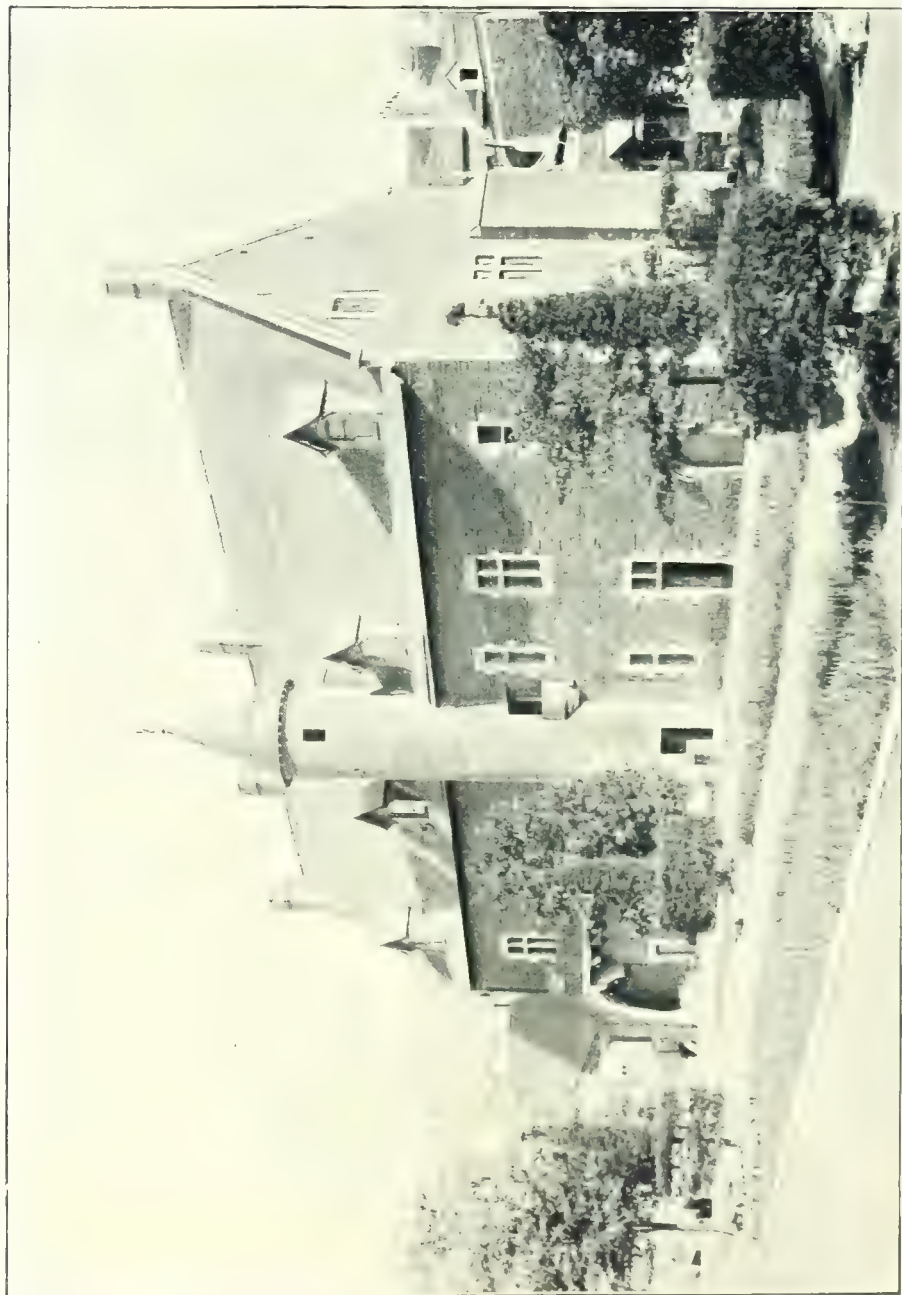
Instead of the depressing silence which now broods over all such studies in this country, I wish to see intelligent criticism evoked and used fearlessly and pitilessly as regards all the buildings, furniture, and other objects employed in the services of the Church. Public interest must be awakened to the absolute necessity of restoring the art forms which were thrown aside at an unfortunate period, and which drifted away from men's memories, during the dark days of wars, rebellions, and penal laws which so long prevailed in this unhappy island. We see our neighbours, in England as well as in Belgium, fully awake to the consciousness that the 'talking about,' and the 'writing on' ecclesiology, as a sort of pseudo-science, does not avail much in a practical way in these practical days; but that the results of the investigations and the knowledge acquired during this last half century, must be brought to bear on artistic productions, for the use of the Church in our times.

We are too near the twentieth century to be any longer producing merely 'correct' copies of 'correct' churches and cathedrals, *à la Pugin* type. Without pursuing the 'Will-o'-the-Wisp' idea of a bran-new architectural style, our English and Belgian ecclesiological friends are beginning to discover by degrees that a real architectural style is being developed out of the elements of

preceding centuries, which show that it is a worthy product of these latter days, and is admirably adapted to the needs of the present time, as we see in the works of learned ecclesiologists, such as the late John Sedding, Pearson, Bodely, Caroë, Delacenserie, Bethune, and many more of the band of gallant workers who with hand and brain, pencil and pen, hammer and chisel, are delivering us from the thralldom of the cold, cast-iron forms, and inept traditions which still prevail throughout Ireland, in all their 'out-of-date,' and painfully 'correct' reproductions of the thirteenth century Cistercian churches, and Hiberno-Lombardic chapels, mostly all derived from French sources, without the slightest attempt to show that the buildings belong to the present day, and are not merely clever archæological puzzles, to be both wondered and smiled at by succeeding generations of educated Irish people.

I shall endeavour, if I receive the hospitality of the pages of the I. E. RECORD, to show what a pressing need there is for a diffusion of ecclesiological knowledge among the clergy and laity of Ireland, and especially for the practical teaching of such knowledge in colleges and seminaries, as has been organized for more than thirty years past by the well-known Professor Reusens, in the Catholic University of Louvain, of which course a most admirable *resumé* has lately been published.

MICHAEL J. C. BUCKLEY, M.R.S.A.I.



THE IRISH COLLEGE AT NANTES.

IRISH EXILES IN BRITTANY

IV.

THE storms that swept over the Irish Church in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries should, humanly speaking, have destroyed every vestige of the ancient faith in the land. Bishops were proscribed and banished, priests were hunted, altars overthrown, and on their ruins another *cultus* had been raised which, in any other country, might have become in popular esteem the national religion. There seemed no hope left for the faith of our fathers. The prelates were gone; the ministry of the priests who stayed with their stricken flocks was accomplished only at the cost of a heroism which could never be the normal condition of any Church; and for the future there appeared but little chance that with the years better things might come. Irish politics at this juncture had become hopelessly Anglicized, and the fortunes of the country no longer rested on 'native swords and native ranks,' but found their only support in the precarious honour of a royal house which certainly does not live in history for its fealty to principle or friends. So that the actual state of the Church in Ireland, bad as it was, yet might have issued in a condition of things still worse, if some plan had not been found to fill up the decimated ranks of the clergy by others who were able to hand on unquenched to another generation the flickering lamp of the national faith. In point of fact, this work was done, and well done; and nothing in our annals more splendidly attests the superb tenacity of the national conscience to the Catholic faith than the army of youths who for over a hundred years had sought in foreign lands the training and the learning needed in every age for those who should bear the burden of the Christian priesthood. They left home at a tender age, ran all the risks of travel by sea and land, at that time infested by the enemies of their mission abroad; and all this that they might be buried, in the flower of their age, in an

obscure corner of some foreign city, and so grow worthy of their future work, whose highest crown would be martyrdom, and which, in any event, was sure to be accompanied in its course by every species of privation and suffering. I think this picture has no counterpart in history, and enough has scarcely been done to put it in its right relief before the students of our national annals. Travelling was not then the luxury it has since become; the mystery of time and distance had not then been solved as it has been for us; and the weary vigils of our scholars abroad, in the eighteenth century, had little of the solace which very easily comes to modern exiles. They were cut off absolutely from their people, and every day might easily have imagined that ruin had, at length, reached their homes through the incidence of the incessant wars and persecutions of the time. This alone must have been a terrible accompaniment to the years of study and prayer which should elapse before they too might take part in the struggle, and taste all the bitter fortunes of war. One cannot imagine any human motive for this voluntary torture. It could not be love of letters, for these might be had at home at a certain price; nor mere love of country, for this would hardly place them in a position so little likely to further state interests; so that we are compelled to hold that perfect loyalty to God and His Church alone explains the generous sacrifice of home, and youth, and pleasure made by so many Irishmen in the past, in order that they might prepare their hearts and minds for the duty of ministering, in dark and evil days, to the spiritual needs of their suffering country.

It renders the history of the Irish exiles in Brittany still more interesting, and fully typical of the times, that a seminary for their use was established at Nantes, whose constitutions and various fortunes can be fully followed from its earliest moments to its final close. It will be the scope of this chapter to deal with this foundation, and, happily, I have under my hands the documents necessary to sustain the narrative.

I had not been in Nantes but one day when I heard of the Rue des Irlandais, and of the buildings that still evidence

the presence of our countrymen in the city. This fact first suggested to me the idea of compiling these notes, and awakened my interest in gathering the details of the Irish colony here. The site of the seminary is still occupied by a noble pile of buildings, some of which were in actual possession of the exiles, while others have been since added, and now serve for municipal uses. What remains of the older buildings is marked by a very beautiful, if severe, style of architecture, and the halls and refectory witness to the elaborate scale of the foundation. The new section is a superb structure, crowned by a square tower, which goes by the name of 'La Tour des Irlandais,' and admirably serves to perpetuate the memory of those whose residence there gave a peculiar mark to the neighbourhood. It is of interest to know that the Irish museum, now kept in another part of the city, will eventually rest within these buildings, and so permanently unite all the evidence which proves the presence of Irish footsteps in the historic strata of Nantes.

The first form of this foundation was rather that of an hospice than of a seminary. The necessity for such an institution arose from the peculiar circumstances which arose towards the close of the seventeenth century, when Nantes was crowded by numbers of Irish ecclesiastics, without employment and without means. In the course of time some were enabled to undertake ministerial functions, and became more or less incorporated with the diocesan clergy; others, however, were not so happily circumstanced, and became a source of anxiety to the authorities. It is said that some of them laid aside the ecclesiastical dress, and sought their livelihood in purely secular pursuits. I have no means to determine what proportion of the exiled priests fell so far below the level of their state of life, but I believe it cannot have been very large. The greater number either assisted the local clergy or else opened schools, and so solved the most urgent problem of life. It is said that these schools were not notably successful. They had often to open their doors to students who had been rejected from other academies, and this element did not raise the tone either of study or discipline. At length the disorder became

so extreme that the University¹ intervened, and revoked the licence for teaching, so that the exiles were once more without occupation, and the diocese face to face with the problem of making provision for their needs. At this crisis the authorities determined that the best and only means of meeting the difficulties of the situation was the establishment of a hospice, where the Irish priests might enjoy the security of community life, and where responsible superiors could exact discipline, and enforce a rule whose sanction would be immediate and personal.

This community was founded by the Rev. Dr. Ambrose Madden, of the diocese of Clonfert, and the Rev. Dr. Edward Flannery, of Waterford.² Its first quarters were in the Rue de la Paume, now the Rue du Chapeau-Rouge,³ and here the society remained for about five years. The date of the foundation was about 1689, when the Irish element was very strong in the city owing to the arrival of the Jacobites, who sought in great numbers asylum in France after the defeat of their cause. Their stay in this place extended over five years, and as far as I can gather was not marked by any incident of note. At the close of this period an opportunity of better quarters was given them by the vacation of the Manoir de la Touche by the religious congregation who had been some time in residence there, and to this noble residence the exiles passed in 1694. This good fortune came to them through the generosity of the Bishop of Nantes, Monseigneur Gilles de Beauveau, who showed himself peculiarly favourable to our countrymen. Their new house was a place of distinguished souvenirs, and had been occupied by the dukes of Brittany.⁴ Later on it served as the episcopal palace⁵ for a lengthened period. Its position is one of the best in the city, as it is high up the slope from the river on which the city is mainly built, and it touches the very heart of the most populous quarters. A

¹ *Instruction publique*. Par L. Maitre, p. 167.

² Sir James Ware, *Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 255.

³ Guimar, *Annales*, p. 476.

⁴ Jean v y était mort, le mercredi 29 août, 1142. Ogée, *Dict. de Bretagne*.

⁵ *Archives du Chapitre*.

fine garden is attached to the property, and this rendered it still more suitable for the purposes of a seminary. There is no question that if the city was searched, even now, a more desirable site could hardly be found ; and so the exiles had one more solid reason to bless the generosity of their princely benefactors.

The contract between the Irish priests and the bishop was signed on May 5, 1695 ; but the consent of the Chapter was not given until January 23, 1697. The document in which the canons consented to the transfer is worth giving here, as it shows quite a sharp business spirit, and clearly describes the condition of the property :—

Messieurs Barrin, chantre, et Daniel, tous deux chanoines, députés pour voir les batiments de la maison du bois de la Touche, et les espaces de terre que Mons. l'Evêque de Nantes a affeagés à la communauté des prestres hibernois, établie en cette ville, ont fait rapport que par l'information qu'ils ont fait, sur les lieux, ils ont connu que lesdites choses affeagés ne valloient de revenu annuel que la somme de cent cinquante livres portée par l'acte d'afféagement, que lesdits prestres hibernois se sont obligé de payer, par an, de rente feodale. Outre que les batiments sont sujets à de grosses réparations qui en doivent notablement diminuer le prix, desquelles ladite communauté les doit entretenir ; mesme y pourra faire des augmentations ; qu'ainsi ledit afféagement est profitable audit Seigneur Evêque et à ses successeurs.

Après quoy, le chapitre délibérant a consenti pour son interest que ledit afféagement subsiste en la forme et teneur de l'acte rapporté par Pesneau et Alexandre, Notaires Royaux, le 5^e Mars, 1697.

Mercredy, 23 Janvier, 1697.¹

The work of reparation was at once begun, and such disposition of the manoir was made as rendered it suitable to its new occupants. Sir James Ware² tells us that the chapel was restored, and gives as a particular fact, that a statue of St. Gabriel, to whom it was dedicated, was placed over the high altar. He further states, that the archangel was represented with his wings outspread over the figure of a youth ; and in this we may see the symbol of the objects of the foundation.

¹ *Archives du Chapitre de Nantes.*

² *Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 255.

Such was the material structure that should give asylum to the outcast priests. One should have said that those for whom it was established would have taken the shortest route to its hospitable doors, and eagerly entered into the possession of a calm and regular life. Will it be believed that it turned out quite otherwise? The house was open and ready, but the guests were in no haste to come. Some, whose love of study and observance made a life of routine and work a source of delight, eagerly accepted the proffered hospitality; but they were comparatively few. The greater number, who were probably among those who had felt 'the weight of too much liberty,' were in no haste to narrow themselves to this 'scanty plot of ground,' and, resisting all ordinances and inducements, somehow managed to continue a life which must have been, at times, a heavy burden to carry. Owing to these causes the hospice had at first but little success, and a quarter of a century had passed before the community could be said to be seriously established. This was at last effected through the vigorous action of the bishop, who put an end to what seems to have been a period of license and disorder by the issue, in 1725, of the following ordinance:—

Christopher-Louis Turpin Crissé de Sausay par le miséricorde le Dieu . . . à tous les Doyens, Recteurs, Curés ou Vicaires de notre diocèse, Salut et Bénédiction.

Il nous a été représenté que plusieurs prêtres et ecclésiastiques Irlandois, ne demeurent pas dans la communauté qui a été établie pour les former aux fonctions de leur ministère; et se privent ainsi des avantages que nos Prédecesseurs ont eu dessein de leur procurer par un si sage érection; et que, par une suite comme nécessaire, ils se trouvent exposés à tous les dangers qui sont inséparables de la dissipation et de l'oisiveté.

C'est pour y remédier efficacement que nous avons résolu de les rassembler en communauté, et que nous allons incessamment donner nos ordres pour l'arrangement de la maison qui leur est destinée et leur procurer une honnête subsistance. Nous espérons que la piété des Fidèles qui vous aident si libéralement dans les autres œuvres de charité, nous secondera dans celle-ci, d'autant plus volontiers qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement de pourvoir aux besoins des ministres de Jesus-Christ, mais encore à ceux de l'église; puisque ces Prêtres instruits par nos soins des devoirs de leur état et affermis dans les pratiques, les maximes et les

principes de notre sainte religion, seront en état, lorsqu'ils sont rappelés dans leur Patrie d'y confirmer dans la foi ceux de leurs Frères qui ont été assez heureux pour la conserver dans sa pureté ; et de faire rentrer dans le sein de l'église Romaine ceux que le schisme et l'Hérésie en ont retranché.¹

À ces causes Nous ordonnons.

1. A tous les Prêtres et Ecclesiastiques Séculiers Irlandois qui sont, ou qui seront dans la suite, dans notre diocèse de ne faire leur demeure ailleurs que dans la maison que leur est destinée et s'y retirer au plus tard au premier Janvier prochain.

2. Leur défendons, sous peine de suspense encourue par le seul fait, de dire la Messe dans notre diocèse ni d'exercer aucunes fonctions de leurs ordres, ledit jour passé, sans une permission par écrit de nous, ou de nos Grands-Vicaires.

3. Declarons que nous n'accorderons ladite permission qu'à ceux qui demeureront dans ladite communauté et qui nous rapporteront un certificat de capacité et de bonne conduite du Préfet que nous avons établi pour le Gouverner : lequel nous chargeons de faire observer le réglemeut que nous avons dressé pour le bon ordre de cette maison, sans qu'il lui soit permis d'y rien changer que de notre consentement.

4. Voulons que les permissions que Nous leur accorderons pour dire la Messe dans la chapelle dite de Bon-Secours ou autres églises ou chapelles de notre Diocèse, ne puisse valoir que pour six mois ; lequel temps expiré leur défendons sous les mêmes peines de suspense *ipso facto* de s'en servir, qu'ils n'en aient obtenu de Nous la rénovation, en Nous représentant une nouvelle attestation du Prefet.

5. Leur défendons de quitter ladite communauté pour servir dans les paroisses ou chapelles domestiques sans une permission par écrit dudit Préfet, qui ne s'accordera que rarement et pour un mois tout au plus.

From the three following sections of this severe regulation we learn that other foreign ecclesiastics lived in Nantes at this period, for whom special ordinances had also to be made. As their affairs do not come within our scope, we pass on to the paragraphs that affect the affairs of our people :—

9. Révoquons toutes les permissions de dire la Messe qui auroient été ci-devant accordées ausdits Prêtres Irlandois, ou autres étrangers et leur défendons sous les mêmes peines de s'en servir, ledit terme premier Janvier expiré.

¹ From this passage it is evident that the foundation was essentially a seminary where provision was made for the training of Irish missionaries for home work.

10. A l'égard des Prêtres étrangers, même les Irlandois qui viendront à l'avenir dans notre Diocèse, nous accordons huit jours à ceux qui ne retireront pas l'honoraire de leur Messe, pendant lequel temps ils pourront dire la Messe dans notre Diocèse ; et le sudit terme expiré, leur défendons, sous la même peine de la célébrer, sans notre permission ou celle de nos Grands-Vicaires.

11. Nous n'entendons néanmoins comprendre dans notre présente ordonnance, les Prêtres Etrangers, même les Irlandois qui auroient quelque titre ecclésiastique dans notre Diocèse, ou quelque emploi, approuvé de nous ou qui demeureroient dans Notre Grand et petit Séminaire.

Enjoignons à Notre Promoteur de tenir la main à l'exécution de notre présente Ordonnance que nous voulons être lue et publiée aux Prônes des Paroisses et affichée dans les Sacristies, et partout où besoin sera, afin que personne n'en ignore.

Donné à Nantes, dans notre Palais Episcopal, ce 29 Novembre 1725.

(Signé)

✠ CHRISTOPHE-L'EVEQUE DE NANTES.

Par Em. de Mgr. :

M. BRULE, prêtre, Ch. Sec.¹

We are assured that this ordinance was carried out in all its details by the authorities of the diocese. First of all, the building was set in order, and rendered suitable for the reception of a large number of occupants. The resources needed for this work were, no doubt, in some degree, supplied by the generosity of the faithful, to whom the bishop had made such a strong appeal ; but in some measure, at least, the expenses were also defrayed by funds in the possession of the exiles themselves, as we find testified in a contemporary document.² In 1727-1728 new buildings were added, and the whole seemed a large and commodious establishment. We are told that the seminary contained a common-room, lecture-rooms for the classes in theology and philosophy, a refectory, with ten tables ; four apartments for the professors, and seventy-two cells for the students.

¹ *Statuts et ord. de Mgr. Turpin*, 1745, p. 145.

² *Decl. biens du Clergé*, n. 7, Nantes.

From this it will be seen that, at length, the Irish seminary in Nantes was well under way and satisfactorily equipped, at least materially, for its beneficent and patriotic mission.

The years immediately following were not marked by any incident of note ; indeed, they have left, so far as I can gather, absolutely no trace of themselves upon the records of the time. This, however, should not occasion surprise ; as the very nature of the foundation, in its initial stages, should lead us to expect a very quiet and hum-drum character in all its affairs. It was simply a rendezvous for the poor exiled priests, whose principal concern must have been to find the means to sustain themselves in their new home. It would be unreasonable to look for intellectual output from such a society of worn-out veterans, whose enthusiasm for study and literary pursuits can hardly have survived the stress of the careers they had hitherto been forced to follow. The fact is that no work of any kind remains to give a clue to their character or talents ; there is no list even of those who came into residence after the bishop's mandate ; and for twenty years absolute silence broods over the history of the place.

Towards the year 1745 the *Annuaire* of the diocese begins to give evidence of the presence of Irish priests in Nantes. In the list of university doctors there occurs, in that year, the unmistakable Irish patronymic, Donnellan, which appears again in 1748. In 1751 he is mentioned among the officials of the diocese as Promoter and Doctor in the Faculty of Theology, and with him the singular name of Hargadane (?), who is credited with being Vicar-General of Tuam, in Ireland. In this year also I find the name Mac-hugo, who is given as belonging to the Irish foundation. In 1752 these three names again occur. In 1755 the superior of the Irish foundation is given as M. O'Byrne, Doctor of the University, and with him the above-named Hargadane and Mac-hugo. This community remained unchanged for four years, when the name Salver is added, with the quality of Professor of the Faculty of the seminary. These officials continued in office during 1760,

1761-1764, but in 1765 Salver was withdrawn. In 1760 the names are given in this order :—

Sup. M. DANIEL O'BYRNE, University Doctor.

M. DOYHEMIARD (?), Treasurer of the Cathedral, Protonotary Apostolic.

Univ. Docteurs : MAC-HUGO.

O'LOGHLIN.

SHERMANT.

This year marks an epoch in the annals of the house, and deserves special mention, for within it was conceded the charter by which the foundation became a seminary, and was entitled by law to receive students for the Irish mission. The royal letters by which this favour were conceded were granted at the prayer of Father Daniel Byrne, who had been superior from 1755. It would appear from this interesting document that a strong community was for some time in residence at the Manoir de la Touche, and that the immediate reason for demanding the legal status of a seminary was the distance of the house from the diocesan seminary, where evidently studies had hitherto been pursued, and the consequent necessity of having a teaching faculty in residence. It would further seem that the corporate capacity of the institution had not had complete legal acceptance, and needed a royal charter to have the legal right to accept legacies and donations. All these favours were granted by the King, in letters dated 1765, and given at Fontainebleau in the fifty-first year of his reign. It would serve no useful purpose to cite them at their full length ; but some extracts may be of interest, as they illustrate the position of the seminary, and also give us an idea of how such things were done in the France of that day.

The opening sentence puts us *au courant* with the state of the seminary at that time :—

Louis, par le grâce de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre, à tous presens et à venir, salut : notre trer cher et bien-aimé le père Daniel Byrne prestre superieur du Seminaire irlandais de la ville de Nantes nous a fait représenter que le feu roy, Louis XIV. notre tres-honoré seiyneur et bis aieul aurait autorisé l'establisement des prestres irlandais dans plusieurs villes de nôtre royaume et leur avait donné des maisons et differents bien fonds pour

pouvoir s'y soutenir; que plusieurs prestres de la même maison persecutés dans leur parrie à cause de la religion Catholique se seraient refugiés à Nantes en l'année 1695 et eauraient été reçus par les, evesques de cette ville dans une maison nommée bois de la Touche et dependente de l'evêché de Nantes, que ladite maison ou ces prestres ont vecu dabord en communauté a été erigée ensuite en seminaire où ils sont actuellement pres de soixante; que leurs principales fonctions consistent dans la desserte de plusieurs paroisses où ils exercent avec beaucoup de zèle les fonctions du St. Ministère: qu'ils sont encore employés en qualité d'aumoniers dans les hospitaux, sur nos vaisseaux, sur ceux de la compagnie des Indes, et sur les navires marchands; mais comme leur etablissement n'a pas été par nous encore autorisé et par cette raison il n'a pu jusqu'à present estre pourvu à sa dotation, l'exposant nous a fait tres humblement fait supplier de vouloir bien approuver et confirmer par lettres patentes ledit seminaire, ensemble de lui permettre de recevoir et d'acquérir par dons, legs et donatives, etc.

From this it would appear that the authorization hitherto given was purely local, and came altogether from the bishops of Nantes. It would also seem to follow, from the words cited, that the students and priests came to France, not with the intention of returning home after their ordination, but with the purpose of permanently settling down in the ministry abroad. This is a point worth noting, especially in reference to the further disposition now made by the King, and more clearly still stated by the local authorities. The letter goes on to say:—

(Nous) Permettons en outre au dit sieur évesque de Nantes de faire del reglement qu'il jugera convenable tant pour le spirituel que pour le temporel dudit seminaire ou la philosophie de même que la theologie pourra estre enseignée par des professeurs de la nation irlandaise, accordons à cet effet aux etudiants la faculté de prendre leurs degrés dans l'université de Nantes en subissant les examens et soutenant les theses ordinaires, sans toutefois que nos présentes lettres puissent prejudicier ou porter atteinte aux droits des evesques de Nantes et à ceux de l'université de la dite ville.

From these passages we may gather that the national character of the foundation became more emphasized, as it is laid down as a condition that the professors be of Irish birth, in view evidently of the real scope of the College, which was to prepare priests for the work of the sanctuary

in Ireland. By this document, too, we learn that the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Nantes was supreme in the community, and consequently to them we must trace the selection of the superiors and the appointment of the staff. In this the seminary differed from all such establishments now in existence, whose affairs, I believe, are invariably directed by the hierarchy at home.

Before the privileges conceded by the King could be actually enjoyed, the letters patent had to be submitted to the local authorities; the permission of the University had to be obtained for the institution of the new teaching faculty; and ultimately the Breton Parliament had to sanction the whole proceeding. From the action of the University authorities we can see how extensive their powers were. They would seem to have not alone the right to rule their institute proper, but to have had territorial jurisdiction with respect to all educational work. They took the question of the Irish seminary into consideration at a meeting held in Nantes, on May 20, 1766, and laid down with great precision the conditions which should qualify the powers granted by the royal authority. First of all, they lay down that no derogation of the rights of their corporation can be permitted, for to them, they hold, 'the care and supervision of studies have been confided by the laws of Church and State.'¹ Then they proceed to determine exactly the character and nationality of those who should be members of the new school, and accord the right of affiliation only to students of Irish birth who wish to prepare for the Irish mission, and who are bound to return home on the completion of their studies.² For such they permit that—

The school which is to be established in the community of Irish priests, situated in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the city of

¹ Sans qu'il soit néanmoins porté aucune atteinte aux droits de ladite université à qui le soin et l'inspection des études sont spécialement confiées par les lois de l'église et de l'état. (*Registres des délibérations de l'université de Nantes.*)

² L'université voulant, d'un côté, procurer aux prestres Irlandais la faculté de s'instruire et de s'acquérir les connoissances qui puissent les mettre en état de travailler dans la suite au progrès de la religion catholique dans leur patrie en laquelle ils sont tenus de retourner aussi tost après leurs études (*Registres des délibérations de l'université de Nantes, 20 Mai, 1766.*)

Nantes, should become a school of the University, with the view of granting to the students of philosophy and theology the right of taking the degrees of the University.¹

These concessions were, however, qualified by the following conditions, which go to show how rigid was the supervision of schools at this period, and how jealous the corporations of the learned were of giving others any part in their prerogatives. The extract is, I fear, somewhat long, but it will interest all who are concerned with the history of educational methods.

In the University registers already quoted I find the following regulations :—

À l'effet que les étudiants de ladite ecole tant de philosophie que de theologie puissent prendre des grades dans ladite université aux conditions suivantes :

PRIMO

Ladite ecole tant de philosophie que de theologie ne sera que pour les seuls ecclesiastiques venus d'Irlande et des isles Britaniques en France pour y faire leurs études et demeurant dans ladite communauté sans qu' aucuns externes de quelque pays, nom ou qualité qu'ils soient, même Irlandais, puissent prendre des leçons dans ladite ecole.

SECUNDO

Leurs deux professeurs de philosophie et de theologie de la dite ecole se feront recevoir maitres es arts, en subissant les examens ordinaires avant de commencer leurs leçons, et ils presenteront leurs lettres de maitres es arts et leurs mandemens de professeurs à la faculté des arts que le doyen fera assembler à cet effet, indiquant aux dits professeurs le jour et l'heure de ladite assemblée.

TERTIO

Les professeurs de theologie qui ne peuvent pas être plus de deux à la fois seront au moins Bacheliers en theologie avant de commencer le cours de leurs leçons ; ils seront tenus en outre de prendre le bonnet de docteur en theologie dans ladite université au moins dans l'espace de trois années, en soutenant les theses et autres actes que les bacheliers ordinaires sont obligées de soutenir sans que leurs qualités de professeurs puissent les en exempter ; et ils presenteront à la faculté de theologie la mandement qu'ils auront eu de leur supérieur pour professer suivant l'usage des autres professeurs de theologie.

¹ *Registers des deliberations de l'université de Nantes.*

QUARTO

Les dits professeurs de philosophie et de theologie commenceront leurs cours de leçons à l'ouverture des ecoles de l'université et ils ne finiront pas avant la clôture des cours academiques de ladite université; les dits professeurs donneront aux syndics des facultés de philosophie et de theologie à l'ouverture des ecoles les noms de leurs ecoliers,

QUINTO

Les dits professeurs de theologie et de philosophie auront soin de faire soutenir, chaque année au moins, à quelq'un de leurs ecoliers des actes et thèses publiques en leur maison et communauté; et ils seront tenus de faire examiner et indiquer leurs thèses encore bien qu'elles ne soient pas destinées à l'impression, scavoir, les thèses de philosophie par le syndic de la faculté des arts et leurs theses de theologie par le syndic de la faculté de theologie, suivant l'usage et l'arrest de la cour du vingt-deux aoust mil sept cent cinquante neuf; et les professeurs avant de soutenir se presenteront devant le Recteur de l'université pour qu'il leur prescrive le jour et heure convenable des theses, afin que le dit sieur Recteur y assiste si bon lui semble conformement audit arrest; les dits actes et thèses s'ils sont imprimés le seront par l'imprimeur de l'université.

SEXTO

A chaque prima mensis d'aoust les dits professeurs se presenteront à la faculté de theologie suivant l'usage des autres professeurs pour lui indiquer les traittes qu'ils se proposeront de donner à leurs ecoliers dans le cour de l'année suivante, et la faculté veillera à ce qu'ils enseignent à leurs dits ecoliers les traittes et matières les plus utiles et les plus convenables; et pour qui est de la philosophie les professeurs enseigneront à leurs ecoliers les differentes parties de la philosophie suivant l'usage dans le cours des deux années.

SEPTIMO

Les dits professeurs de theologie enseigneront à leurs ecoliers les quatre propositions du clergé de France de mil six cent quatre vingt deux et les leur feront soutenir dans les thèses suivant que les matières les demanderont, et ceux de leurs ecoliers qui voudront prendre des grades en la faculté de theologie seront de soutenir obligés leurs actes pour les dits grades dans la salle ordinaire de la faculté.¹

¹ This article shows what a high price our students paid for the privileges accorded to them. We may easily imagine that the sturdy Irish faith of many of them revolted against the doctrine they found themselves forced to defend. This article is of further interest to those who study the history and development of theology in the Irish Church, and gives a clue to some peculiar opinions held by some Irish Churchmen far into the course of the present century.

OCTAVO

Les écoliers qui après leurs cours de philosophie voudront se faire recevoir maîtres es arts se présenteront à la faculté des arts pour estre examinés comme le sont les étudiants de la philosophie, après quoi ils assisteront à l'inauguration solennelle de la Magdeleine pour y recevoir le bonnet de maître es art suivant l'usage

NONO

En quelque nombre que soient les docteurs Irlandais Anglais ou Ecossois en la faculté de theologie, il ny aura jamais que les deux professeurs en theologie et exerçant actuellement et reçus docteurs, comme il est dit cy dessus, à avoir voix et suffrage dans les assemblées et actes tant de la faculté que de l'université sans qu'ils puissent estre suppliés ; et quand aux assemblées de l'université qui seront de ceremonies publiques, les autres docteurs pourrnt y assister sans pouvoir deliberer ayant été reçus gratis.

DECIMO

Les gradués et docteurs Irlandais se conformeront au surplus à tous les reglemens de l'université et des facultés cy devant faits à leur regard en ce qui ne se trouvera point du contraire aux presentes conditions notamment au sujet du decanat et rectorat.

Il a encore été arrêté et enoncé par Monsieur le Recteur qu'une copie de la presente sera delivrée au Sieur O'Byrne et une autre envoyée à Monsieur le Procureur General du parlement et que les lettres patentes, arrest de la cour et requeste dont il s'agit seront enregistrées sur le livre des deliberations pour y avoir recours au besoin.

Signé

BONNAMY, Pr. General.

Such were the constitutions of this university college of the eighteenth century, and no one can doubt the ability and precision with which they were framed. They were at once accepted by the Parliament, which added scarcely a word to them, except to emphasize still more that the foundation was for Irish students, and no others, and that its sole *raison d'être* was the preparation of priests for the mission in Ireland, whither they were bound to return on the completion of their college course. They repeat the order of the University with respect to the local colour of the theology to be taught in the new seminary, and they ordain that nothing be taught 'de contraire aux libertés de

l'église Gallicane, surtout à la déclaration de 1682.'¹ They further confirmed a clause in the royal letters by which the Irish Seminary was entitled to receive donations and bequests, and they agreed also to the suppression of the priory of St. Crispin, in the diocese of Nantes, which was held by the president as a personal appanage, but which henceforward was to belong to the Seminary in its corporate capacity. All these facts and privileges were registered in the Bureau of the Breton Parliament, on 14th August, 1766.²

Having given at such length the conditions of studies and tenure of the Seminary, we may now resume the annals of the house. In 1767 the *personnel* remained unchanged, except that a new member joined the faculty as professor. His name is given as Dr. Picamilli, which certainly does not savour of Ireland. There was then no change until 1769, when Dr. O'Donoghue came into residence. This community continues until 1777, when the *Annuaire* gives the list of priests as follows :—

	Superior, M. DANIEL O'BYRNE.
Univ. Docteurs :	MacHUGO en Irlande.
	O'LOGHLIN ,,
	SHENANT ,,
	DONOGHUE ,,
	O'FALON Professeur de faculté aux Irlandais.
	O'FLINN Professeur de Philosophie aux Irlandais.

In 1778 we find Father O'Falon absent, and in 1779 Father O'Connor comes into view. In 1780 the position of president is marked *vacat*, and here Father Daniel O'Byrne falls out of the annals of the place; for on December 18, 1778, I find the following record :—

V. et D. O'Byrne, prêtre supérieur du Séminaire des Irlandais de Nantes où il est mort.

I am sorry I cannot give any particulars of the birth or lineage of this distinguished man. The details concerning his personal character can only be deduced from the public

¹ *Archives Curieuses de la Ville de Nantes.* Par F. J. Verger, tome iii., p. 212.

² *Registres de la Chambre des Comptes de Bretagne.*

acts associated with his name. That he was a man of ability is evidenced by his academic distinction, and his tact and energy are clearly shown by his success in the difficult work of obtaining the royal charter for his college. I should be glad to fix the diocese that gave the Irish exiles in Brittany such a distinguished leader; but the absolute dearth of evidence hinders me giving any opinion which would avail more than the merest conjecture in settling the question. Perhaps some documents may be found in Ireland that can throw some light upon his early days; but I am safe in saying there are none such in Nantes. I cannot even determine the place of his burial, and must be content to breathe a prayer that he may rest well in his nameless foreign grave.

The members of the community for 1780 are given in this form in the *Annuaire* :—

(Super. (vacat))

Univ. Docteurs : O'LOGHLIN en Irlande.

SHENANT „

O'DONOGHUE „

O'FLINN Professeur de la faculté aux Irlandais.

O'CONNOR Vicaire de la Marne.

JEAN WALSH en Irlande.

This is the first mention of the name Walsh in connection with the Seminary, but it afterwards occurs every year until the revolution. In 1781 the list reads :—

Superior, Monsieur WALSH.

Univ. Docteur : O'LOGHLIN en Irlande.

SHENANT „

DONOGHUE „

O'FLINN professeur de la faculté aux Irlandais.

JEAN WALSH en Irlande.

J. B. WALSH ¹ Docteur de la Faculté de Paris
agregé à cette de Nantes, Supérieur de
Séminaire des Irlandais

¹ This very distinguished man was not a native of Ireland, but came of Irish ancestry. His family reached Nantes with James II, and were noted for their fealty to the royal cause. They became nobles of France, and settled at the Chateau of Serrant, in Anjou. They, perhaps, were the best known of

In 1782 the same names occur, with the addition of these others :—

O'REARDON en Irlande.
GRANGER Irlandais.

In 1783 a very interesting list is given, which throws some light upon the antecedents of the members of the community. They reached this year the largest number yet recorded, and are given in this way :—

Superior, M. WALSH.

Univ. Docteurs : O'LOGHLIN Archediacre de Killaloe en Irlande.
SHENAN Vicaire de Kilfenora „
O'DONOGHUE Recteur de Birr „
O'FLYNN Professor de la faculté aux Irlandais.
O'CONOR Aumonier du Regiment du Maire.
JEAN WALSH Vicaire de Couna (?) en Irlande.
WALSH docteur comme en 1681.
LOUIS WALSH Vicaire de Ross en Irlande.
STAPLETON Procureur du Seminaire.
GRANGER Professeur dudit Seminaire.
O'RIORDAN en Irlande.

From this it follows that many members of the house were not in residence, but retained their rights in it even after they had returned home, and entered upon the work of their dioceses. From the important charges confided to them by their ordinaries we may conclude that the discipline and schools of Nantes were successful in moulding worthily the characters and talents of the men confided to their care. The year following¹ the list remains unchanged, except that Father Coyle is added, with his residence given as at Rome. In 1787 the new president is given as Monsieur

the Irish exiles, and have won great distinction from the brilliant writers they have given to France during the past two centuries. When about to undertake my researches in the archives and libraries of the city, I had some doubt as to whether I should receive all the help I needed, but was assured by a member of the *Conseil Général* of the department that my name would be an 'open sesame' to all the archæological treasures of the city.

¹ At this period the Superioress of the Hôtel Dieu of the city is given in the *Annuaire* as Madame Walsh, who must have been of Irish birth or extraction.

O'Byrne, and with him the following doctors of the University:—

O'LOGHLIN ut supra.
 SHENAN "
 O'DONOGHUE "
 O'FLYN à Aigrefeuille.
 O'CONNOR ut supra.
 JEAN WALSH "
 LOUIS WALSH "
 J. B. WALSH docteur de la faculté de Paris
 aggrégé à cette de Nantes, a chateau de
 Serrant.
 O'RIORDAN en Irlande.
 GRANGER "
 STAPLELON "
 COYLE "

The new president was an *alumnus* of the college which he was now to rule. He was born, in 1757, of respectable parents, in the parish of Clonfeacle, county Tyrone, and at the close of his classical studies came as a student to Nantes. At the close of his course he stood the usual tests of the University, and, having made all the acts according to the charter, was declared doctor of divinity, *en Sorbonne*. He was afterwards chaplain to the Duc d'Angoulême, and on the occasion of his appointment was presented with a rich set of vestments, which are still, I believe, in the possession of some of his kinsmen in the diocese of Armagh. His term of office in Nantes coincided with stirring times, as we shall see in the sequel.

In 1788 the community remained practically the same, the last in the list for this year being another Dr. O'Byrne, of the Faculty of Paris, who is given as Professor of Theology and Rector of the Irish Seminary. From the records I cannot judge exactly whether this is not the same as the Superior of Nantes, who this year is entitled *grand vicaire d'Armagh*. In 1789, Dr. Walter Walsh is added to the names given in the preceding year; but he is a non-resident member of the community. The house remained practically unchanged during the two succeeding years, and in 1792, for the last time, the community of Irish priests is

given in the *Annuaire* of the province. It consists of the following :—

O'BYRNE (Patrice-Jacques) superieur, docteur en Sorbonne,
Grand Vicaire d'Armagh.

COYLE, prêtre, docteur en theologie,

O'CONNOR " "

O'DONOGHUE " "

STAPLETON " "

WALSH (Gautier) (Jean-Baptiste).

Le Seminaire contient de 70 à 80 seminaristes.

During the year 1792 the fatal tide of the great revolution was flowing at its highest through France, and was fast submerging in its waters every vestige of religious principles. The whole fabric of religion was being sapped to its very foundations, and there seemed no one left to make any worthy resistance to the influences that were openly destroying the true life of France. It is a fact of which we may well feel proud that our countrymen in the Seminary of Nantes did not remain inactive at this supreme crisis. Among the faithless they were faithful found, and through their brave resistance to the principles of those evil days they brought upon themselves the anger of the authorities, who in Nantes, as elsewhere, had already caught the deadly contagion. On July 2, 1792, their action was brought before the Municipal Council, and the following order was issued in their regard :—

Le Conseil ouï ces renseignements, considerant que les prêtres Irlandais, d'après les sentiments qu'ils ont manifestés sur notre glorieuse revolution ne peuvent que concourir par des manœuvres secrètes, conjointement avec les prêtres non-assermentés à executer et entretenir les troubles et le fanatisme; considerant que le local dont ils jouissent est un demembrement du domain national, auquel il doit être réuni; considerant qu'infractions des conditions auxquelles ils ont promis d'être fideles et de se soumettre aux lois civiles et religieuses de l'etat ils ont eux mêmes rompu le traité qui leurs garantissent un asile paisible et les bienfaits d'un peuple libre et genereux; considerant enfin qu'il serait aussi injuste qu'impolitique que la loi qui a frappé les prêtres qui refusent de reconnaître cette souveraineté du peuple n'atteignit pas ceux-ci par ce qu'ils sont étrangers, eux qui veulent méconnaître cette souveraineté qui les protege, le procureur de la commune entendu dans ses conclusions le conseil général est

d'avis que le directoire du département peut et doit exercer à leur égard les mêmes moyens de repression et se resaisir au profit de la nation des biens dont elle leur avait conditionnellement accordé la jouissance.¹

However false the conclusions of the Council may have been, there can be no doubt that their premisses were absolutely true. Further evidence of the spirit prevailing in the Seminary was brought before the authorities in August 23 of the same year,² when it was testified, in public session, that the Masses celebrated by the Irish priests at the Chapel of *Bon Secours* brought together large crowds, which became the occasion of disorder and tumult, such as the authorities were bound to prevent; and in consequence the Irish priests were forbidden to celebrate Mass in the Chapel of *Bon Secours*,³ or in any other except that attached to their residence.

This measure did not suffice to repress the ardour of the exiles, and a further order was made, on September 10, 1792, which took from them what remained of their liberty. In the municipal register for that date I find the following:—

Sur la plainte portée par plusieurs citoyens contre quelques prêtres Irlandais, pour injures et propos très grossiers par eux tenus contre la garde national, le Conseil charge de Procureur de la Commune de leur notifier l'ordre qui leur défend de sortir de leur maison et de vaguer dans les rues de cette ville sous peine et d'être détenus au chateau, même d'être exportés de la France.⁴

Life had evidently become insupportable under such a regime as this; the reign of terror had at length been realized in all its horrors; and it was only a question of a little time until the last threat should be verified. How the interval was spent in the Seminary, which was now become their prison, I have no document to sustain any surmise;

¹ *Archives Curieuses de la Ville des Nantes*. Par F. J. Verger, tome iii., p. 242.

² *Ibidem*, p. 280.

³ This chapel was near the cathedral, and close by the river; its ruins are yet to be seen. The altar in use during the last century is now in a church at Basse-Goulaine, near Saint-Sebastien. My attention was called by Monsieur Bonamy de la Ville to this interesting relic of our exiled countrymen.

⁴ Verger, tome v., p. 289.

but that strange things must have happened between September, 1792, and April 5, 1793, we may deduce from the following paragraph :—

Les prêtres Irlandais détenus aux Carmélites obtiennent la permission de s'embarquer sur un navire de leur nation, la 'Peggi,' allant à Cork.¹

So ended the story of the Irish Seminary at Nantes. The further fortunes of the returned exiles lie outside the limits of this paper, and I cannot follow them in their subsequent careers. Of the distinguished man who was the last superior I may, however, be allowed to say a word. On his return to Ireland he ruled successively two parishes in his diocese, and then became President of Maynooth, holding this high office for three years, when he resigned. I believe his portrait is still in the National College. He afterwards became Dean and Vicar-General of the primatial see, and died as parish priest of Armagh.

I have given at such great length the history of the Nantes' Seminary because it is the strongest link in the chain that binds Ireland to Brittany. I regret the material under my hands does not enable me to give the narrative any of those personal touches that give life and colour to such a story. I have been able only to give a bare outline of facts which, though of great moment to the purpose I have in view, yet cannot but be, from the nature of the case, very dry reading. The absence of all literary remains on the part of the occupants is remarkable in relation to a college of such eminence; but not a line, so far as I can find, survives to show what manner of men those were who, in their day, attained to such academic distinction. We must suppose that the stress of their daily duties absorbed all their intellectual energies, and left no time for the more enduring work which outlives its author, and grows more precious with the passing of the years.

Perhaps, too, my personal sympathy enters more largely

¹ *Premier registre des deliberations du Comité Central*. Verger, tome v., p 433.

² I rather suspect this Italian name may well have had another and more familiar form; in fact, I believe under this disguise we have the name whose praises Father Prout sang so well.

into this than the other chapters, and in this way I have been led to seek out its details with all possible fulness. With all the exiles I have a fellow-feeling, but with these especially, since within a stone-throw of their home I am engaged in work precisely similar to that to which they devoted their lives.

A. WALSH, O.S.A.

ANOTHER BATCH OF LETTERS

IN August, 1897, this review put into print a few unpublished letters of Cardinal Newman, Father Peter Kenny, S.J., Dr. Kieran of Dundalk, and Dr. Whitehead of Maynooth. The example thus set was meant to be contagious. It may, indeed, in cases that have not come under our notice, have induced some to look over their bundles of old letters; and in two instances it has added to our own store of such documents.

Sir Henry Bellingham, Bart., of Castlebellingham, in County Louth, broke through all the prejudices of his race and class, and entered the Catholic Church about thirty years ago. He married Lady Constance Noel, daughter of another convert, the Earl of Gainsborough, better known, perhaps, by the title which he held at the time of his conversion, Viscount Campden. Ten years ago Mr. Bellingham—as he then was, in the lifetime of his father Sir Allan Bellingham—seems to have mentioned to Cardinal Manning a letter addressed by the latter to Lord Gainsborough, which had come into Mr. Bellingham's possession.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,
January 26th, 1888.

MY DEAR MR. BELLINGHAM,—Your mention of the letter which I did not know to exist, is very interesting to me, and makes me wish to see it. If you will kindly let me have it, it shall be returned to you. Or come here, and let me see it.

Always very truly yours,

✠ HENRY EL., *Card. Archbishop,*

TO HENRY BELLINGHAM, ESQ., M.P.

The following is the letter asked for, written thirty-seven years before, when Archdeacon Manning had just given up his Anglican living :—

44, CADOGAN PLACE,
January 14th, 1851.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Your letter has just reached me. Rumours have already made premature statements of the step you now announce. God grant it may have been His will and guidance. I can never forget the bond which is (I will not say was) between us, and I trust it may never be dissolved.

Since we parted I have been through deep sorrow. My conviction had long been formed that I could not continue to hold on, under oath and subscription; but obedience to others made me wait. When this anti-Roman uproar broke forth, I resolved at once. I could lift no hand in so bad a quarrel, either to defend a Royal Supremacy which has proved itself to be indefensible, or against a supremacy which the Church for six hundred years obeyed. I therefore at once went to the Bishop of Chichester, and requested him to receive my resignation. He was most kind in desiring me to take time; but I, after a few days, wrote my final resignation.

What my human affections have suffered in leaving my only home and flock, where for eighteen years my whole life as a man has been spent, no words can say; but God gave me grace to lay it all at the foot of the Cross, where I am ready, if it be His will, to lay down whatever yet remains to me. Let me have your prayers for light and strength.

May God ever keep you.

With my kindest remembrances to Lady Campden,

Believe me, my dear friend,

Yours very affectionately,

H. E. M.

TO THE VISCOUNT CAMPDEN.

Sir Henry Bellingham, to whose kindness we owe the privilege of printing the preceding letter, published, about twenty years ago, a valuable work on the 'Social Aspects of Catholicism and Protestantism.' Lady Constance Bellingham presented a copy to Dr. Newman. Here is his letter of thanks :—

THE ORATORY,
June 8th, 1878.

DEAR LADY CONSTANCE,—Thank you for your kind and welcome letter and for the gift which it heralded. I am very glad to have a volume on a subject so interesting and at this

time so needing a careful discussion. I have read enough already to understand with great satisfaction that Mr. Bellingham, abstaining from the generalities and assumptions so frequent just now, argues out his points on the basis of an accumulation of facts and of unbiassed and even hostile testimony. I am often asked by Catholics for a book on the subject he has taken, and it is so pleasant to have reason for anticipating that he has supplied so serious a want.

I am, my dear Lady Constance,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

TO LADY CONSTANCE BELLINGHAM.

Nearly ten years later Cardinal Newman wrote the following letter to Sir Henry Bellingham:—

THE ORATORY, BIRMINGHAM,

Feb. 4th, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR,—I thank you very sincerely for your kindness in sending for my perusal the interesting correspondence between the Bishop of Winchester and Canon Wilberforce. I have taken the date of the newspaper in which it occurs, and will bring it before those who are able, and may be willing, to take the subject up. But it is a subject which requires very delicate and exact treatment, and a complete knowledge of the facts of the case.

Speaking under correction, I should say that the High Church, even the 'High and Dry,' have always held, as by a tradition, that the identity of the Anglican Church was not broken at the Reformation. The peculiarity of Ritualists is not this principle, but the introduction of Roman doctrines into their worship, such as the Mass. The Ritualists and High Church agree together in holding the *ante* and *post* identity of the Anglican Church, resting, as they can, on the unlucky fact of its having continued all along in possession. This has been its one note, to the exclusion of the four notes of the Creed. What Ritualism, as well as Tractarianism, has risen up to oppose and rival is not High Churchism, but the Evangelical schools.

My fingers will not write, and a friend has been kind enough to take my pen for me.

Very truly yours,

✠ JOHN H. CARD. NEWMAN.

TO H. BELLINGHAM, Esq.

Another document which the August 'Batch of Letters' was the means of placing in our hands is a long letter which the Very Rev. James Maher, P.P., of Carlow Graigue,

uncle to Cardinal Cullen, sent from Rome to his brother-in-law, Mr. Edmund Cullen, more than fifty years ago. The physicians had ordered for him a long period of rest after a serious illness. He spent the year 1845 in the Eternal City, returning to Carlow in June, 1846. We may mention that he was born in 1793, and died in 1874.

This letter was not discovered in time to be included in the large volume which Cardinal Moran published of his grand-uncle's correspondence. We owe it to the kindness of Mrs. Maher, of Moyvoughly, who received it from Mother Paul, of the Convent of Mercy, Westport, the only survivor out of the large family of the gentleman to whom this letter was addressed. Father Maher's two sisters were married to two brothers—Mary to Hugh Cullen, father of the first Irish cardinal of our day, and Margaret to Edmund Cullen, the recipient of the following letter :—

THE IRISH COLLEGE, ROME,
27th February, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your friends at Rome, though they have not troubled you with many letters, have never been forgetful of you. Every day we remember you at the altar in our supplications. It is one of the great consolations of our holy religion, that friends, no matter how far separated, are, as it were, brought together daily, and united by charity, helping and aiding each other by their prayers and good works.

Father Tom has left us a few days since, bringing with him the affectionate regards of all his Roman acquaintances. He was a great favourite in the Irish College ; his time in Italy has been turned to the best account ; he has laid up a good store of ecclesiastical knowledge, which he will find of infinite advantage in the discharge of his sacred duties. He has, we have every reason to believe, imbibed the true spirit of his vocation : zealous for spiritual things—the honour and glory of God—and perfectly indifferent as to the things of this life. May heaven grant him grace to persevere to the end !

Dr. Cullen, in consequence of his delicate health (and he is far from being strong) is thinking of going to Ireland after Easter, and I remain for a time to look after the affairs of the establishment. He will travel home in company with Dr. Haly. The bishop's visit to Rome has improved his health ; he is greatly pleased with everything here in the Christian capital, especially with the talent, piety, knowledge, and ecclesiastical spirit of the Irish College ; he has sent a candle by Father Tom to his mother,

blessed by the Pope, and carried by the bishop in the procession at St. Peter's, on the Feast of the Purification. It is, perhaps, the prettiest piece of waxwork you have ever seen. It has not, I hope, been injured by the journey ; it will be a fine emblem of our faith, burning brightly, as, entering the dark portals of death, we close our eyes for the last time upon the transitory glories of this world, to open them, as we humbly hope, to the beatific vision of God in the next.

How many unexpected events have occurred since last I had the pleasure of writing to you. Four priests of the diocese (three of them rather young) have been called to the other world. On hearing of Father Doran's death (a priest whom I greatly esteemed), the thought forced itself on me, times innumerable, that we, whether old or young, have in good truth very little business in this life, beyond making a good preparation to leave it. Who could have thought a few months ago, that the grave would so soon have closed over him ? How much of life and vigour and health he enjoyed when I, one year since, left him, delicate and infirm myself ; and yet here am I now in health (how inscrutable are the ways of heaven !) discoursing of his death. If death be on his march, and sure to triumph whenever he arrives, we are not, however, blessed be God, without cheering prospects at the other side of the grave, 'God so loved the world [his Apostle tells us], as to give His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him may not perish,' but may have life everlasting. Here we have firm footing ; here we have the ground of hope. Earthly life is only the infancy of man, a mere commencement of existence. When we pass it, eternal life begins. To see Jesus Christ, our divine Saviour, in His glory even for one moment, would afford more happiness than has ever been enjoyed by mortal in this life. The thought of our sinfulness damps our hopes. No doubt all have sinned, but if we have repented, it is equally certain that God has forgiven us. Sin is beyond comparison the greatest evil that can befall man. All other evils—the loss of property, even the overthrow of kingdoms—leave not a trace behind in a few generations ; whilst sin, if not effaced by penance, involves the offender in punishment which never ends. It is, therefore, clearly the greatest of all evils, and to be proportionately detested ; but we have a sacrifice for sin, an atonement for our iniquity : the Saviour has offered Himself to suffer in our stead, and His sufferings have been accepted in liquidation of our debt. Oh, how heinous must sin be which requires such an atonement, and how supereminently holy must God be to whom such a victim for the violation of His law has been offered !

If, then, we be fast approaching the boundary line which separates time and eternity, detesting as we ought, and as I hope we all do, all past transgressions, and relying with full but humble

hope on the mercies of Him who laid down His life to save us, what evil can befall us? Our hope is in Him who has triumphed for us over death and hell. We have faith. Oh yes, we believe; we are not tossed by every wind of doctrine, for, aided by the grace of Jesus Christ, we believe whatever God has revealed, and what the Church, the organ of communication with us, proposes to our belief. We receive all truth with a full and unhesitating faith; we see, at present, under the sacramental symbols, by the light of faith, the victim of our salvation, our security, our hope; but when the mystic veil necessary to our present condition shall be removed, we shall see Him, face to face, as He is in Himself. Then heaven begins.

Let us wait with patience for awhile, every hour preparing; 'for He that is to come, will come, and will not delay.'

In viewing with an eye of faith the mysteries of religion, nothing strikes us so forcibly as the excessive love of Jesus Christ for man—'The Son of God loved me [says St. Paul], and delivered Himself for me.' Paul was a sinner, a persecutor of the Church, at that time; and yet Christ so loved him as to make Himself responsible for Paul's sin, and thereby saved him. Now what He has done for the Apostles He has done for us all. He has suffered in His own person the chastisement which, were it not for His love for us, would have fallen upon our own guilty heads. No wonder then that St. Paul should have exclaimed: 'Who can comprehend what is in the breadth and length, and height, and depth of the charity of God which surpasseth all knowledge!' Nay, St. Paul goes farther. Inflamed with the love of the Saviour, and filled with a holy indignation against our sensibility, he cries out: 'If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema,' that is, accursed.

Who, taking time to reflect upon the subject, can remain insensible to the divine love, and not seek to repay it by a return of love? God is entitled to the affections of the heart, and will be satisfied with nothing less. As the night is approaching in which no man can work, we ought certainly to use every moment at our disposal to increase in faith, in hope, in charity; these virtues will not come of themselves, we must acquire them by aid from above, by fervent prayer, by meditation on the passion of our Saviour, by frequenting the sacraments: we must exert ourselves, not only every morning, but really every hour in the day we ought to turn our thoughts to God, to thank Him for past favours, to implore the graces which are still wanting to us, to disengage our hearts perfectly from all earthly concerns, to prepare us for Himself. The closing scene of life is too important to the Christian to waste any portion of it in those affairs which shall so soon end. By our efforts, we can, even amidst the infirmity of old age, lay up for ourselves treasures in heaven. Faith, and hope, and charity are the legitimate title-

deeds to the inheritance of the children of God, the passport to the kingdom of heaven ; with these in our hands—and through the grace of God, we may be furnished with them—have we not, as we advance to the house of eternity, bright prospects before us?

Instead of a letter, I have, I find, been writing a sermon. To hear something of Italy might amuse for a moment ; but we know enough if we only know how to love the Lord Jesus Christ, who first loved us, who has created and redeemed us for Himself. It is better, then, to write about the affairs of eternity.

A letter from Edmund reached the Irish College a few days since, bringing us the most welcome news of your improvement in health. What favour has not heaven bestowed upon you? The prayers of those holy virgins who have grown up under your roof, whom you watched from infancy, educated, and amply provided for ; their prayers in your behalf have been heard in heaven. I often look back to the three happy years in which I myself had the happiness to be one of your family. The eleven children were then all at Crawn, both the parents and the parish priest. What a crowded house we had, and, as latter events have proved, what a seminary of virtue? How many religious vocations cherished and brought to maturity in our family? Six out of eleven have already resigned the hopes of the world, consecrated themselves by vow to God. One has visited Rome, the centre of Catholic unity, to drink at the fountain-head of that water springing up into life everlasting. Another has crossed the Atlantic. May heaven protect our dear sister Josephine to wait on the Lord in the person of the poor. The rest have left father and mother, house and lands, nay, have counted with Saint Paul, 'all things to be loss for the excellent knowledge of Jesus Christ,' and Crawn has paid her thousands to enable them to effect their holy designs. These deeds, my ever dear sir, will tell on the great accounting day. With the royal prophet you ought often to exclaim, 'Not to us, O Lord, not to us ; but to Thy name be glory given.'

I have filled my paper, and yet have said very little of all I had to say ; but I must be satisfied. Prepare for the other life under the protection of the ever Blessed Virgin ; the preparation will be the better made, and the more easily, through her aid. She makes such matters very easy, smooths down all our difficulties, removes unnecessary fears, and consoles and sweetens our last days. Don't forget her ; she has been left to us by her Divine Son as our most affectionate and loving mother. On His cross, addressing Saint John, He said, 'Behold thy mother,' alluding to the Virgin.

Give my love to my sister. How can she be sufficiently grateful to heaven for the rich graces of religious vocations which have been so abundantly bestowed on her children? The

prophecy of old, descriptive of the multitude and magnitude of the graces and mercies to be enjoyed under the Gospel dispensation, has been verified: 'And it shall come to pass in the last days,' saith the Lord, 'I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh.' All have partaken of it, some more abundantly than others, by corresponding faithfully with the first graces received.

Remember me to Hugh and Pauline; they will, I doubt not, be as good as those who have gone before them. Affectionate regards to James and Alicia and the little ones, especially Clare. Best respects to Edmund and Mary and the young brace, and to sister Juliana: but I intend in a short time to write to the convent to discharge all my obligations there. Dr. Cullen and P. Moran¹ desire to be most affectionately remembered to you all. The latter has grown very tall, enjoys good health, and is a very promising young ecclesiastic. The bishop has the greatest regard for him. We have just heard to-day of the death of Sister Vincent Renny, of the Mercy Convent. The recollection of all her virtues will long survive; she was a most amiable and perfect soul, all innocence, all purity, devoted with her whole heart to the service of her Creator; she has had a happy exchange. May our last end be like unto hers!

Well, I must finish. Farewell! May heaven protect you and yours, and may we never forget the one thing necessary.

Affectionately yours,

JAMES MAHER.

It would be interesting to ascertain the number of priests and nuns that have come from those united families of Cullens, Mahers, and Morans. Some delightful books have treated of the biography, not of individuals, but of many generations of the same family—the Herschels, the Trenches, the Mendelssohns. An interesting book of another kind might be devoted to the history of a family such as we are referring to. The lady to whom we owe Father Maher's epistolary sermon has kindly supplied the following list of the relatives of Cardinal Cullen who became priests or nuns:—

Paul Cullen, who was destined to play so important a part in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, was the son of Hugh Cullen and Mary Maher. His father's brother, Michael, and his mother's brother, James, were parish priests in the diocese of Kildare. Two sisters of his mother

¹ His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney.

entered the Presentation Convents at Carlow and Kildare, in which latter Convent his sister also became a nun. His nephew, Patrick Francis Moran, is now Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney; and the Most Rev. Michael Verdon, Bishop of Dunedin, is another nephew.

The late William Cullen stood in the same relationship to our first Irish Cardinal, as do also the Rev. James Maher, late Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome; the Rev. Edmund Cullen, C.M., and the Rev. Paul Cullen, C.M.

Amongst the Cardinal's nieces are Mrs. Cullen, of the French Sisters of Charity at Darlington; Mrs. Keatley, of the Convent of Mercy, Drogheda; and Mrs. Cullen, Irish Sister of Charity, Superior of St. Vincent's Hospital, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin. Of the Cardinal's grand-nieces, two bearing his name are amongst the French Sisters of Charity in North William-street, Dublin, and Dunmanway, co. Cork; while two of the Cummins family are Sisters of Mercy at Callan, and a third at Westport. The Rev. Michael Cullen, S.J., Beaumont College, Windsor, is a grand-nephew of Cardinal Cullen. The letter we have printed speaks of 'Father Tom,' a cousin of the Cardinal's, namely, Father Thomas Cullen, P.P., of the diocese of Kildare. Cousins of the name of Cullen are, or were, Sisters of Mercy at Westport and Pittsburgh, and two together in the Convent of Mercy, Carlow, while a fifth was a Presentation Nun in Mountmellick.

Other cousins of the name of Maher entered the Dominican Convent, Wicklow, and the Convents of Mercy, Athy, Callan, and Carlow; while two of the Kenna family joined the Presentation Convent, Kildare. In the next degree of kinship stand the Rev. Edmund Cullen, C.C., of Kingstown; the Rev. Hugh Cullen, C.C., Naas; Rev. Walter Hurley, C.C., Delgany; Rev. Gerald Cummins of the Kildare diocese; three Dominican Nuns of Wicklow, and a Sister of Mercy at Westport. Our catalogue furnishes other names, amongst which are those of Mother de Ricci Maher, of the Dominican Convent, Cabra; Mother Columba Maher of the same Convent; Rev. John Kearney and Rev. Edmund Kearney of the Kildare diocese; Rev. Thomas Maher, S.J.;

Rev. Martin Maher, S.J., &c. But we need not trace further the branches of this remarkable Levitical family.

Amongst the not very numerous letters which Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth College, 1857-1880, preserved out of his vast correspondence was the following from Mr. John Rogers Herbert, R.A. This distinguished painter would, doubtless, have had more vogue if he had continued, as at first, to draw his inspiration from pagan or worldly themes. But, when drawn into the Catholic Church about his thirtieth year, in 1840, partly through the influence of the enthusiastic convert, Augustus Welby Pugin, he seems to have deemed it a duty to devote his talents to the illustration of religious subjects, not so popular among the English public of the nineteenth century as in the country and the century of Fra Angelico. But Mr. Herbert's reputation stood sufficiently high to secure him the commission to decorate with frescoes the Peers' robing room in the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. To these he alludes in this letter. He chose the subjects from the Old Testament—the Fall of Man, the Building of the Temple, &c. The greatest of his works is said to be ‘Moses bringing the Tables of the Law.’ The son, whose soul he commended to Dr. Russell's prayers, was already dead seven years. Though Arthur Herbert was only twenty-two years old when he died, in 1856, he had exhibited paintings two years with success in the Royal Academy. Before Mr. J. R. Herbert died, in his eightieth year (1890), he had also lost, in 1882, a son of still greater promise, Cyril Wiseman Herbert :—

7, GRAVESEND PLACE,
ST. JOHN'S WOOD-ROAD,
Sept. 15th, 1863.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I have not forgotten the very kind expressions which fell from your lips when I spoke of the loss of my dear son Arthur John—that you would say a mass for his soul if I reminded you of the anniversary of his death. Friday, the 18th November, is the day.

I am sure you will be pleased to hear that the members of the Government have been greatly impressed with my doings at Westminster, and that the enemies in the House of Commons have become warm friends, and that they have it I am a sort of

Master in Israel. I am glad if Catholic Art rises, and commends religious thoughts to the spectator. I shall not become vain at its success. It has not been done with ease, and if I am entrusted with any talent it is for good, and not of my own making. Forgive my having spoken of my own doings, but I know you are interested in them, and I have ventured to give you the tidings of the impression of my work. How glad I shall be to see you here or at Westminster whenever you come to London.

My friend Mr. Kenelm Digby invites me to Ireland. I am uncertain of my plans. If I can get west, I shall, I hope, get your blessing at Maynooth; and meanwhile I beg it now.

My daughters join me in hearty wishes for your health and every good thing to you.

Believe me, Very Rev. Dear Sir,

Your faithful humble servant,

J. R. HERBERT.

The writer of this letter shares with the friend whom he mentions the distinction of being the only Englishmen who were elected honorary members of the Irish Ecclesiological Society, which had been organized a little earlier, under the presidency of Dr. Russell, of Maynooth. All these names occur again in a letter of the poet Denis Florence MacCarthy, which followed me to St. Beuno's, a month after the date of the preceding letter:—

SUMMERFIELD HOUSE, DALKEY,
28th October, 1863.

DEAR MR. RUSSELL,—I am glad to find that new duties, new associations, and new scenery have not quite put out of your head all recollection of the little (or big) circle at Summerfield. It would give me great pleasure indeed to visit North Wales while you are there; not, indeed, in search of the picturesque, because to those who have eyes the beautiful is everywhere, but for the romantic variety of the picturesque which North Wales so abundantly provides. I do not, however, see much probability of my being able to do so. Besides, your mention of Dr. Johnson sets my back up even against the Vale of Clwyd. I would be inclined to say (if *you* were not there) as that sturdy old hater said of the Giant's Causeway, that it was worth seeing, but not worth going to see. But I withdraw the disparaging quotation, and will go sometime or other, you may rely upon it, if I can.

I fear for my poor 'Underglimpses' in the hands of a Coleridge. Attuned as his ear must be almost hereditarily to

the melody of 'Genevieve' and 'Kubla Khan,' my impromptu pipings must seem very small indeed.

Since I last saw you, I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance in an accidental way of one of your late reverend associates at Limerick, Sir Christopher Bellew. Dr. Madden and I were going over Killiney one day to pay a visit to Kenelm Digby. In a shower of rain we both sheltered under a hawthorn tree, and were joined by a distinguished-looking priest, who had, as I unpatriotically thought, an Oxford or Cambridge look about him. In a few minutes after, we met at Mr. Digby's, who was good enough to introduce us to him, and I found to my amazement that he was as well up in the Marquis de Villars' controversy and the Chevalier de Chatelain's *Rayons et Reflets* as I was myself. Your uncle, Dr. Russell, also, was good enough to call here one day with Mr. Kenelm Digby, whose acquaintance I was very glad to make, and who impressed us all here very favourably. Your uncle kindly asked me to Maynooth to meet the Attorney-General, but unfortunately I could not go. See what an autobiography you have brought upon you by your friendly note.

Believe me, dear Mr. Russell,

Sincerely yours,

D. F. M'CARTHY.

The two out-of-the-way books which afforded Father Bellew an opportunity of gratifying Mr. MacCarthy, at their first meeting, by showing his familiarity with them, were, of course, connected with the poet himself. *Rayons et Reflets* gave French metrical translations of some of his sweetest lyrics, and the *Mémoires de Villars* was a curious old book, published by the Philobiblon Society, in 1862, on which MacCarthy had read a very erudite paper before the Royal Irish Academy. This drew from Lady 'Speranza' Wilde a remonstrance in blank verse, beginning:—

Descend not, poet, from the heights.

A certain college professor, better known afterwards as a preacher and as dean of a great diocese, had a little of that amiable vanity which has distinguished some very good and very able men. One day, walking with a colleague up and down in front of the college (not Maynooth), he and his companion passed a donkey that was browsing placidly on the lawn. 'That poor animal,' said he, 'little knows

how much theology is passing by.' That hawthorn-tree upon Killiney Hill, under which Denis Florence MacCarthy and Richard Robert Madden sought refuge from a summer shower, on their way to the author of *Mores Catholici* and *The Broadstone of Honour*, was just as little aware how highly it was honoured in sheltering, at the same moment, the sweetest of our poets, the venerable historian of the United Irishmen, and the only Irish baronet who ever gave up the world to become a priest.

MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

ABSOLUTION FROM A RESERVED SIN AND THE MAYNOOTH SYNODAL DECREES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your opinion on the force and value of the following sentence, to be found in the Acts and Decrees of the Maynooth Synod, par. 86, cap. xvi., *De Poenitentia*: ‘Casus reservatus in dioecesi confessarii non subtrahitur reservationi ea de causa quod non reservatur in dioecesi poenitentis.’ My difficulty is whether a confessor in Ireland can absolve a penitent coming from another diocese in Ireland from a sin, which is reserved in the diocese of the confessor, but not in that of the penitent. According to many, if not most, modern theologians, it is solidly probable that a confessor can absolve a penitent when the sin is reserved in the diocese of confessor, but not in the diocese of penitent. They ground their opinion on the commonly-received belief that the penitent’s bishop supplies jurisdiction when the subject confessed in another diocese, and as he has not reserved the sin in the case made, the confessor can freely absolve.

I should have no hesitation in following this opinion in practice were it not for the sentence in the Maynooth Decrees already referred to. Does this sentence prevent a confessor in Ireland from following the opinion just given? If it does, then it must have the force of a legislative enactment to this extent, that the bishops collectively and individually refuse jurisdiction on behalf of their subject in such circumstances. I don’t think this sentence can have such meaning or force, but if it hasn’t, it seems to be merely the expression of a theological opinion on the part of their Lordships; and so it may be departed from in practice by any confessor who thinks the opposite more probable or solidly probable. You will much oblige by enlightening myself and others on this matter.—I remain, &c.

DUBITANS.

Our correspondent contemplates the case, for example, in which a penitent from another diocese confesses to him a

certain sin reserved in *loco confessionis*, but not in *diocesi poenitentis*. Can he absolve such a penitent? It is assumed, of course, that the penitent is not in danger of death, that there is no special necessity for receiving absolution, and nothing to prevent the penitent from having recourse to his superior. We assume, moreover, that the confessor has not got special faculties for absolving from the reserved sins of his diocese.

The question may be considered from the point of view of the general law of the Church, or with special reference to the law that obtains in this country. Viewing the matter from the standpoint of the general law, theologians are divided on this question. They differ as to the source from which the diocesan clergy (as distinct from regulars) derive the jurisdiction to absolve *peregrini*, and hence arises a diversity of opinion on the question raised by our correspondent. Some derive the jurisdiction over *peregrini* from the bishop of the place where the confession is heard, and hence infer (rightly or wrongly) that a *peregrinus* is subject to the reservations of the place in which he confesses. Others derive the jurisdiction from the bishop of the penitent, and hence infer that a *peregrinus* can be absolved from all sins not reserved in his own diocese. Others, again, think that jurisdiction to absolve *peregrini* is a legal jurisdiction coming from the Pope, inasmuch as he approves the general custom according to which confessors treat *peregrini* (*fraude seclusa*) just as they treat other penitents. We need not stop to specify further modifications of these opinions. The two latter opinions are now very generally admitted to be both probable. We look upon the opinion last mentioned as the more probable of the two. But our correspondent can undoubtedly claim good authority for the opinion which derives the jurisdiction over *peregrini* from the bishop of the penitent's domicile, and lays down that a confessor can absolve a *peregrinus* from a sin reserved in *loco confessioni tantum*.

Lehmkuhl says:—

Practice statui potest ut peregrinum absolvere liceat nisi aut (1) peccatum reservatum sit utrobique, *i.e.*, in loco confessionis

et in loco domicilii poenitentis aut (2) 'in fraudem legis . . . in alienam dioecesim se transtulerit.'¹

And Haine :—

Si casus est reservatus tantum in loco confessionis [confessarius absolvere potest]. Et haec sententia est practice tuta; tum quia stante solida probabilitate hujus sententiae, reservatio jam evadit dubia [ideoque nulla], tum quia licitum est ex communi DD. absolvere cum jurisdictione probabili probabilitate juris.

We have no right, therefore, to quarrel with our correspondent's practical conclusion when he says that, viewing the matter from the standpoint of the general law, he would have no hesitation in following the practical rule laid down by Lehmkühl.

We think, however, that the general law—and here we differ from our correspondent—is modified in this country by the words above quoted from the Synod of Maynooth. We cannot admit that these words express a mere theological opinion, the authority of which may, as our correspondent suggests, be discounted by the weight of authority against it.

In form, indeed, the words quoted are not mandatory, but affirmative. And it is for this reason, perhaps, that our correspondent understands them to contain a mere expression of theological teaching. On the other hand, however, it may be contended that we should not, in any case, expect the words to take an imperative form; for the obligation, if there were one, was to fall on the legislators themselves—binding them to withdraw jurisdiction. But, moreover—and this is what weighs with us—we should not assume unnecessarily that the bishops undertook, in these words, what they had no power whatever to accomplish. They had no authority to decide, or to attempt to decide definitively, a question hotly disputed among the first theologians of the time. Yet the interpretation suggested to us makes the bishops adopt, and seem to teach, one of the rival opinions, without as much as condescending to notice any

other. They are made to decide by implication, and teach us the origin of jurisdiction over *peregrini*, with the same apparent confidence and authority with which they tell us, a page or two before, that the Easter-time begins in this country on Ash Wednesday, and ends on Ascension Thursday, or on the octave-day of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul. We could admit such an interpretation only under compulsion.

But there is no necessity for having recourse to it. Whatever the bishops thought speculatively of the merits of the controversy above referred to, they came to the conclusion, we may suppose, that the ends of reservation, the good of penitents, and the convenience of confessors as well, would be best served by a common arrangement that, in this country, a confessor should not, for the confessions of *peregrini*, have jurisdiction over a case reserved *in loco confessionis*, though not reserved *in dioecesi poenitentis*. That the bishops could have made such an agreement cannot be disputed. That they actually did make this arrangement will be admitted by all who refuse to accept the only alternative of placing the bishops of the synod in a false and untenable position.

Our interpretation does no violence to the words of the Synod; and so far, perhaps, it can claim no advantage over the alternative interpretation. But, our interpretation avoids the necessity of supposing that the bishops of the Synod took up an untenable view of their authority. For this reason we commend it to our correspondent. We may further remark that confessors find it sometimes difficult enough to master the reserved cases of their own diocese; in our correspondent's view, they would need, for the efficient discharge of their duties, to know the reserved cases of the dioceses as well. The bishops at the Maynooth Synod ruled that confessors must (unless in case of fraud) treat *peregrini* just as they treat their own penitents, and so in most cases practically relieved confessors from the trouble of knowing the reservations of other dioceses than their own. We doubt if the interests of confessors or penitents would, as a rule, be served by reverting to the state of things

practically existing under the general law. Penitents would more frequently escape the reservations of their own pastors, and confessors would have more need to be familiar with the reservations of neighbouring dioceses.

The special inter-diocesan arrangement for this country holds, of course, only so long, and so far, as the bishops of the country continue to abide by the regulation of the Maynooth Synod. There is nothing, for instance, to prevent two bishops from reverting to the common law, or making an express agreement in virtue of which the confessors of their dioceses would have the power which our correspondent is desirous to exercise. Manifestly, too, the arrangement does not in any way suggest our correspondent's jurisdiction over a *peregrinus* who does not belong to an Irish diocese.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE HOLY GHOST

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall feel very much obliged, if you will kindly answer the following question:—

Can a priest say the Mass of the Holy Ghost to obtain some temporal favour; *v.g.*, to prevent the loss of cattle, to relieve or cure a person suffering from a severe malady, &c., on a semi-double, simple, or ferial, not within an octave, or other time which excludes Votive Masses?

The reason of my asking the question, is, that some priests affirm that the Mass of the Holy Ghost cannot licitly be celebrated, even on these days, except for some grave spiritual necessity.

Until I heard this opinion advanced, I thought that as a priest was free to say a requiem Mass on these days for a deceased person, so he was equally free to say the Mass of the Holy Ghost on the same days for the temporal benefit of a person, in the usual way in which Mass is offered up to obtain any temporal favour.

If a priest cannot lawfully say the Mass of the Holy Ghost

except for a grave spiritual necessity, perhaps it may be considered that such a necessity is generally present with the temporal one for which the priest is asked to celebrate the Mass.

Yours sincerely,

P.P.

Our correspondent need have no scruple about saying the Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost on any day on which the rubrics permit the celebration of a Requiem or other Votive Mass. The object for which this Mass is offered need not necessarily be a spiritual one, either grave or otherwise; it may quite lawfully be offered for the purpose of obtaining temporal blessings. Our correspondent's advisers seem to possess hazy notions of one or two correct principles. It is true that the Mass of the Holy Ghost is one of the three that may be said as a Solemn Mass of thanksgiving; it is also true that a Solemn Votive Mass cannot be celebrated unless for a grave cause. But it is nowhere stated that a Solemn Votive Mass, whether of the Holy Ghost, of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, &c., cannot be celebrated for any other object than 'a grave spiritual necessity.' On the contrary, a grave temporal necessity affords quite the same justification for the celebration of a Solemn Votive Mass as does a similar necessity in the spiritual order.

We may seem to be wandering from the question which we have undertaken to answer; but our object is not merely to show our correspondent that he was not wrong in following the practice to which his friends objected, but also that the opinion put forward by his friends could not, in any conceivable circumstances, be right. A private Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost may be offered for any becoming object on any day permitting a Votive Mass, and a Solemn Votive Mass of the Holy Ghost may be offered for temporal as well as for spiritual objects. We give the following extract from De Herdt in support of the latter statement, because we are quite certain that it was some confused notion regarding Solemn Votive Masses that led our correspondent's

friends to tender him the erroneous advice to which he refers. We may remark that a grave public cause is required to justify a bishop in permitting a Solemn Votive Mass :—

Quae est causa gravis et publica quae requiritur ad cantandum votivam solemnem ?

Resp. Talis est spiritualis vel¹ temporalis necessitas, quae communitatem vel saltem majorem ejus partem afficit v.g. pro obtinenda pace, serenitate aeris, etc. pro acquirendo gravi et publico beneficio, vel avertendo malo, pro recuperanda sanitate Pontificis, Episcopi Regis, etc. ; si gratiae pro magno accepto beneficio sint agenda,¹ etc.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ Tom vi., n. 27.

DOCUMENTS

BISHOPS WHO HAVE POWER TO DISPENSE IN AGE CAN DISPENSE SECULAR AND REGULAR CLERICS

EX S. CONG. S. R. U. INQUISITIONIS

EPISCOPI QUI POTIUNTUR FACULTATE DISPENSANDI A DEFECTU
AETATIS, DISPENSARE VALENT CLERICOS SAECULARES ET
REGULARES

Feria IV, die 29 Ian. 1896.

In Congregatione Generali S.R. et U. I. habita coram Eñis et Rñis DD. Cardinalibus contra haereticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus propositum fuit sequens dubium :

In facultatibus quinquennialibus S. C. de Propaganda Fide sub formula III. n. 13 conceditur facultas 'Dispensandi super defectu aetatis unius anni, ob operariorum penuriam, ut promoveri possint ad sacerdotium si alias idonei fuerint.' Quaeritur utrum haec facultas extendatur etiam ad Regulares.

Et omnibus diligenti examine perpensis, praehabitoque DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Eñi ac Rñi DD. Cardinales respondendum mandarunt : 'Affirmative, facto verbo cum SSño.'

Feria vero V, die 30 eiusdem mensis et anni in solita Audientia r. p. d. Assessori impertita, facta de suprascriptis accurata relatione SSño D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Eminētissimorum Patrum approbavit et confirmavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. *Not.*

EXCOMMUNICATION BY ROMAN CONGREGATIONS

EXCOMMUNICATIO LATA A SS. CONGR. ROMANIS NON RESERVATUR
ROM. PONTIFICI CEU ILLA AB EO LATA IN COMMUNICANTES IN
CRIMINE CRIMINOSO

Feria IV., die 16 Iunii, 1894.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. I. habita coram Eñis et Rñis DD. Cardinalibus, contra haereticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositum fuit sequens dubium :

In Constitutione s. m. Pii Papae IX. quae incipit 'Apostolicae Sedis,' excommunicatione Rom. Pontifici simpliciter reservata

innodantur : 'Communicantes cum excommunicato nominatim a a Papa in crimine criminoso, ei scilicet impendendo auxilium vel favorem.' Quaeritur utrum his verbis comprehendantur etiam excommunicati a Romanis Congregationibus, saltem quando earum decretis accedit approbatio Summi Pontificis.

Et omnibus diligenti examine perpensis, praehabitoque DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Eñi ac Rñi DD. Cardinales respondendum mandarunt : 'Negative.'

Feria vero VI., die 18 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia r. p. d. Adsectoris S. O. impertita, facta de suprascriptis accurata relatione SSño D. N. Leoni PP. XIII., Sanctitas Sua resolutionem Eminentissimorum Patrum adprobavit et confirmavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. *Not.*

SHOULD MEMBERS OF CONFRATERNITIES FOLLOW THE PROCESSION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT WITH HEADS UNCOVERED ?

DUBIUM, QUÆRITUR AN SODALES PROCEDERE DEBEANT CAPITIBUS OMNINO NUDO IN PROCESSIONIBUS CUM SSMO SACRAMENTO

Postulato Sacrae Rituum Congregationi exhibito : Utrum in processionibus cum SSño Sacramento confraternitatum sodales semper nudo omnino capite procedere debeant? Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente Secretario, auditoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae respondendum censuit : *Affirmative*, ad tramites Ritualis Romani, Caeremonialis Episcoporum et Decretorum *Aesina* 23 Januarii 1700 ad 2 ; *Mutinen.* 22 Septembris 1837 ad 2 ; *et Toletana*, 21 Augusti 1872, ad II. Atque ita rescripsit, die 22 Julii 1897.

C. CARD. MAZELLA EP. PRAENESTIN. *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secret.*

BANNERS TO BE CARRIED IN PROCESSION

DE ADMITTENDIS NECNE VEXILLIS, TUM INTRA ECCLESIAS, TUM IN POMPA FUNEBRI DUCENDA, CLERO COMITANTE

Ab H. S. Inquis. sequentis dubii solutio ex postulata, est nimirum :

Utrum admitti possint vexilla, sive vexillum dictum nationale,

in Ecclesiis, occasione functionum religiosarum, et in adsociatione cadaverum ad coemeterium cum funebri pompa et interventu cleri?

Responsum fuit die 3 Oct. 1887 :

‘Quatenus agatur de vexillis, quae praeseferunt emblemata manifeste impia vel perversa, si ea extollantur in pompa funebri, clerus inde recedat ; si in Ecclesiam per vim inducantur, tunc si missa nondum inchoata fuerit, clerus recedat, si inchoata, post eam absolutam auctoritas ecclesiastica solemnem protestationem emitat de violata templi et sacrarum functionum sanctitate. Quatenus agatur de vexillis ita dictis nationalibus, nullum emblemata de se vetitum praeferentibus, in funebri pompa tolerari posse, dummodo feretrum sequantur, in Ecclesia vero non esse toleranda.’

Quid vero agendum, si vexilla dicta nationalia violentè in Ecclesiis introducuntur?

Idem S. Officium, sub die 24 Nov. 1897 respondit : ‘detur Decretum S. Poenitentiariae in *Apuana* sub die 4 Aprilis 1887.’

Decretum autem sic sonat :

‘Quatenus agatur de vexillis, quae praeseferunt emblemata manifeste impia vel perversa, si ea extollantur in pompa funebri, clerus inde recedat ; si in ecclesiam per vim inducantur, tunc si missa nondum inchoata fuerit, clerus recedat ; si inchoata post eam absolutam auctoritas ecclesiastica solemnem protestationem emitat de violata templi et sacrarum functionem sanctitate. Quatenus agatur de vexillis ita dictis nationalibus, nullum emblemata de se vetitum praeseferentibus, in funebri pompa tolerari posse dummodo feretrum sequantur ; in ecclesia vero non esse toleranda, nisi secus turbae aut pericula timeantur.’

CERTAIN DEFECTS IN ORDINATION

ITERETUR SECRETO ORDINATIO DIACONI, IN QUA EPUS CERTO CAPUT
ORDINANDI, PHYSICE NON TETIGIT

Beatissimo Padre.¹

N. N. prostrato ai piedi della S. V., umilmente espone che egli, due anni or sono, fu ammesso all'ordinazione del Diaconato.

¹ N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter exponit quod duobus abhinc annis, ad recipiendum Diaconatus Ordinem fuit admissus. Nunc autem circa hanc ordinationem dubiis premitur. Optime enim meminit quod Epus, dum manus imponeret, ipsum physice non tetigit ; de hoc aliquamdiu turbatus

Oggi però ha dei dubbii su quella ordinazione. Egli ricorda bene che il Vescovo nello imporgli le mani, non lo toccò fisicamente: ne visse inquieto per qualche tempo; ma pensando che il tatto fisico non è essenziale, si lasciò poco dopo promuovere al sacerdozio. Se non che, avendo non guari appreso che la imposizione delle mani senza contatto corporale rendeva dubbia l'ordinazione, agitato da novello timore, chiede se la sua ordinazione a diacono debba essere reiterata sotto condizione.—Che ecc.

Fer. IV, 26 Ianuarii 1898.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab E. mis ac R. mis D. D. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. mi ac RR. mi DD. ni responderi mandarunt:

Detur Decretum Fer. IV 2 Ianuarii 1875; scilicet iteretur sub conditione Ordinatio Diaconatus, quae iteratio fieri potest a quocumque catholico Episcopo secreto, quocumque anni tempore etiam in sacello privato, facto verbo cum SS. mo.

Feria vero VI, die 28 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, idem SS. Deminus resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum confirmavit ac facultates omnes necessarias et opportunas impertiri dignatus est.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

ORDINANDUS RECEPIT PRIMAM ET SECUNDAM IMPOSITIONEM MANUUM
CUM INTENTIONE NEUTRA, QUAM AFFIRMATIVAM EFFECIT ANTE
MANUUM CONSECRATIONEM: ACQUIESCAT

*Beatissimo Padre.*¹

N. N. prostrato ai piedi della S. V., umilmente espone che egli fu ordinato sacerdote con questa intenzione: Dubitando se

exstitit; sed putans tactum physicum non esse essentialem, ad sacerdotium, se promoveri indulsit. Iamvero quum nuper audierit, ex impositione manuum sine contactu corporali peracta, dubiam evadere ordinationem, iterum timore pressus, postulat utrum sua ordinatio ad Diaconatum, debeat sub conditione iterari.

¹ N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter exponit se sacrum recepisse presbyteratus ordinem cum sequenti intentione: quum enim dubitaret utrum ad presbyteratum idoneus esset necne, ex una parte volebat excludere intentionem recipiendi characterem, ex altera vero illam ponere volebat. Tandem ita sibimet dixit: pono illam intentionem, quam in decursu ordinationis pro certa statuam. Ita dubitans, primam et secundam manuum impositionem recepit; et tunc solum, intentionem recipiendi sacerdotium efformavit, quum ad manuum consecrationem perventum est. Nunc autem, conscientia pressus, postulat utrum valida sit ordinatio sic recepta.

era idoneo o pur no al presbiterato, da una parte voleva togliere la intenzione di esser prete, dall'altra voleva metterla. Finalmente disse così : metto quella intenzione che determinerò certamente in qualche punto dell'ordinazione. Dubbioso sempre, ricevette la prima e la seconda imposizione delle mani ; e solo quando si fu alla consecrazione delle mani risolse di esser prete. Or, inquieto di coscienza, chiede se sia valida l'ordinazione così ricevuta.

Fer. IV, 26 Ianuarii 1898.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EE. mis et RR. mis DD. Cardinalibus Inquisitoribus Generalibus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque voto RR. DD. Consultorum, responderi mandarunt :

Acquiescent.

Feria vero VI, die 28 eiusdem mensis et anni, in soliti Audientia R. P. D. Adessori impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, idem SS. D. nus resolutionem EE. morum PP. adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. Not.

THE CEREMONIES OF LOW MASS

PARISIEN

VARIA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA QUOAD GENUFLEXIONES CORAM

SS. SACRAMENTO, ETC.

R. D. Augustinus Dauby, Sacerdos et Moderator pii Instituti a Sancto Nicolao nuncupati, in Civitate Parisiensi, de consensu sui Rmi Ordinarii, sequentium Dubiorum solutionem a Sacra Rituum Congregatione humillime expetivit, nimirum :

I. Quoad genuflectiones faciendas a ministro Missae privatae, quae iusta de causa et praevia licentia celebretur in Altari expositionis SSmi Sacramenti, quaeritur :

1. Minister, qui transfert missale a cornu Epistolae ad cornu Evangelii et genuflectit in plano ante medium Altaris, debetne etiam genuflectere in accessu ad cornu Altaris et recessu ?

2. Quando idem minister ad offertorium et purificationem ascendit ad Altare et descendit, ubinam genuflectere debet ?

II. Rubricae Missalis ad titulum ' Ritus servandus in celebratione Missae V., n. 6, praescribunt ; ' Si in altari fuerit tabernaculum SSmi Sacramenti, accepto thuribulo, antequam incipiat

incensationem, genuflectit, quod item facit quotiescunque transit ante medium altaris ; ” quaeritur : Utrum etiam in Missa privata debeat Sacerdos genuflectere :

1. quando defectu ministri, ipse transfert Missale a cornu Epistolae ad cornu Evangelii, et vicissim ;

2. quando in Maiori Hebdomada transit a cornu Epistolae ad cornu Evangelii ad legendam Passionem ?

III. Rituale Romanum in tit. ‘Ordo ministrandi Sacram Communionem,’ haec habet : ‘Sacerdos reversus ad allare dicere poterit : O sacrum convivium, etc., v. Domine exaudi, etc. Et clamor, etc., Dominus vobiscum, etc. ;’ quaeritur :

1. Utrum istae preces convenienter dicantur, iunctis manibus antequam cooperiatur pyxis et digitus abluantur ?

2. Utrum Sacerdos duas genuflexiones facere debeat, unam statim ac deposuit pyxidem super Altari et antequam eam cooperiat ; alteram priusquam, reposita in tabernaculo pyxide, ipsius tabernaculi ostiolum claudat ?

IV. Iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum, ad benedictionem impertiendam cum SSmo Sacramento ipse celebrans accipit ostensorium super Altari positum ; sed receptum est, ut Diaconus accipiat ostensorium et porrigat celebranti, qui post benedictionem Diacono tradit super Altari collocandum, quaeritur : Utrum liceat in hac duplici ostensorii traditione ritum servare, qui praescribitur pro feria V in Coena Domini et in festo SS. Corporis Christi ante et post processionem SSmi Sacramenti ?

V. Licetne aliquid canere lingua vernacula.

1. In Missa solemni dum sacra Communio distribuitur per notabile tempus ?

2. In solemni processione SSmi Sacramenti, alternatim cum hymnis liturgicis ?

VI. Iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum in solemni Officio ad nonam Lectionem et in Laudibus Hebdomadarius et Assistentes pluviali sunt induti, quaeritur :

1. Utrum idem fieri possit a principio Matutini ?

2. Utrum lectori septimae Lectionis Evangelii homiliae duo acolythi cum cereis accensis assistere possint, durante lectione Evangelii ?

Et Sacra Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. quoad primam quaestionem ; Unicam genuflexionem

esse faciendam in plano ante medium Altaris ; quoad alteram quaestionem : Tam ante ascensionem ad Altare, quam post descensionem de eodem in plano genuflexionem esse faciendam.

Ad II. Negative ad utrumque.

Ad III. Quoad primam partem : Negative et preces dicendae sunt infra ablutionem et extersionem digitorum. Quoad alteram partem : Affirmative iuxta Decretum in *Romana* d. d. 23 Decembris 1862, et praxim Basilicarum Urbis.

Ad IV. Aut servatur ritus a Caeremoniali Episcoporum lib. II., cap. 32, § 27 praescriptus, aut, iuxta praxim Romanam, Diaconus ostensorium celebranti tradere vel ab eodem recipere potest, utroque stante.

Ad V. Negative ad utrumque.

Ad VI. Si non adsit legitima consuetudo, Negative et servetur Caeremoniale Episcoporum lib. II., cap. VI., § 16.

Atque ita rescipit. Die 14 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S. R. C., Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✠ S.

VARIOUS QUESTIONS REGARDING CHURCHES AND CHURCH PRACTICES IN ENGLAND

Rmus Dnus Cuthbertus Hedley, Ordinis S. Benedicti, Episcopus Neoporten. Sacrae Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur humillime exposuit, nimirum :

I. In Anglia nec dari Paroecias strictim dictas, nec Beneficia, quibus adnexus sit onus Divini Officii recitandi ; verum Ecclesiis singulis addictos esse unum vel plures Sacerdotes, qui ibidem residences, munia quasi parochialia in Territorio sive (ut aiunt) in Districtu Missionario ipsius Ecclesiae ratione muneris exercent.

II. Rectores Ecclesiarum alios esse ad nutum Episcopi amovibiles, alios vero nonnisi praevio Processu Canonico vel Resignatione sponte oblata et accepta : universos autem Vicarios, sive Sacerdotes Assistentes esse ad nutum Ordinarii amovibiles.

III. Ecclesias per Angliam perpaucas esse consecratas, ceteras benedictas sub invocatione Sancti Titularis : nonnunquam vero Fideles (deficiente Aede Sacra) congregari ad Missam audiendam Sacramentaque suscipienda in Schola vel alia Aula congrua pro publico Oratorio ab Ordinario designata.

Quare idem Rmus Episcopus Orator, apprime cupiens cuncta quae cultum divinum respiciunt in sua Dioecesi ad tramites Decretorum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis disponere, enixe postulavit, nempe :

I. An apud Anglos in Ecclesiis Cleri Saecularis Calendarium Dioecesanum a laudata Sacra Rituum Congregatione approbatum et singulis annis iussu Ordinarii editum, additis festis SS. Titularium, Dedicationis, atque aliis (si quae fuerint) a Sancta Sede concessis, censeatur Calendarium uniuscuiusque Ecclesiae, cui proinde quivus Celebrans in Sacro faciendo atque Sacerdotes Ecclesiae, etiam in Officio Divino recitando se conformare debeant ?

II. An liceat Regularibus, si quando ipsis precario committeretur una cum cura animarum administratio alicuius Ecclesiae Saecularium, Sacras Functiones iuxta ordinem Calendarii propriae Religiosae Congregationis peragere, relicto Calendario Dioecesano, cui populus iam assuetus fuerit ?

III. An Regularis, Ecclesiae Saeculari aliquando ad tempus sive ad beneplacitum Episcopi (Superiore Religioso assentiente) praepositus, atque privatim recitans Horas Canonicas, adhibito iuxta decreta a S. Rituum Congregatione Calendario proprii Ordinis, teneatur nihilominus ad Officium Sancti Titularis Ecclesiae Saecularis praedictae et quidem sub ritu duplicis primae classis cum Octava ?

IV. Item, an, commissa absque tempore praefinito, administratione Ecclesiae Regularis Sacerdoti saeculari, huic liceat, amoto Calendario, Regularium, quo hactenus usus fuerit Clerus illius Ecclesiae, ordinare Missas et Officia publica iuxta Calendarium Dioecesanum ?

V. Quid decernendum de Calendario illorum Districtuum (sive sint de iure Cleri Saecularis sive de iure Cleri Regularis) ubi, Ecclesia nondum aedificata, populus ad Sacra adunetur in aedificiis, nonnisi transitorie ad cultum destinatis ?

VI. Cum saepenumero eveniat (vi privilegii a Sancta Sede concessi) Canonicos Ecclesiae Cathedralis praepositos esse, cum cura animarum et onere residentiae, Ecclesiis dissitis nec a Cathedrali dependentibus, utrum a Canonico Rectore huiusmodi Officium divinum sit persolvendum iuxta Calendarium Cathedralis, vel potius iuxta Calendarium Ecclesiae, cui hac ratione et stabili modo sive etiam vita perdurante ipse fuerit adscriptus ?

VII. Ad Sacerdotes Assistentes sive Vicarii teneantur in reci-

tatione privata divini Officii se conformare Calendario Ecclesiae, cui sunt addicti?

VIII. Ad liberum sit Canonico Rectori, quamdiu hoc munere fungitur, statuere pro arbitrio Calendarium Cathedralis pro Calendario Ecclesiae et Districtus Missionarii, sive quasi Paroeciae, cui, ut supra praeest, ne scilicet Missa ab Officio discrepet?

IX. Utrum Officium Vesperarum Dominicis festisque diebus publice decantari solitum, ordinandum sit iuxta Calendarium Ecclesiae, in qua persolvitur: an potius concordandum cum Officio privatim recitando a Rectore Ecclesiae, partes, ut plurimum, hebdomadarii agente?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque mature perpensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Negative.

Ad III. Negative.

Ad IV. Affirmative.

Ad V. Calendarium Dioecesanum adhibendum est.

Ad VI. Negative ad primam partem, Affirmative ad secundam.

Ad VII. Affirmative.

Ad VIII. Negative.

Ad IX. Affirmative ad primam partem, Negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 4 Februarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S.R.C. Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✕ S.

LITANIES OF THE HOLY FAMILY

DUBIUM

SERVENTUR DECRETA CIRCA RECITATIONEM LITANIARUM, NON
OBSTANTE CONSUETUDINE

R. P. Petrus Blerot e Congregatione SSmi Redemptoris et director generalis Archiconfraternitatis a Sancta Familia nuncupatae, quae Leodii in Belgio anno 1844 canonice erecta, titulo Archiconfraternitatis anno 1847 ab Apostolica Sede decorata fuit, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, de expresso consensu plurium Rmorum Antistitum, sequentis dubii solutionem humillime effla-

gitavit; nimirum: Utrum, attentis decretis a Sacra Rituum Congregatione editis relate ad recitationem Litaniarum, continuari possit consuetudo, qua sodales praedictae Archiconfraternitatis in congressibus, ad quos in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis publicis, etiam ianuis clausis, ipsi soli admittuntur, et extra functiones liturgicas, non privatim sed communiter recitant quasdam Litanias, gesta et exempla Sanctae Familiae, a qua nomen habent, referentes et a plerisque Rm̃is Ordinariis approbatis?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, proposito dubio respondendum censuit: *Serventur decreta, non obstante consuetudine.*

Atque ita rescipsit, et servari mandavit.

Die 11 Februarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S.R.C. Praef.*

DIOMEDES PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✠ S.

SPECIAL LITANIES

DUBIA

CIRCA RECITATIONEM LITANIARUM

Praeter tres Litanias pro usu publico in universali Ecclesia approbatas, h. e., Litanias Sanctorum, Litanias B.M.V., et Litanias SSmi Nominis Iesu, peculiare quaedam Litaniae habentur ex. gr. de Sacratissimo Iesu Corde, Purissimo Corde B.M.V., aliaeque ab uno vel altero Rmo Ordinario pro usu tantum privato approbatae, quae idcirco neque in Breviario neque in Rituali Romano continentur.

Quaeritur 1. num eiusmodi peculiare Litaniae ita strictim prohibeantur, ut Monialibus sive religiosis Institutis non liceat illas privatim canere vel recitare ad instar precum oralium?

2. Et quatenus *negative*, num iisdem religiosis Familiis illas liceat canere vel recitare communiter in Choro, aut respectivo Oratorio?

3. Item quaeritur num peculiare, eiusmodi Litanias liceat Fidelibus in publica Ecclesia sive privatim sive communiter cantare, vel recitare ad modum quarumcumque precum?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem infrascript Secretarii, omnibus in casu perpensis, ita rescribendum censuit, videlicet:

Ad 1. *Negative*, h. e., ita strictim non sunt prohibitae, ut singulis privatim eas non liceat cantare, vel recitare,

Ad II. *Affirmative*, h. e., ita strictim prohibentur ut communiter in Choro publico, vel publico Oratorio illas Litanias cantare vel recitare minime liceat.

Ad III. Ad I. partem, h. e., privatim, *Affirmative*: ad ii. partem, h. e., communiter, *Negative*.

Atque ita rescripsit, et servari mandavit.

Die 11 Februarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus S.R.C. Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

L. ✕ S.

CONDIMENTS ON FAST DAYS

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

CIRCA CONDIMENTA IN DIEBUS JEJUNII ¹

Il Sac. Evaristo Mosconi, Parroco di S. Maria delle Grazie presso Montepulciano, propose alla S. Penitenzieria i seguenti dubbi:

1. Nei di in cui è permesso il condimento di strutto e lardo, chi usa il lardo medesimo per condire minestra, polenta, frittata ecc., può liberamente mangiare quei pezzetti di lardo che restano, dopo essere stati soffritti per estrarne lo strutto?

2. Nei di di stretto magro, ne' quali sono vietate le uova, si può bagnare leggermente coll'uovo sbattuto le erbe, v. g. i carciofi?

3. Nei giorni di stretto magro è lecito l'uso dell'olio in cui siasi fritta la carne, o almeno è ciò lecito nei giorni di semplice astinenza?

Sacra Poenitentia ad proposita dubia respondet ut sequitur:

Ad 1^{am} *Affirmative* dummodo pergant esse pars condimenti.

Ad 2^{am} Condimentum ex ovis quando haec prohibentur, *non licere*.

Ad 3^{am} Qui ita agunt *non ess inquietandos*.

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentia die 17 novembris 1897.

B. POMILI, *S. P. Corrector.*

A. C. MARTINI, *S. P. Praef.*

Versio latina.

¹ 1. In diebus in quibus permittitur condimentum ex adipe et larido, ille qui adhibet laridum pro condimento offae, pulmenti ex farina sesami, ovorum intritae, potestne licite edere illa fragmenta quae supersunt ex larido, postquam fricta fuerint ad extrahendum adipem?

2. In diebus strictioris abstinentiae, in quibus ova vetantur, licetne parum per perfundere cum ovis permixtis, herbas, ut v. g. cinaras?

3. In diebus strictioris abstinentiae estne licitus usus olei, in quo perfrieta fuerit caro: vel saltem licitusne erit in diebus simplicis abstinentiae?

NEW VOLUME OF 'DECRETA AUTHENTICA'

DECRETA AUTHENTICA CONGRIS SACRORUM RITUUM, VOL. I.

URBIS ET ORBIS

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII, cujus jussu et auctoritate Sacra Rituum Congregatio Decreta è suis regestis selecta, revisa et typis commissa in lucem profert, in Audientia, subsignata die, ab infrascripto Cardinale sacrae eidem Congregationi Praefecto habita, collectionem horum decretorum, quae in praesenti volumine ceterisque mox edendis continentur, apostolica sua auctoritate approbavit, atque authenticam declaravit; simulque statuit Decreta hucusque evulgata in iis, quae a Decretis in hac collectione insertis dissonant, veluti abrogata esse censenda, exceptis tantum quae pro particularibus Ecclesiis indultis seu privilegii rationem habeant. Insuper idem Sanctissimus Dominus noster de praedictis praesens Decretum in forma authentica expedire, atque huic editioni cusae typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, praefigi mandavit contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali mentione dignis.

Die 16 Februarii anno 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus*,
S.R.C., *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S.R.C., Secretarius*.

THE 'ORATIO IMPERATA' OF ANOTHER DIOCESE

DUBIUM

Quum juxta decretum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis datum 9 Decembris 1895 omnes sacerdotes sive saeculares sive regulares Missas in aliena Ecclesia vel alieno Oratorio publico celebrantes omnino se conformare debeant dictae Ecclesiae vel Oratorio, ab eadem Sacra Congregatione expostulatum fuit: 'Utrum sacerdotes alienae Dioecesis obligentur etiam ad dicendam Orationem praescriptam ab Episcopo loci, ubi celebrant, an potius sint liberi ab hac oratione imperata?'

Et sacra ipsa Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature perponsa, proposito dubio respondendum censuit: *Affirmative* ad primam partem: *Negative* ad secundam. Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 5 Martii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SERMONS AND MORAL DISCOURSES FOR ALL THE SUNDAYS OF THE YEAR ON THE IMPORTANT TRUTHS OF THE GOSPEL. Edited and in part Written by Rev. F. X. McGowan, O.S.A. 2 Vols. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet & Co.

IN the preface to the first of these volumes the author, gives expression to the hope that the sermons will prove 'interesting, useful, and instructive.' After careful perusal of several of the discourses, selected here and there at random, we have come to the conclusion that this hope has been fully realized. For, even if there be nothing in the subject matter which has not been touched upon already in works of a similar kind—and the author makes no pretensions to novelty on this score—still the method of treatment is sometimes original and often attractive, the ideas are clothed in clear and well-chosen language, and the themes treated of are among the most practical in the domain of moral and religious truth. So that the collection seems to have before it a great future of usefulness for the missionary priest.

For a long time it has been our conviction that the sermon-book is, more or less, an evil. If we had no such ready aids to preaching, we should be compelled to go for our information to the sources of Theological and Scriptural knowledge, to plan the framework out of designs of our own invention, and to fill in with matter collected after the expenditure of much careful labour. All this would have the happiest results. Our intellectual culture would be still more perfected; our acquaintance with the sacred sciences more amply extended, and our memories stored to better advantage with facts which would be useful for future occasions. But while there are numbers of hard-worked missionary priests who profess not to have enough respite from duty to undertake so elaborate a method of preparing their discourses, the use of the set sermon book as a model is, at the least, a necessary evil. And to those who aim at putting together in a brief space of time, with order and lucidity, some thoughts to serve

as an instruction on the Gospel of the day, or on any of the great Christian truths, we heartily recommend the two volumes under notice.

The book is brought out by the well-known firm of Pustet, New York, and wants nothing in the way of good binding and printing.

P. M.

PRAELECTIONES DOGMATICAE, quas in Collegio Ditton-Hall, habebat Christianus Pesch, S. J. Tom. V., De Gratia, de lege positiva divina. Tom. VI., De Sacramentis in Genere, de Baptismo, de Confirmatione, de Eucharistia. Tom. VII., De Sacramento Poenitentiae, de Extrema Unctione de Matrimonio. Freiburg: Herder.

THE favourable impression created by the earlier portions of Father Pesch's work on Dogmatic Theology is maintained, if not further enhanced, by the merit of the three volumes now before us. They continue to exhibit what was so observable in their earlier brothers—erudition, depth of thought, lucid arrangement, and strength of treatment. Like all parts of the book, they are written well up to date, and the latest discussions appertaining to their subject matter will be found embodied in their pages.

Beyond these statements of general excellence it is unnecessary to particularize the treatment of special questions. In the treatise *De Gratia*, the whole Pelagian controversy will supply a good example of the author's learning, his acquaintance with original sources, and his profound grasp of theological principles. On the everlasting controversies as to the nature of Grace, sufficient and efficacious, and the harmonizing of the latter with Free-will, he is a Molinist of the Molinist, and it would be hard to find a stronger presentation than his of the Jesuit system.

One of the best features of the book is, and has been throughout, its copious extracts from Patristic writings—a feature most commendable; for it not only familiarizes students with the language of the fathers, but awakens in their opening minds a desire for the personal examination of ancient records. For instance, the well-known friendly discussion between St. Jerome and St. Augustine as to when the Old Law ceased to be lawful and became 'mortifera,' is here transferred bodily from their writings, and occupies three pages of Father Pesch's book,

We were not surprised to find him in the treatise *De Sacramentis in Genere*, an uncompromising opponent of the Physical Causality of the Sacraments; but having sided with Lugo here as against Suarez, he restores the balance of power, rather unexpectedly too, in the tract *De Eucharistia*; for on the question as to how far '*destructio victimæ*,' is required for a sacrifice, and how this idea is verified in the sacrifice of the Mass, he boldly rejects the very widely received, and since Franzelin's time, very popular opinion of De Lugo, adopting in preference the opinion of Suarez—we must admit too with considerable weight of reason.

On Father Pesch's volume on Penance, Indulgences, Orders, Matrimony, we could write many well-deserved encomiums, but we have said enough to show our appreciation of the book in all its parts. Of course we do not endorse all the author's conclusions. For instance, in the Matrimonial treatise he propounds the opinion that the '*Casus Apostoli*' applies to the case when the converted party is a convert to a heretical sect. This opinion, we are aware has been advanced by other theologians, but we have never seen 'a reasonable reason' for it. Father Pesch, we suspect, would readily admit that the arguments mentioned by him are not, to say the least, conclusive. On the other hand, the opinion seems to run counter to the clear words of Scripture when there is question throughout of the '*fidelis*' who in the text is surely not a baptized heretic, but a member of the true Church—the '*frater*' and '*soror*.' Besides, in addition to the express and formal statement of Innocent III., one cannot help asking, is it likely that this privilege, whether we regard it as coming immediately or mediately from Christ, was ever intended *per se* or *per accidens* as a favour to heresy?

MORAL PRINCIPLES AND MEDICAL PRACTICE. By Rev. Charles Coppens, S.J. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS handy volume of 222 pages, brought out in Benziger's usual high-class style, contains the lectures addressed by the author to the medical students of the John A. Creighton Medical College, Omaha, Nebraska. Fr. Coppens is not a lawyer, but a Jesuit priest of considerable versatility, being author, as he tells us himself, of text-books on Metaphysics, Ethics, Oratory, and

Rhetoric. These lectures do not profess to give a full and elaborate exposition of the various enactments of the United States legislature concerning medical men. They contain rather the principles that ought to underly medical jurisprudence. These principles are the ordinary conclusions of moral theologians and moral philosophers applied to the special cases that may be expected to trouble (and perplex medical practitioners. The lectures, however, contain many of the special medical enactments of the United States legislature, and more than once set forth the judicial decisions of the British courts as defining the common law of the United States.

In his preface Fr. Coppens gives us the reason for the publication of these lectures: 'The leading medical writers and practitioners are sound at present on the moral principles that ought to direct the conduct of physicians. It is high time that their principles be more generally inculcated on the younger members, and especially on the students of their noble profession. To promote this object is the purpose aimed at by the author.'

That the book is calculated to promote that object, nobody can reasonably deny. For the orthodox teaching of theologians in those difficult cases that may disturb the consciences of some physicians is inculcated clearly and forcibly. Though eloquence is seldom aimed at, the interest in the subject is well sustained throughout, and, in a word, the lectures are very readable. A glance at the titles of the chapters will satisfy us that no serious difficulty is evaded; all the most difficult which are also frequently the most unclean questions are grappled with. The author is to be congratulated on having lectured so forcibly and convincingly on such subjects as craniotomy, abortion, and venereal excesses, without saying or suggesting anything that could disturb the most sensitive conscience. Often, indeed, plain speaking is necessary, but there is never the slightest suspicion of pandering to pruriency.

The book is, in the first instance, intended for medical students, and they must find it a great boon to have at hand so trustworthy and convenient a guide through their difficulties. But its sphere of usefulness is by no means restricted to the students. The lectures possess exceptional interest, and ought to be of considerable use, not only to medical men generally, but to all who are interested in the scrupulous application of moral principles to medical practice.

M. B.

MISSA IMMACULATA I.H. B.M. VIRGINIS IMMACULATAE AD
III. VOC. AEQU. Auctore P. Griesbacher, Op. 26. Score
and Parts. Ratisbon: Coppenrath.

THIS Mass of Griesbacher's for three equal voices is scarcely as classical in style as most of his earlier efforts. The composer has moderated his polyphonic part-writing in favour of a more simultaneous progression of the voices. A slight touch of sentimentality is sometimes imparted through the use of such 'modern' accomplishments as the 'chord of the ninth,' or chord formations produced by parallel motion of the three parts, as at the beginning of the second *Kyrie*, or the minor subdominant in major cadences. The rather frequent use of sequences, too, in our opinion somewhat detracts from the ideal beauty of the composition. Most of these things, however, will probably recommend the Mass all the more to those choirs for whom it is written. They will find, moreover, besides a sweetness of harmonies, that melodic interest in all the parts which betrays the hand of a master to whom contrapuntal thinking is quite natural. The organ accompaniment requires a fairly good player, to whom it affords plenty of scope.

H. B.

CATHOLIC CEREMONIES AND EXPLANATION OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR. From the French of the
Abbé Durand. With 96 Illustrations of articles used
at Church ceremonies, and their proper names. New
York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1896.

THIS little book gives, on 253 24mo pages, a good deal of excellent information on the ceremonies and prayers of the Mass and Vespers, explaining the sense of the prayers, and the symbolical meaning of the actions performed, as well as the things used in the Liturgy, such as the altar, sacred vestments and vessels, &c. A short, but fairly exhaustive explanation of the ecclesiastical year is added, and well brought out and judiciously selected illustrations serve to give the reader a clear idea of the things spoken of. The book is intended primarily to introduce the faithful to the spirit of the Liturgy, to give them an interest in the grand and impressive ceremonies of the Church, and to enable them to follow these ceremonies with intelligence and devotion. For this purpose the book is admirably adapted, and we should like to see it in the hands of every Catholic.

CANTUS SACRI. Eight Easy Benediction Pieces, with the Psalm *Laudate Dominum* in the VI. and VIII. Tones for two Parts (Soprano and Alto), with organ accompaniment. By J. Singenberger. Score and Parts. Ratisbon: Pustet & Co.

SINGENBERGER, the President of the American Society of St. Cecilia, knowing the conditions of a large number of church choirs, has made a special study of the art of writing easy music without becoming either trivial or monotonous. Hence we can give his compositions the best recommendations. The above Benediction pieces will probably be particularly welcome to choirs wanting in high Soprano voices, and to nuns who have frequently to sing before breakfast, as the Soprano part does not, as a rule, ascend above F². Only in two pieces F² # is required; but as these pieces are in D and A respectively, a transposition downwards can easily be effected.

H. B.

DATA OF MODERN ETHICS EXAMINED. By John J. Ming, S.J. Second Edition. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE are glad that this reply to the Data of Modern, that is evolutionary, Ethics of Mr. Herbert Spencer, has reached a second edition. The second edition does not differ in anything substantial from the first, which was already reviewed in the I. E. RECORD. Suffice it to say, that it has the same excellences to commend it as the first edition, and that in the exposition of the system the author examines much more than may still be desired.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS PER MODUM CONFIDENTIARUM. Auctore Clarissimo P. Benjamin Elbel, O.S.F. Novis Curis Edidit P. F. Irenaeus Bierbaum, O.S.F., Provinciae Saxoniae S. Crucis Lector Jubilatus. Editio secunda (iii.-iv. Mille). Cum Approbatione Superiorum. Volumen Tertium. Continens Partes Tres. Paderbornae. Ex Typographia Bonifaciana (J. W. Schroeder).

ELBEL'S *Moral Theology* is justly famous on account of its exhaustiveness, clearness of style, reliableness, and practical usefulness for priests on the mission. Fr. Bierbaum's re-edition

of the work, revised and completed so as to meet all modern requirements, met with so much approbation that a second edition became necessary, of which the third and last volume is the one under review. To facilitate the sale of the excellent work, the publisher has reduced the price, notwithstanding the fact that this second edition is enlarged as compared with the first.

MISSA IN HONOREM SANCTI SPIRITUS. For two Parts, Soprano and Alto (Tenor and Bass *ad lib.*), with organ accompaniment. By J. Singenberger. Score and Parts. Ratisbon: Pustet & Co.

THIS Mass is described by the author as 'very easy,' and ought to be within the power of the weakest choirs. It is very simple, of course; but with proper declamation of the words it ought to produce a pleasing and dignified effect. Tenor and Bass parts may be added *ad libitum*, an arrangement which may recommend the Mass to choirs that only occasionally have the assistance of male voices.

MISSA IN HONOREM PURISSIMI CORDIS B.V.M. For four mixed voices, with organ accompaniment. By J. Singenberger. Score and Parts. Ratisbon: Pustet & Co.

IN this Mass the composer has allowed himself a wider scope, and produced a work of a festive splendour. Occasionally he makes use of the licence of subdividing parts, so as to attain fuller harmonies. On the whole, however, the work is by no means difficult, and can be recommended to choirs of moderate attainments. It is modern in style, easy to comprehend, and will probably give pleasure and edification to both singers and listeners.

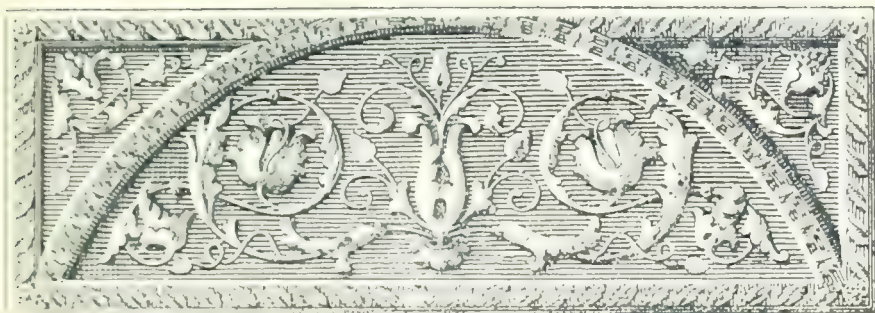
H. B.

TWELVE EUCHARISTIC CHANTS. For two or three female voices, with organ accompaniment. Edited by Alban Lipp. Score and Parts. Augsburg and Wien: A. Böhm and Sons.

THIS is a collection of chants by various composers. Naturally they differ both in artistic excellence and in liturgical suitability.

But there is no number that must be pronounced as unworthy of the house of God, though we should be slow to recommend No. 5, an *O Salutaris* by Löhle. One of the most interesting numbers is a *Pange lingua*, by Bruno Stein in which the Alto part is formed on the Gregorian melody of that hymn, and, according to a note of the author, is to be made prominent in performance. The full contents of the collection is: Two two-part and two three-part *Pange lingua*, by Bill, Bruno Stein, Lipp, and Reidl; a two-part *O Salutaris*, by Löhle; a two-part *Adoramus*, and a two-part *Vexilla Regis*, by Griesbacher; a two-part *O Sacrum Convivium*, by Bruno Stein; a two-part *Jesu dulcis memoria*, by Bill; a two-part *Adoro te*, by Thaller; a two-part *Adoramus*, by Reidl, and a three-part *O Esca Viatorum*, by Frz. Müller.

H. B.



AILEACH OF THE KINGS: A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF THE ANCIENT NORTHERN RESIDENCE OF THE IRISH KINGS

God bless the grey mountains of dark Donegal!
God bless royal Aileach, the pride of them all;
For she sits evermore like a queen on her throne,
And smiles on the valleys of green Innishowen!

C. G. DUFFY.

I. THE ORIGIN AND SITE OF AILEACH

ON the eastern shore of the Swilly, on the summit of a hill 802 feet above the level of the sea, lie the remains of a cyclopean fortress, with whose history was closely interwoven the story of our country in the forgotten years of the hazy past. Few of the pleasure-seekers who visit it in the glowing summer or the mellow autumn, and who gaze enraptured on the glorious scenery it presents to their view, think for a moment that the soil they tread on is both royal and sacred, the former court of kings, and the arena of Patrick's combat with paganism. Yet so it is; for here on Greenan Hill was the Northern Tara, known to us in history as 'Aileach of the Kings:' and here did Ireland's great apostle, when visiting 'Tyrowen of the Islands,' as Innishowen was then called, confront and conquer the learning of the Druids, and win to the faith the monarch himself.

One requires, indeed, to be told that this was once the

seat of royalty, for no indication of its former greatness now remains, save the *débris* of the fallen palace that crowns the mountain. Kerne and gallowglass are now supplanted by browsing sheep and lazy kine, and the matin hymn of the sky-lark awakes the echoes instead of the soldier's trumpet; but still there is a halo of bygone glory about the place which even its present desolation cannot utterly destroy. Its history stretches back to remote ages, but the misty atmosphere of uncertainty hangs about its origin; so that we can trace it but dimly, just as one traces from afar the outlines of a city revealed only by the faint reflection of its lamps in the midnight air. Nor can we, in this sketch, pretend to more than a collection of some of the reliable historical authorities regarding it; but these, inasmuch as they are not accessible to all, may possess some interest for readers of the I. E. RECORD.

So thoroughly had our local history been buried in obscurity, that the origin of the name and the very site of the palace of Aileach had long been matter of dispute; but, thanks to the researches of Petrie, O'Donovan, O'Curry, and a host of others, these vexed questions are now satisfactorily settled. The general outlines and, as far as possible, the details of this sketch have been mainly drawn from the authority of these antiquarians; and though all, perhaps, may not be disposed to adopt their particular views, at least all will respect the learning and the zeal which these men displayed in the cause of their country's history and antiquities. The importance of their writings on the subject of this essay must be our apology for drawing so largely upon them.

O'Curry, in his *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, commenting on the historical poems of Flann Mainistrech, or, as he is more popularly called, Flann of the Monastery, speaks thus:—

The seventh is a poem of thirty-five stanzas, or one hundred and forty lines, on the origin and history of the ancient palace of Aileach [near Derry, in the present county of Donegal]. The origin of this celebrated palace, according to this account of it [containing a specimen of poetic etymology which I only quote

for what it is worth], was shortly this :—When the great Daghdha was chief king of the Tuatha de Danaun in Erin, holding his court at Tara, he on one occasion entertained at his court Corgenn, a powerful Connacht chief, and his wife. During their stay at Teamair, Corgenn's wife was suspected of being more familiar with the monarch's young son, Edh [or Hugh], than was pleasing to her husband, who in a fit of sudden anger slew the young prince in the very presence of his father. Corgenn's life would have paid for the murder on the spot, but that the old monarch's sense of justice was too strong to kill a man for avenging a crime so heinous as he believed his son to have been guilty of : but, although he would not consent to have his guest put directly to death, he passed on him such a sentence as, whether he intended it so or not, ended in the same manner. The singular sentence which the king passed upon the unfortunate Corgenn was [according to the story] to take the dead body of the prince on his back, and never to lay it down until he had found a stone to fit him exactly in length and breadth, and sufficient to form a tombstone for him, and then to bury him in the nearest hill. Corgenn was obliged to submit, and accordingly set out with his burden. After a long search he found at last the stone he sought for, but found it only so far off as by the shore of Lake Feabhail [now called Loch Foyle, at Derry]. Here, then, depositing the body on the nearest eminence to him, he went down, raised the stone, and carried it up the hill, where he dug a grave and buried the prince, and with many an *ach* [or groan] placed the stone over him ; but, wearied by his labour, he had hardly done so before he dropped dead by its side. And it was from these *achs*, or groans, of Corgenn that [compounding the word *ach* with *ail*, an ancient Gaedhelic name for a stone] the old monarch, when informed of what had happened, formed the name of Aileach for his son's grave—that is, stone and groan—a name that the place has ever since retained. It was the custom in ancient times in Erin, when a great personage had died, to institute assemblies and games of commemoration at his grave ; and this was done at his son's grave at Aileach by the monarch Daghdha.

The poem, however, contains two further explanations of the name of Aileach. In some time after the death of Corgenn, it is said Neid, son of Indai [a semi-mythological personage who may be called the Mercurius of the Tuatha de Danaun], brother to the monarch the Daghdha, built a palace and fortress here, after which it was called *Aileach-Neid*. Neid was himself afterwards killed by the Fomorians or Pirates, and the place having gone to ruin, its history is not recorded from that time down to the reign of the monarch of Erin, Fiacha Sraibtime, who was slain at the battle of Dubh-Chomar, A.D. 322. In this Fiacha's reign, however, it is stated that *Frippinn*, a young Scottish chief, eloped

with *Ailech*, that is, 'the splendid,' daughter of Fubtaire, the King of Scotland, brought her over to Erin, and put himself under the Irish king's protection. And it is said that King Fiacha gave the youthful lovers the ancient fortress of Aileach for their residence and security, and that here Frigrinn built the magnificent house which is described in the poem, whence the place got the name of *Aileach-Frigrinn*, as well as the older name of *Aileach-Neid*.

Flann's curious poem begins :—

Should anyone attempt to relate
The history of host-crowded Aileach,
After Eachaidh the illustrious, —
It would be wresting the sword out of Hector's hand.

I must observe here, however, that the ancient name of Aileach was certainly *Ail-each-Neid*, and the investigations of antiquaries [including the cautious Dr. Petrie] have led to the same conclusion to which we should come by following the ancient manuscript authorities—that the stone ruins at *Aileach*, as well as several other similar stone erections in several parts of Erin, must be referred to the Tuatha de Danaan, if not to the Firbolgs, certainly to a race superior to the Milesians. A simpler etymology may easily be suggested for the name, for when we remember that the Milesians always used wooden buildings in preference to the stone used by their predecessors, we can easily understand why they should emphasize such an erection under the name of *Aileach*. The word *aileach* itself may, in fact, signify simply 'a stone building,' since *ail* is a stone, and *ach* the common adjective termination : so that *ail-each* would literally signify 'stony,' i.e., of, or belonging to, or made of, stone.

The eighth poem of Flann's is one of thirty-four stanzas, or one hundred and thirty-six lines, also on Aileach, and apparently a continuation of its history from his former poem. It gives the names and the lengths of the reigns of every king of the race of *Eoghan*, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who reigned in it as king of the northern O'Neills, from Eoghan himself down to the Domhnall O'Neill mentioned above, who died in the year 978. This poem begins :—

Four generations after Frigrinn,
By valiant battle,
The noble Aileach was taken by the warriors
Of the hosts of Eoghan.

The Eoghan mentioned here, whose clann took possession of Aileach under compact with his other brothers, was Eoghan the son of Niall of 'the Nine Hostages,' who gave name to the territory, which ever after bore his name, as Tyr Eoghan [or Tyrone—a name, however, now applied to a more limited district]. This Eoghan was visited, at his palace of Aileach, by St. Patrick,

when he embraced the Christian faith, and received baptism at the hands of the great apostle.¹

In the third volume and nineteenth lecture, O'Curry again returns to the subject of Aileach, and treats of its antiquity and the style of its architecture:—

The next great building [says he], in point of antiquity and historical reminiscence, is the great *Rath*, or rather *Cathair*, of Aileach in the county of Donegal, so well described by Dr. Petrie in the Ordnance Memoir of the parish of Templemore. This great *Cathair* is said to have been originally built by The Daghdá, the celebrated king of the Tuatha de Danann, who planned and fought the battle of the second or northern Magh Tuireadh against the Fomorians. The fort was erected around the grave of his son, Aedh (or Hugh), who had been killed through jealousy by Corgenn, a Connacht chieftain.

The history of the death of *Aedh*, and the building of *Aileach* [or 'The Stone Building'], is given at length in a poem preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, which poem has been printed, with an English translation [but with two lines left out at verse xxxviii.], by Dr. Petrie, in the above memoir. The following extract from this curious and important poem, beginning at verse 32, will suffice for my present purpose:—

Then were brought the two good men,
In art expert,
Garbhan and Imcheall, to Eochaid (Daghdá),
The fair-haired Vindictive,
And he ordered them a *rath* to build
Around the gentle youth:
That it should be a *rath* of splendid sections —
The finest in Erin.
Neid, son of Indai, said to them,
(He) of the severe mind,
That the best hosts in the world could not erect
A building like Aileach.
Garbhan, the active, proceeded to dress
And to cut (the stones).
Imcheall proceeded to set them
All around the house.
The building of Aileach's fastness came to an end,
Though it was a laborious process;
The top of the house of the groaning hostages,
One stone closed.

In a subsequent verse of this poem [verse 54] the author says that Aileach is the senior, or father, of the buildings of Erin:—

It is the senior of the buildings of Erin—
Aileach-Prigind.
Greater praise than it deserves
For it I indite not.

It appears clearly from this very ancient poem that not only

¹ O'Curry, *Lectures*, vol. ii., Lect. 7.

was the outer *rath*, or protective circle of Aileach, built of stone by the regular masons, Incheall and Garbhan, but that the palace and other houses within the enclosure were built also of stone [nay, even of chiselled and cut stone]. All these buildings, probably, were circular, as the House or Prison of the Hostages, certainly must have been, when, as the poem says, it was 'closed at the top with one stone.' This, however, is a matter concerning which I shall have something to say in a future lecture.

The time to which the first building of Aileach may be referred, according to the chronology of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, would be about seventeen hundred years before the Christian era; but another and much later erection, within the same Rath of Aileach, is also spoken of in ancient history, and as having conferred a name upon this celebrated palace.

It is stated further in this poem that Aileach, in after ages, obtained the name of Aileach-Frigrind, as it is, in fact, called in the stanza quoted above. According to another poem [written by Flann of Monasterboice], preserved in the *Book of Leinster*, this Frigrind was a famous builder, or architect, as he would be called in our day. Having travelled in Scotland, he was well received at the court of Utaire, the king of that country, where, having gained the affections of the king's daughter, the beautiful Ailech, she eloped with him, and he returned to his own country with her. Fearing pursuit, however, he claimed the protection of the then monarch of Erin, Fiacha-Sraibhthine [the same who was slain in the battle of Dubh-Chomar, in Meath, A.D. 322]; and the monarch accorded it at once, and gave them the ancient fort of Aileach for their dwelling-place, for greater security. Here Frigrind built a splendid house of wood for his wife. The material of this house, we are told, was red yew, carved, and emblazoned with gold and bronze, and so thick set with shining gems, 'that day and night were equally bright within it.' I may observe that Aileach is one of the few spots in Ireland marked in its proper place by the geographer, Ptolemy of Alexandria, who flourished in the second century, or nearly two hundred years before the time of Frigrind. By Ptolemy it is distinguished as a royal residence.

II. GREENAN ERRONEOUSLY REPUTED A TEMPLE OF THE SUN

That this place was the principal or chief residence of the Tuatha de Danann princes, and was known then by the distinctive appellation of Aileach-Neid, at the time that Ith, the uncle of Milesius, visited this country, we learn from Keating. In his account of Ith's voyage to and landing in

this island. Keating informs us that the prince landed on a certain part of the northern coast, and, after sacrificing to Neptune, inquired the name of the country, and of the king who governed it. He was told that the country was called Inis-Alga, and was governed at that time by three princes (who were grandsons of the Daghdá), and that they were then residing at their palace of Aileach-Neid. He was, moreover, informed that they were at that time quarrelling amongst themselves about a quantity of jewels that had been left them, and that their dispute, if not soon amicably settled, was likely to end in blood. Ith set out immediately for Aileach, was kindly received by the princes, and, after hearing the causes of their disagreement, proposed such an arrangement as gave satisfaction to all. On leaving he urged them to union and fraternal love, pointed out the great advantages of their country, and how little reason there was for disputes among them; in a word, spoke as a man who had closely observed the fertility of their soil and the natural wealth of their country. After his departure the princes meditated on his words, and, suspecting that he had some evil design on their kingdom, they gathered together a chosen band of followers, and pursued the strangers. Overtaking them soon, a battle was fought, in which Ith was slain, and his companions routed; and the plain was called from that time Magh-Ith; that is, the Plain of Ith. It has long been a subject of dispute where the exact spot lies in which this battle was fought; but O'Donovan, in a note given in his edition of the *Book of Rights*, states that 'it is an extensive plain in the barony of "Raphoe," Donegal. The church of "Donaghmore," near the little town of Castlefinn, is mentioned, in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*,¹ as in this plain.' He then quotes the words of Colgan in support of this statement. However, the settlement of this point is not to our present purpose; it is enough for us to learn that, at the remote period referred to, the palace of the De Danann was known as *Aileach-Neid*.

¹ Lib. ii., c. 114.

Like most of the kingly residences of remote times, Aileach suffered many an attack, was frequently plundered and reduced to ruin, but was again restored by its royal masters. Thus in A.D. 674, we read in the Annalists: 'The destruction of Aileach-Frigrinn by Finnshneachta, son of Dunchadh.' Again, at A.D. 900, we are told that 'Aileach-Frigrinn was plundered by the foreigners;' and we are informed that thirty-seven years later 'Aileach was plundered by the foreigners against Muirheartach, son of Niall, and they took him prisoner, and carried him off to their ships, but God redeemed him from them.'

Aileach ceased to be the residence of the kings of Ulster of the Ui-Neill line after the death of Muirheartach, the son of Niall Glundubh, who was killed in a battle with the Danes at Ath-Firdiadh (now Ardee), in the year 941.¹

However, though it may not have been the *permanent* residence of the Ulster kings from this period, it must still have been their *occasional* abode till the time of its final destruction, which the *Four Masters* thus record under the year 1101 :--

A great army was led by Muirheartach Ua-Brian, King of Munster, with the men of Munster, Leinster, Osraighe, Meath, and Connaught, across Eas-Ruaidh, into Inis-Eoghan, and burned many churches and many forts about Fathan-Mura, and about Ardstraha, and he demolished Grianan-Oiligh, in revenge for Ceanncoradh, which had been razed and demolished by Domhnall-Ua-Lochlain some time before, and Muirheartach commanded his army to carry with them from Oileach to Luimneach a stone [of the demolished building] for every sack of provisions which they had. In commemoration of which was said :—

I never heard of the billeting of grit stones,
Though I heard of the billeting of companies,
Until the stones of Oileach were billeted
On the horses of the Kings of the West.

To understand the meaning of this novel mode of taking revenge, we must turn to the *Annals of Thomond* to learn its cause. We read there that :—

In 1064 MacLoughlin, Prince of Aileach, invaded the principality of Mortoghmore O'Brien, King of Munster; among other

¹ O'Curry, Lect. xx.

predatory acts he plundered and demolished the Palace of Kincora. Mortagh, after re-edifying it, marched into Ulster and burned down the royal Palace of Aileach, and made each man of his army bring away a stone of it into Thomond. How peacefully he waited for three years, during which time he had his ancestral palace in course of construction before he thought of bringing away the stones of Aileach from the North. This was an act of vengeance with a vengeance, which put to the blush the wildest exploit of his fiercest enemy.

The date 1064 in this extract is at variance with that given by the Annalists of Donegal. The correct date is 1088.

In his *Lays and Legends of Thomond*, Michael Hogan, the 'Bard of Thomond,' thus refers to this event in his lines on 'The Destruction of Kincora':—

But the King to the blue North his wrathful face turned,
And Aileach the Pompous to ashes he burned !
And his clansmen returned, each bringing a stone,
Of the proud palace walls by his vengeance o'erthrown.

This [says Petrie] is the last notice of Aileach, as a royal residence, to be found in the Irish annals, and it appears never again to have been re-edified. The kings of the Kinel-Owen, or Northern Hy-Niall, still indeed retained for some time the name of Aileach as their title, as the kings of Southern Hy-Niall did that of the deserted Temur, or Tara; but they transferred their residence to Inish-Eaigh, in the parish of Urney, in Tyrone, where they probably continued to reside till after the arrival of the English. It may also be remarked that this destruction of Aileach, like that of Emania, was regarded as an epoch in Irish history.¹

Aileach, however, was known by the distinctive title of Grianan-Aileach, and the former part of the name is that by which it is at present known under the form of Greenan, though until a comparatively recent period it was still designated Greenan-Ely. The fact of another ruined castle, named Elagh, situated about two miles distant, being in existence, sufficiently explains why the name of Aileach connected with Greenan fell into disuse. Mistakes were likely to occur from having two places so near each other bearing the same name; and therefore Aileach, or, as the

¹ *Ordnance Memoir of the Parish of Templemore.*

people called it, Ely, was dropped, and the distinctive appellation of Grianan, or Greenan, was retained.

But the very name of Grianan, or Greenan, has been made an argument against the theory of the royal palace of Aileach having ever been built upon this hill. It is urged that the present ruin is the remains of a 'Temple of the Sun,' and that the name itself is proof of this. In the Ordnance Memoir already referred to, Dr. Petrie takes up this argument, and shows its want of foundation; still, we find it repeated in a comparatively recent work, and Petrie's proofs contemned as worthless assumptions. Mr. Anthony Marmion, in the Introduction to the fourth edition of his *History of the Maritime Ports of Ireland*, thus writes:—

But not only these caves, but also what is called the Military Rath, as well as the Dane's Fort and Round Tower, were all originally connected with sun-worship. The name of the rath at Lough Swilly, already described, would indicate this, notwithstanding Mr. Petrie's chapter on Antiquities in the Ordnance Memoir to the contrary, who interprets Grianan as synonymous with duna, fortress or palace, and calls Grianan-Aileach a royal palace; but its more correct translation is Grianan, the sun, and Aileach, a stone building—Grianan-Aileach would, therefore, be, the Stone Temple of the Sun.

Nearly thirty years before this edition of Mr. Marmion's work appeared, the same argument was advanced in an elegant and forcible manner in an article on 'Burt Castle,' published in the second volume of the *Dublin Penny Journal*:—

This we know [writes the author of that article] on the concurring testimony of Keating, Vallancey, and O'Connor, that the Phœnicians and Celts brought into this country the sun-worship of their own. This was undoubtedly one of their temples, and the very etymology of its name strongly corroborates the opinion, for the Celtic name of the sun is *Gryan*, and *Ane* is a temple; similar names have been given to other places dedicated to the same divinity. Strabo, confirmed by Pausanias, mentions a *Grynium* at Eolis, and described it as a temple and grove of Apollo (or the sun). Eupherion of Chalais, writing on the origin of Oracles, describes a circular *Grynium* sacred to Apollo. So Virgil, in his sixth *Bucolic*:—

'His tibi Grynai nemoris dicatur origo
Ne quis sit lucus, quo se plus jactet Apollo.'

In these two quotations is found the substance of all the arguments advanced in favour of the sun-temple theory. Petrie refutes them at such length, that it would be impossible to introduce here his reasoning *in extenso*. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with the principal portions, and refer the reader to the Ordnance Memoir for the remainder:—

It has, indeed, been supposed by some ingenious writers says he, that this curious remains of antiquity was erected as a temple of the sun—a conjecture resting on the etymology of its name *Grianan*, which, as they state, does literally mean ‘the place of the sun,’ or, ‘appertaining to the sun.’ But etymology is at best but an uncertain foundation for historical hypothesis; and the habit so generally indulged in by Irish antiquaries of drawing positive conclusions from etymological conjectures, has done more to retard than advance the knowledge of the history and antiquities of the country.

That *Grian*, or the sun, was an object of worship among the Pagan Irish is not to be denied; but that the word *Grianan* was ever applied to denote a temple of the sun, or a temple of any kind, no authority has been as yet adduced, or found, while there are abundant evidences that it was constantly used, in a figurative sense, to signify a distinguished residence, or a royal palace. It is thus explained by O'Reilly:—‘*Grianan*, a summer-house, a walk, arched or covered over on a hill for a commodious prospect [a balcony], a royal seat.’ O'Brien, an earlier and better authority, also explains it as a ‘royal seat;’ and gives as an illustration the name of the very place in question:—‘*Grianan-Oilig*, the regal house of O'Neill in Ulster.’ O'Flaherty and MacFiris, without explaining the word, use it to express a royal habitation.

After quoting the authority of Keating, and his learned translators, John Lynch, Colgan, Cormac Mac Cullenan, and giving examples from each, of the word being used in the sense he explains it in, he shows that it was also synonymous with *Dun*, a fortress, and proves this from extracts taken from a MS. in Trinity College, and from a tale in the *Book of Glendalough*. He then proceeds:—

In like manner, examples almost equally numerous might be quoted, from similar documents, of the application of this term to the palace, or royal fortress, of the northern Irish kings. Of this fact two instances may here suffice, as others will be found in the succeeding pages. Both these occur in the poem of Cormacan Eigeas, the bard of Murtagh of the Leather Coats,

written in the year 939, and which has been given in full in the general history of the county, prefixed to this work, viz. :—

O Murtagh, son of noble Niall,
Thou hast taken the hostages of Inis-Fail;
Thou broughtest them all to Aileach,
Into the Splendid Grianan of horses.

Conor, son of Tiege the bull-like,
Puissant arch-king of Connaught,
Came with us without a bright fetter,
Into the green Grianan of Aileach.

But, even though it were allowed that the word Grianan was sometimes applied to the temple of the sun, the Irish authorities still abundantly prove that this—the Grianan of Aileach—was not a monument of that description. In all the Irish histories the palace of the Northern Irish kings is designated by the name *Aileach* simply, or *Grianan-Ailigh*, *Aileach-Neid*, or *Aileach-Eririn*; and its situation is stated to have been on a hill in the vicinity of Derry.

So far Petrie on the meaning of the word, and its application to the ruin on Greenan Hill.

Professor W. K. Sullivan, in his introductory volume to O'Curry's *Lectures*, already quoted, writes as follows on the word Grianan :—

In duns and large raths there was also a special chamber placed in a sunny aspect, and called from this circumstance a Grianan. This chamber appears to have been erected on the wall of the dun, or in some elevated position, so as to command a view of the surrounding country, and escape the shadow of the encircling mound.

In this we find nothing to favour the sun-temple theory. If the opinion relative to Greenan having been a temple of the sun, were not of modern origin, it is strange that John Toland would have passed it over in his *History of the Druids*. Toland was himself a native of Inishowen, born, as Harris states, in Iskaheen, and educated in his earlier years at Redcastle, in the parish of Moville. His work on the Druids was expressly written to give an account of their mode of worship, and of the remains of their temples or monuments. In his second letter on the subject he makes mention of the *Carn*, or Druidical remain, on the top of Fahan Hill, and of another opposite on the top of Inch Hill,

both distant only a few miles from Grianan-Aileach, and within sight of it, but says not a word of Greenan Hill. This is the more remarkable inasmuch as in this same letter he explains the word *Grian*, and of *Greannach*, an Irish adjective which he translates as 'long-haired,' and which, he says, 'is a natural epithet of the sun in all nations.'

From the foregoing our readers will be able to form a pretty accurate notion of the meaning of the term Grianan, and in what sense it is to be taken in the present instance. We shall now return to Ailech, and treat as briefly as possible of its former importance in Ireland, and of the part taken by some of its leading kings in the events of the several periods in which they respectively lived.

III.—THE KINGS OF AILEACH

Making all due allowance for the amount of fable mixed up with the accounts of its origin and early history, still from every reliable document on ancient Irish history we learn that it was a place of the greatest importance long before the Christian era. Its very situation, which now seems to us so ill chosen and so unsuited to a royal fortress, is just such as we might expect to be selected by the eastern people who are said to have been its founders. It was modelled after what they had seen in the east; surrounded with three several walls, or fortifications, at stated distances from each other; inaccessible to any sudden attack from an enemy, and commanding a most extensive view of the waters of the Foyle and of the Swilly. No hostile fleet could enter either lough, without being at once perceived; and by land it would be difficult for any force to approach without being observed from afar, and means being adopted to repel them. It was what Thomas Davis designated "a rath on a far-seeing hill," which commanded the view of the country far and wide, and which could scarcely be surprised by an enemy. Petrie, in his *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, remarks the great similarity in the sites of Tara, Emania, and Aileach, with the exception that Aileach was on a much more elevated situation than either of the others. However, Aileach was not without a parallel as to

the loftiness of its position even in the north of Ireland, for on a hill about four miles west of Coleraine (now called the Giant's Sconce) are the remains of a cyclopean fortress, identified by Dr. O'Donovan as the famous 'Munitio Cetherini' mentioned by Adamnan. This fortress derived its name from Cethern, son of Fintan, one of the heroes of the Red Branch, who flourished in Ulster about the beginning of the Christian era. This hill is 797 feet above the sea-level.¹ Another similar pile exists on the top of a hill in the parish of Cloncha (Malin), but its history is buried in obscurity. The ruin is known simply by the title of 'The Castle,' and the hill is called Knock-Rath, or the Hill of the Rath or Fort. Mr. Petrie points out the similarity as to situation, encircling ramparts, &c., between Ecbatana in Media, described by Herodotus, and Aileach; and shows that there is nothing strange in the selection of such an elevated situation for the royal palace and fortress.

The importance of Aileach, or rather of its kings, can best be estimated by the power which they wielded, and by the tributes that were paid them. These are set down very clearly and definitely in the *Book of Rights*; and though we may be inclined to smile at times at the primitive mode of paying taxes observed by our ancestors, we must admit that it answered their purpose just as well, if not even better, than our income-tax and poor-rates do at present. At certain periods the King of Aileach was also King of Ireland; but when this was not the case, he was to receive a stated revenue from the Irish chief king, in consequence of his high position as head of the northern Hy Niall:—

The King of Aileach himself, then, when he was not King of Eire, is entitled to sit by the side of the King of Eire at banquet and at fair, and to go before the King of Eire at treaties, and assemblies, and councils, and supplications. And he is entitled to receive from the King of Eire fifty swords, and fifty shields, and fifty bondmen, and fifty dresses, and fifty steeds; these for the King of Aileach.

And when the King of Cashel was for the time being

¹ See Reeve's *Adomnán*, p. 94, n. 1.

supreme King of Ireland, he was to pay a certain tribute to the King of Aileach, as follows :—

Fifty drinking horns and fifty swords,
Fifty steeds with the usual trappings
To the man of prosperity of the Doires of goodly fruit,
To the prince of Aileach who protects all.

The special revenues due to the King, as king of Aileach are set down separately by themselves, and are very considerable, indeed. The catalogue of them begins thus :—

The right of the King of Aileach ; listen ye to it.
Among the oak forests immeasurable
He is entitled to income, no trifling tribute,
From the tribes [and] from the Forthuatha.
A hundred sheep, a hundred cloaks, a hundred cows,
And a hundred hogs are given to him
From Culeantraidhe of the war
To the King of Aileach laboriously.
Three hundred hogs, &c., &c.

Then follow all the districts subject to Aileach, and the amount of tributes, or rights, that they paid ; but certain districts were exempted from the taxation, because, as O'Donovan explains in a note, they were of the same race as the King of Aileach himself. These districts were—Tullahogue (the Hill of the Youths), in the barony of Dungannon ; Crabh (Crew or Creeve), a district on the west side of the lower Bann ; Magh Iotha (the plain of Ith), believed to be an extensive plain in the barony of Raphoe ; Inis-Eoghain, and Tyr-Connell. The limits of this last-named district corresponded almost exactly with the boundaries of the present county of Donegal, with the exception of Inishowen, which belonged to Tyr-Eoghain, or the territory of Eoghain. This district was far more extensive than the present county of Tyrone.

Of course, we are not to suppose that the kings of Aileach had not their duties as well as their rights to attend to. These are just as carefully marked down for them as are their privileges, and are equally curious and interesting ; but the amount of tribute, or *rights*, as they termed it, paid to them evinces clearly the great power and high position they held among the kings of Ireland.

The succession of kings in Aileach, from the time of its restoration by Frigrinn, is difficult to trace; but from the notice by the annalists of Eoghan (whom St. Patrick converted and baptized), it seems certain that the place was regarded then as an ancient seat of royalty. In the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* the account of King Eoghan's conversion is given, where, after stating that the King went out to meet and welcome Patrick as soon as he heard he was in his territories, the writer goes on to tell that —

The man of God accompanied Prince Eoghan to his palace, which he then held in the most ancient and celebrated seat of the kings, called Aileach, and which the holy bishop consecrated by his blessing, promising that from the seed of Eoghan many kings and princes of Ireland should spring; and as a pledge of which he left there a certain stone, blessed by him, upon which the promised kings and princes should be ordained.¹

Dr. Petrie considers it most probable that this stone still exists, and possibly is that called *St. Columb's Stone*, in the garden of Belmont, about a mile from the city of Derry.

Eoghan's principality, known by the title of Tyr-Eoghan, embraced the present county of Tyrone, the county of Londonderry, parts of Armagh, and the peninsula of Inishown. Eoghan was one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and his death is recorded by the *Four Masters* under the year 464 :—

Eoghain, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages [from whom are descended the Cinel-Eoghain], died of grief for Conall-Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and was buried at Uisce-Chain, in Inis-Eoghain, concerning which was said :—

Eoghan, son of Niall died
Of tears—good his nature --
In consequence of the death of Conall, of hard feats,
So that his grave is at Uisce-Chain.

The place where he was buried in Iskaheen is now unknown, but it was probably in or near the old graveyard at the chapel in that parish.

Passing over the intervening kings from the time of Eoghan, we come to one who, a century later, acted a prominent part in Irish affairs, and left in an unmistakable manner his 'footprints on the sands of time.' This was Adh (or Hugh), the son of Ainnire, King of Ireland.

¹ *Tricol. Thaum.*, p. 145.

Ainnire was first cousin of the famous St. Columba, so that Edh and Columba stood in relation to each other of first and second cousins. In his twenty-fifth year St. Columbkille was obliged to leave the Monastery of Glasnevin, beside Dublin, in consequence of a plague that had broken out in that locality, and to return to the north. He came to Derry, which was then an island on which was a royal fort; and Edh, who was then very young, and who at the time was residing there, offered him the southern portion of the island as a site for a monastery. Some say that Edh was then too young to be in power, and that it was his father Ainnire who bestowed the gift on his saintly cousin. However, be it given by whom it might, St. Columba accepted the gift, and founded there his first great monastery, A.D. 545. In after years Columba's heart ever turned with an indescribable love to this his first foundation, and from the place of his exile would he strain his gaze to catch even a glimpse of the distant hills that environed his beloved oak grove of Doire-Calgach. There is an ancient Irish poem attributed to the saint, in which he expressed his great and undying love for the green island in the Foyle. Dr. Douglas Hyde has lately given us a charming metrical paraphrase of this poem, and were it not for fear of occupying too much space, we would gladly transcribe this paraphrase in its entirety. We will just venture to give a few stanzas:—

And oh! were the tributes of Alba mine,
From shore unto centre, from centre to sea,
The site of one house, to be marked by a line,
In the midst of fair Derry, were dearer to me.
That spot is the dearest on Erin's ground,
For the treasures that peace and that purity lend;
For the hosts of bright angels that circle it round,
Protecting its borders from end to end.
That spot is the dearest on Erin's ground,
For its peace and its beauty I gave it my love;
Each leaf of the oaks around Derry is found
To be crowded with angels from heaven above.
My Derry, my Derry, my little oak grove,
My dwelling, my home, and my own little cell;
May God the Eternal, in heaven above,
Send woe to thy foes and defend thee well.

Shortly after his accession to the throne of Ireland, Ædh gave permission to his son Comasach to make a friendly circuit round the various courts of the kingdom, where, however, he conducted himself in a most insolent manner. Bran Dubh, King of Leinster, determined to put an end to this haughty youth's career, and had him assassinated. The melancholy tidings were borne in due time to Ædh, who was then residing at his palace of Aileach, and he collected together his forces, and marched into Leinster to avenge the death of his son. But the expedition proved a fatal one to him, for he was slain in the battle of Dunbolg (near Baltin-glass), A.D. 594. This Ædh it was who had summoned the great Convention at Drumceat, where such salutary laws and regulations were enacted.

Leinster seems to have been an unfortunate territory to the northern kings, for, in the year 718, Fergal Mac Maoileduin, monarch of Ireland, setting out from Aileach to collect the Boromean tribute in that province, was slain at the battle of Almhain (now the Hill of Allen, in the county of Kildare), with six thousand of his mercenaries, and a great number of the northern chiefs and warriors.

None of the kings of Aileach were more fortunate in having their names and exploits handed down to posterity than Muirheartach, or Mortogh of the Leather Cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh, or Niall of the Black Knee, who was a most distinguished king, but was killed in a battle against the Danes, near Dublin, A.D. 919, after a reign of three years. Muirheartach was son-in-law of the supreme monarch, and was, moreover, Roydamna, or heir presumptive to the throne of Ireland. He was a bold and successful warrior, and made many hostile incursions into Leinster, Connaught, and Ulidia; sailed on one occasion to the Hebrides, plundered them, and subdued their inhabitants; contended frequently against the Danes, who once took him prisoner, and twice destroyed his palace at Aileach; opposed his father-in-law in battle more than once, but in the end coalesced with him against the common enemy, the Norsemen. In 941 he planned and executed his famous circuit of Ireland, which has transmitted his name to posterity. He

was fortunate enough to have in his retinue a distinguished poet, named Cormacan Eigeas, who, in the year following the expedition, committed to verse a history of the whole. This poem has been translated into English and annotated by Dr. O'Donovan, and published by the Irish Archaeological Society. Muircheartach was, as we have said, heir apparent to the throne of Tara; but he well knew that his claims would be disputed. He determined, therefore, to anticipate any opposition, and to reduce to subjection all those who were likely to oppose him. With this object in view, he selected a thousand chosen warriors, dressed them in leathern cloaks—from which circumstance he was ever after known as 'Murtoogh of the Leather Cloaks'—and in the depth of winter, when he knew his foes would be unprepared, he marched to Dublin, whence he took Sitric, the Danish King, with him as a hostage. He then proceeded against Lorcan, King of Leinster, whom he also carried with him; marched from thence into Munster, and took Cellaghan, king of that district; advanced next into Connaught, where Conchobar, son of Teige, came to meet him; and then returned to Aileach, carrying with him his royal hostages. In the spirit of a true chevalier, he was unwilling to bring so large and unexpected a party to his beautiful queen—'Dubhdairé of the black hair'—without due notice; and he, therefore, despatched a courier before him, to apprise her of his coming:—

From the green Lochan na n'each
A page was despatched to Aileach,
To tell Dubhdairé of the black hair
To send women to cut rushes.

'Rise up, O Dubhdairé' [spake the page];
Here is company coming to thy house;
Attend to each man of them
As a monarch should be attended.'

'Tell to me' [she answered], 'what company comes hither,
To the lordly Aileach-Figreann;
Tell me, O fair page,
That I may attend them.'

'The Kings of Erin in fetters' [he replies],
With Muircheartach, son of warlike Niall,
Ten hundred heroes of distinguished valour,
Of the race of the fierce fair Eoghan.'

For five months Murtagh detained his hostages at Aileach, but at the end of that time he sent them to his father-in-law, Donnchadh, King of Ireland. Donnchadh, however, not to be outdone in generosity, sent them back again, and it is probable they remained at Aileach till the death of Murtagh, which occurred in 943. The *Four Masters* thus record his death :—

Muircheartach of the Leather Cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh, lord of Aileach, the Hector of the west of Europe in his time, was slain at Ath-Fhirdiadh by Blacaire, son of Godfrey lord of the foreigners, on the 26th of March.

The modern name of the place where he was slain is Ardee, in the County Louth.

The Venerable Charles O'Connor, of Balanagare, in his *Dissertations on the History of Ireland*, contrasting the characters of Cellaghan, King of Munster, and Murtagh King of Aileach concludes thus :—

Murkertagh made improvements in the art of war. His character lies entombed in the history of a people, hardly inquired after in our own time. He had as great a genius for war as any man that this island has, perhaps, ever produced. The endowments of his heart were still greater. He, for some time, valued himself and his party too much ; but loving his country more, he relented, and reconciled himself to his sovereign and his brother-in-law [*recte*, father-in-law]. Thenceforward he never relapsed into faction. Of all enemies, he was the most generous : of all commanders, the most affable. He never descended from his dignity ; but reconciled familiarity to rank, which, in the ordinary course of things, must be kept separate from it. Elevated, benevolent, and captivating, he was, unhappily, taken off at a time when his character put him in possession of a power which probably would have relieved his country from bondage.

In 956, Domhnall O'Neill, son of Muircheartagh, came to the throne, and we find his death recorded under date A.D. 978. It was this monarch who was visited at Aileach by the famous poet MacCoise, whose palace in Meath had been plundered by O'Neill's people. O'Curry, in the 6th of his Lectures, already quoted so often, gives a full and interesting account of this visit, and of the curious poem MacCoise recited on the occasion to the monarch. It will

repay a perusal, and, were it not for its length, we would introduce it here. Suffice it to say, that the poem had its desired effect, and procured for its injured author a full compensation for all the losses he had sustained.

But though Aileach boasts many distinguished kings and princes, it is questionable if any of them have stronger claims to a prominent place in our history than the last resident king, who reigned and held his court there. Domhnall Ua Lochlainn, or Donnel O'Lochlin, was a warrior of whom any nation might be proud; and had he lived in a country less torn asunder by petty jealousies and factions, would probably have ranked in the first class of renowned heroes. As it is, he occupies no inconsiderable place in our annals; and the palace of Aileach, first inhabited by the memorable Daghdá, found, at the time of its final destruction, a worthy occupant in the person of Aridghar's royal son. His entire reign, both as King of Aileach, and afterwards as King of Ireland, exemplified strongly the words that 'man's life upon earth is a warfare;' for he seems to have been cradled in the camp, and schooled in the battle-field, and to have turned to the best account the military genius with which nature had endowed him. His kingly air, his strength of mind, his unbounded generosity marked him out for his high position; and, though success is not always the proof of valour, still, when victory crowned all, or nearly all, the battles of eight and thirty years of warfare, it is impossible to withhold from Domhnall Ua Lochlainn the fame of a noble and daring soldier.

Under date A.D. 1088, the *Four Masters* tell us that Domhnall proceeded into Connaught, obtained hostages of all that province, whose king likewise joined him in his expedition, marched into Munster; burned Limerick, plundered the province of Munster; destroyed Kincora, the ancient palace of the Munster kings, and carried off eight-score heroes as hostages and pledges. Two years later a great meeting took place between Domhnall, the King of Cashel, the Lord of Meath, and the King of Connaught, and all agreed to deliver hostages to the King of Aileach as a

token of their submission to him. In the year 1093 Domhnall blinded Ædh Ua-Canannain, Lord of Cinel-Connaill; and in the following year he slew the King of Ulidia in the battle of Bealach-Guirt-an-inbhair; that is, as O'Donovan explains it, 'The Road or Pass of the Field of the Yew.' 'This Pass was at Gortinure, in the parish of Killelagh, barony of Loughinsholin, in the county of Londonderry.' The same year he marched to Dublin, joined by the chiefs of the Kinel-Conaill, Cinel-Eoghan, and others, proceeded to Oughterard, in Kildare, and after burning that town routed the Munstermen in battle.

In 1100 his old enemy, Murtagh O'Brien, brought a great fleet of the 'foreigners' to Derry, but the indomitable King of Aileach completely destroyed them; and in the same year he took prisoner the King of Ulidia, and many of his chiefs together with him. The King of Munster was the one persistent enemy who disturbed the rest and peace of Domhnall during his whole long term of sovereignty. He it was, who, in one of his predatory incursions into the North, destroyed the regal fortress on Greenan, and caused each of his soldiers, as we have already seen, to carry back to Limerick a stone of the demolished palace. It is true this destruction of Aileach by Murtagh O'Brien in A.D. 1101 was but an act of retaliation for the destruction of the palace of Kincora by Domhnall in 1088, but the carrying off of the stones from the ruined mansion was a refinement of savagery ill becoming a kingly mind.

The remaining portion of Domhnall's reign was principally made up of incursions into Meath, Connaught, &c., until in A.D. 1121 we find recorded the death of this wonderful man in that quaint style of eulogy so peculiar to the Donegal annalists:—

Domhnall, son of Ardghar MacLochlainn, King of Ireland, the most distinguished of the Irish for personal form, family, sense, prowess, prosperity, and happiness, for bestowing of jewels and food upon the mighty and the needy, died at Doire-Choluim-Chille, after having been twenty-seven years in sovereignty over Ireland, and eleven years in the kingdom of Ailech, in the seventy-third year of his age, on the night of Wednesday, the fourth of the Ides of February, being the feast of Mochuarog.

The title did not die with him, for, thirty years later, we find recorded by the same authorities that 'the hostages of Leinster were sent to his house, to the son of Niall, grandson of Lochlainn; i.e., King of Aileach and Teamhair.' On till the close of the twelfth century the title of King of Aileach is met with in our annals; but after that time it disappears from our history, and is lost for ever.

IV. LEGENDS OF AILEACH.—THE PROSPECT FROM THE GRIANAN.—THE PENAL DAYS

The royal abode of so many kings and warriors thenceforth became the prey of 'time's destroying fingers.' The sound of revelry and the clang of armour alike were stilled within its walls. Captive kings no longer sat at the monarch's board, and 'the house of the groaning hostages' held no more its fettered inmates; but, when the reality was gone, imagination would still people it with warlike hosts, ready to come to their country's deliverance when the time arrived, and the signal was given them. In a cave underneath the mountain, say the legends, lies entranced in magic slumber a troop of horse belonging to Hugh O'Neill. They have not, like the fallen soldiers of Sennacherib, 'the dew on their brow, and the rust on their mail,' but are equipped in perfect armour, well mounted on fiery chargers, whose reins they hold with one hand, while the other rests upon the hilt of a shining blade. The spell that binds them can only be broken by their destined leader, and everyone else is powerless to disenchant them. On one occasion a man wandered accidentally into this cave, and was terrified at the sight of the armed soldiers. One of them raised his head, and asked 'was the time come;' but when no answer was given him, he fell back again into his magic slumber. Duffy, in his spirited ballad, entitled *Inishowen*, refers to this legend:—

When they tell us a tale of a spell-stricken band,
All entranced, with their bridles and broadswords in hand,
Who await but the word to give Erin her own,
They can read you that riddle in proud Innishowen.

Another very beautiful but melancholy legend is frequently told in connection with Aileach; but as Keating

relates it as having occurred at Emania, in the time of Connor MacNessa, King of Ulster, we will merely give an outline of it here.

A certain noble, who was of a warlike disposition, wishing to perfect himself in the exercise of arms, went for that purpose to Scotland, to receive instructions from Sgabach, a lady of masculine bravery and experience. Here Congeallinn, or Cuhullin, fell in love with a Scotch lady, named Aoife, and had his affection returned. He was obliged suddenly, and sooner than he expected, to return to his native land; but ere leaving he gave directions to Aoife how to train up their child, if a son. She was to have him instructed in the military art by the best teachers, and at a certain age he was to be sent to Ireland to seek out his father. A chain of gold which he gave her was to be put about the youth's neck when setting out for the shores of Erin, and by this was his father to know him and acknowledge him as his son.

Three obligations, however, she was to impose on him with all a mother's authority when setting out on his journey, and to insist strictly on their observance. The first was, that he should never give place to any person living, but rather die than be obliged to turn back. The second was, never to refuse a challenge from the boldest champion alive, but to fight with him even though he was sure to fall in the encounter. And the third was, never to disclose his name to anyone asking it. In due time a son was born, and named Conlaoch. His mother got him trained by the same Amazon who had instructed his father, and he became the greatest proficient in the military art in Scotland. At the appointed time he came to search for his father, Congeallinn, and directed his steps to the king's palace, where a great meeting was at that time being held to deliberate on matters relating to the province of Ulster. On coming to court the young Conlaoch refused to disclose his name even to the king's messengers; and Cuhullin, who formed one of the assembly of nobles then met together, asked the king's permission to see this haughty youth, and to force him to obedience. To Cuhullin's inquiry as to his

name and the object of his coming, Conlaoch refused an answer, till the father, incensed by the obstinacy of the young warrior, struck him with his spear. Roused to fury, Conlaoch sprang at Cuhullin, and, 'as meet two troubled seas, with the rolling of all their waves, when they feel the wings of contending winds, in the rock-sided firth of Lunion,' so met the warriors in deadly combat. Never was deadlier struggle witnessed; but the fire of youth was in Conlaoch's veins, and the hitherto unconquered Cuhullin had to yield to the prowess of his adversary. Worstcd in the conflict, he was forced to take advantage of a ford in the stream to save his life. Maddened by his defeat he called upon one of his officers to bring him the spear, called in Irish the Gai Builg, with which he was sure to destroy his adversary. Grasping it in his hand, he threw it with all his force, and surely enough pierced the body of the unfortunate youth, who fell dead upon the spot. Pity for his fate and unmerited death now seized upon the heart of Congcullion, and bending over his fair young victim, from whose cheek and brow the bloom of boyhood had scarcely worn away, he descried the chain which years before he had entrusted to the hands of the enamoured Aoife. His grief can be better imagined than described, for he was now heartbroken. They buried the ill-fated Conlaoch in the green valley below, and raised above him a hero's tomb. The summer passed, the autumn died away, and surly November breathed over the landscape, stripping the quivering branches of their foliage, and sending the withered leaves through their weird, fantastic dances. On an evening at this season a female form was seen at Conlaoch's grave, and the morrow found her still kneeling there. It was Aoife, the loving mother, who, fearing for the fate of her son, had followed him to Erin; and, learning the sad story of his melancholy end, had come to die at her loved one's tomb. The green sward opened its bosom for her too, and she sleeps with the child of her love in this northern valley, far from the home of her youth and the graves of her kindred.

The prospect from the summit of Greenan is grand in the extreme. 'It commands,' says Petrie, 'one of the most

extensive and beautifully varied panoramic prospects to be found in Ireland.' Westward lies Tyrconnell, with its glorious mountains and verdant valleys; away towards the north stretch the realms of O'Doherty, historic Inishowen; eastwards rise up the basaltic headlands of Magilligan and the dark hills of Derry; whilst the blue mountain ranges of Tyrone close in the beauteous picture towards the south. It is a region of romantic story, the scene of a thousand battles, the natal soil of many a saint, the asylum of the poet and historian, and the field where the expiring patriotism of Ireland fought its last death-fight against the encroachments of English power.

And around this old ruin, which crowns the summit of Greenan, how many glorious as well as sad reminiscences cluster! What revolutions has it not witnessed! what wonderful changes has it not beheld! How many generations have come and gone, have played their part upon the stage of life, and then retired behind the curtain of death, since first the Daghdha's murdered son was laid to rest upon the summit of this mountain! Nearly a thousand years before Sardanapalus perished amid the smoking ruins of Niniveh did Corgeann sink here beneath his cruel burden; and the towers of Rome did not fling their shadows over the yellow Tiber till ten centuries after the first De Danann palace had been erected at Aileach. Almost coeval with Grecian Thebes, ancient as Thyatira, it was centuries old before Antioch was founded by Seleucus Nicator, and before Solomon had raised his magnificent temple in the sacred city of Sion. It preceded and survived the rise and fall of many kingdoms and empires; it has seen the strange vicissitudes of fortune in the old world and the new; and whilst the proudest cities of bygone ages have melted away like the snowflake, it still rests on the brow of the mountain, looking out, as of old, on the Swilly and the Foyle, and guarding, like a faithful sentinel, the lands of O'Doherty, from the peaks of the Scalp to the distant shores of Malin.

It has seen countless changes in the religious and political systems of the world. The strange doctrines of Buddha, the more elevated system of the sun and fire

worshippers, the absurd theories of Grecian and Roman philosophers, have passed, in turn, before it, and the mystic rites of the Druids have been celebrated around its very walls. The voice of Ireland's great apostle has echoed here, and in this spot the warlike son of Niall the Great reverently bowed to Patrick's teaching.

Even in the immediate locality around, what astonishing political revolutions, what changes of dynasty, what cruel butcheries, have not been witnessed ! What temples of religion has Aileach not seen rise in its very vicinity, then fall, in the lapse of years, beneath the worse than Vandal power of the enemies of society ! There, beyond the modern ramparts that connect Inch with Inishowen, once arose the cloisters of St. Mura, or Muranus, a famous monastery founded by St. Columbkille, and governed, in the beginning of the seventh century, by the illustrious man whose name it ever afterwards bore. St. Mura wrote the life of the founder of the monastery (St. Columb), and from this life the *Martyrology of Donegal* makes several extracts. Here, too, died, in A.D. 884, a most distinguished scholar and writer, Maclmura, or servant of Mura, abbot of Fahan. In recording the event the *Four Masters* thus write :—

Maclmura, the learned and truly intelligent poet, the erudite historian of the Scotch language, died. It is of him this testimony was given :—

There trod not the charming earth, there never flourished at affluent
Teamhair.

The great and fertile Ireland never produced a man like the mild, fine
Maclmura.

There sipped not death without sorrow, there mixed not a nobler face with
the dead.

The habitable earth was not closed over a historian more illustrious.

Well was that place named Fathan, or Fahan (which means shelter or enclosure), for the north winds may rave, and the tempests roar, but Fahan heeds not their violence. Nestling at the foot of the semicircular hills that shield it from the north, it for ever woos the sunshine, and smiles in perpetual verdure when all around is wintry gloom and desolation. But the monastic glories of Fahan are gone,

and only a crumbling ruin of the beauteous church now remains to indicate the site of its once famous schools and sacred cloisters.

Across the lake, on the opposite shore of the Swilly, stood the abbey of Kil-o'-Donnell, a Franciscan foundation established by the great Tyrconnel chieftains. It belonged to the Tertiaries, or third Order of St. Francis, and, like its great parent house in Donegal, was both founded and endowed by the O'Donnells. Farther down along the shore was the Carmelite Convent of Rathmullen, opposite to which 'dauntless Red Hugh' was entrapped in his fifteenth year by the wily stratagem of Sir John Perrott, and carried away captive to Dublin Castle, in whose dungeons he languished for four years. He was captured in 1587, and exactly twenty years afterwards another vessel sailed from that same Fanad shore, bearing away for ever, from their native land, the noblest and most skilful generals that Ireland ever produced. These were the 'Earls,' as they were usually styled, and the numerous retinue that accompanied them. Than Hugh O'Neill, who for so many years out-manceuvred all the generals of Elizabeth; and Rory O'Donnell, a man in every way worthy of the princely name he bore, our annals can produce no grander characters. Never did Aileach look down upon a more melancholy scene :—

For it is certain [say the *Four Masters*] that the sea never carried, and that the winds never wafted from the Irish shores, individuals more illustrious or noble in genealogy, or more renowned for deeds of valour, prowess, and high achievements.

Sad though was their fate, it is consoling to know that in this our day justice has at length been done to their memory, and that the glowing and truthful pen of one of our best writers (the late Father Meehan) has portrayed their sufferings and their wrongs in his *Fate and Fortunes of Neill and O'Donnell*.

Southwards from Fanad lies Gartan, the birthplace of the most remarkable man in Irish history, St. Columbkille. Remarkable was he in every sense, for, like St. Bernard in a

later age, his word swayed the councils of kings, and gave a direction to the current both of politics and religion. From Greenan can we count the sites of the many religious houses he established, stretching from Derry, his first great foundation, to the distant Tory, amid the waves of the Atlantic. And when the mists ascend, and leave undimmed the blue expanse across the waters, the last scene of his missionary labours—the isles and highlands of Scotland—rise before us like distant cerulean cloudland, flecked with living streaks of golden sunshine.

Immediately below, on this side of the Swilly, and adjoining the base of Greenan, stretch the rich plains of Burt, one vast garden of luxuriance and beauty, and the border fortresses of O'Doherty—like wounded gladiators, now tottering to their fall—lend an indescribable charm to the picture. These are the castles of Burt, Inch, and Elagh, which, with that of Buncrana, were used alternately by the lord of Inishowen as pleasure or convenience suggested. Tradition states that these castles were built in the beginning of the fifteenth century by Neaethan O'Donnell for his father-in-law, O'Doherty. Their last owner was the chivalrous but ill-fated Sir Cahir, who was killed near Kilmacrenan, A.D. 1608. With him passed away the power and the glory of the old sept, and his lordly possessions were seized upon by Sir Arthur Chichester, one of the most cold-blooded and heartless reptiles that ever crawled from the mire of English corruption. Sir Cahir's name and history fill a gloomy page in the history of our country. What he might in time have become is now vain to conjecture, for, with a burning feeling of personal injury rankling in his soul, and with the standard of battle once raised, he probably would have proved a deadly and troublesome enemy to the English power in the North, had his fate not been sealed so early on the Rock of Doon.

To barely enumerate the historical spots visible from Greenan, and to recount the incidents connected with them, would be to compress into an essay the material of a portly volume. There is not a foot of ground on either side the classic Swilly or lovely Foyle that does not bear testimony

equally to the prowess and the piety of the ancient race ; and the crumbling arches of the ruined cloisters, like voices from the dead, remind us that learning and religion flourished here at a time when the tide of barbarism had swept away everything sacred from the rest of Europe.

Greenan, too, is a mute memorial of the cruel legislation of the penal days ; for here, in the last century, were the persecuted Catholics wont to assemble, and to offer to God that homage which their faith dictated. This was not, as Colonel Blacker in his sun-temple theory has stated, by any means 'a certain proof of the traditional sanctity of the spot,' but was rather a proof of the fear and trembling with which the persecuted race regarded the priest-hunters of the time, and which induced them to select a situation from whence their enemies could be seen from a distance, and imprisonment or death be consequently avoided. That such precaution was not unnecessary we must admit, when we bear in mind how these traffickers in human blood were ever following in the wake of their victims, and how

With eye of lynx, and ear of stag,
And footfall like the snow,

they were ever alive to the least movement of the banned and outlawed race, and were only too ready and willing to betray them to the soldiery. We can well remember to hear our venerated grandsires tell, in the days of our childhood, how they attended Mass on Greenan Hill, when Dean O'Donnell (afterwards Bishop of Derry) was the celebrant ; how they arose long hours before day, and accompanied their parents through the dreary hills to the sacred trysting-place ; and how in that temple of nature, whose floor was the damp heather, and whose canopy was the azure sky, they learned practically the truth and sweetness of the doctrine that 'blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake.' But though, happily, those days are gone for ever, yet the impress they made was too deep to be easily obliterated, and the emancipated children of shackled parents can scarcely yet realize their freedom.

We cannot close this little sketch without referring to

an effort made a few years since to restore what remains of Aileach to its pristine form. The palace itself, as we already saw, was destroyed by O'Brien in 1101, but what Dr. Petrie calls the 'cashel' was apparently not interfered with. In the lapse of years it gradually fell, and having been constructed originally of uncemented stones, it presented at the time of the Ordnance Survey the appearance of a cairn. As, however, the walls still remained standing to the height of five or six feet, Petrie and his *collaborateurs* were able to take measurements, and to sketch out with wonderful accuracy the plan of the building. The surrounding wall was circular, enclosing a space 77 feet 6 inches in diameter, and the breadth of the wall at its base varied from 15 feet to 11 feet 6 inches. There was one doorway on the eastern side, there were stairs inside in the walls, which led to galleries, and brought one to the top gallery or platform. Petrie conjectured the height of the external wall had been twice or even four times the height of the portion of the wall then standing, *i.e.*, that it might have been 12 or even 24 feet high. It was evidently intended for a watch-tower, and as a place of defence from which assailing enemies could be advantageously repelled. It would serve, moreover, as a store-house for the military weapons used at the period.

Dr. Bernard, a medical gentleman residing in the city of Derry, undertook the work of restoration some years ago, and having enlisted the sympathies of the farmers of the locality, he secured valuable assistance from them in carrying out the work. He followed the plans sketched out in the Ordnance Memoir, and after earnest and persevering labours he completed his self-imposed task. To him it was a labour of love, for he is a most devoted antiquarian, and his labour has been the means of reviving the interest in the place, and of attracting numbers of tourists in the summer months. He well deserves the gratitude of all who take an interest in the bygone glories and in the ruins of their native land.

Silence and desolation now brood over this ancient seat of royalty; the music of the harp and the sigh of the

captive alike are stilled within its walls ; decay, with foot-steps as noiseless as the summer mist, has pressed upon it ; and the green grass grows in its kingly courts, and the tempests of the North howl over its fallen battlements. Yet, though all its grandeur and greatness are no more ; though its kings and warriors have long since mouldered into dust ; it has still a charm for us in its past, and we love to hear—as Ossian expresses it—‘ a tale of the times of old—the deeds of days of other years.’ When the future antiquarian shall investigate the history of our neglected ruins ; when the golden dawn of a genuine patriotism shall light our countrymen in the study of bygone ages, then shall we find that not the least interesting memorial of Ireland’s forgotten glories is the mouldering palace of the Daghdá—the time-honoured halls of ‘ Aileach of the Kings.’

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

OLIVER KELLY, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

VERY little is now known, or has been ever published in any connected form, concerning the distinguished career and the arduous life and labours of Dr. Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam. In the *Lives of the Archbishops of Tuam*, written by the late Sir Oliver J. Burke, for which the learned author received the order of the Papal knight-hood, but very scant notice is taken of the personal character of this prelate, and a short account only given of his public action. This poverty of material seemed unavoidable, as Dr. Kelly lived in a period of stress and storm in Ireland, when there was little time or thought to record the passing events of his day; and, consequently, there remain but scattered and incomplete memorials of that eminent ecclesiastic. That Dr. Kelly was a distinguished and a remarkable man is evident from several facts. It is recorded of him that when intelligence of his death reached Rome, whither he was bound at the time, the Pope (Gregory XVI.) 'wept as for the loss of an old and valued friend;' and we find that when the assembled bishops of Ireland met, in 1834, to make a pronouncement upon the Veto, Dr. Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, was chosen as their presiding chairman; and his name, as such, appears appended to the patriotic resolutions they issued, showing the high position of prominence he must have attained in the Irish Church.

With the aid of some material lately discovered in old newspapers and from other sources, as well as local tradition, I am enabled to put on paper some few connected facts respecting the deceased prelate which, seeing the light after being so many years immured in these old, dusty records, may be of interest not alone to the wide scattered sons of the see of Tuam, which he so worthily filled, but also to the ecclesiastics generally of our Church.

Oliver Kelly was born at Crumore, or Curraghmore, in the county of Galway, in the year 1777, of pious and

respectable parents, members of the old Catholic families of Connaught, who clung to the faith with the well-known tenacity of the Celt. A writer in the *Catholic Magazine* of 1834, says:—

At the age of fourteen he was obliged to seek in a foreign country that education which, by the barbarous penal laws, it was deemed a crime to receive in his native land—that land so famed in days of yore for communicating religion, arts, and civilization, not only to persecuting England, but to various other nations more grateful for the blessings they thus received.

Under the learned priest, who was subsequently Primate of Ireland (Most Rev. Dr. Curtis), at Salamanca, Oliver Kelly received that sound education he used so admirably for the promotion of religion. About 1802 he returned to Ireland ordained a priest, and being then twenty-five years of age, was appointed by Dr. Dillon, Archbishop of Tuam, as Administrator of the parish of Tuam. At that time, when the sound of a bell for worship could not be heard in that Catholic town, and when, instead of the proud commanding prominence it now occupies, verily situated on a mountain top, as it were, their church, of unpretending size and style, was hidden away in an obscure quarter known as Chapel-lane. The bishop and priests lived together in a small thatched house on the Tullinadally-road. It was destined for Oliver Kelly to build, not only the present Cathedral, but the bishop's house and the presbytery, and it was left for the present eminently public-spirited and careful prelate to secure, out of his own resources, all these places for the use of the church, free from the restrictions of tenancy, and the responsibilities of rent. Working assiduously in Tuam for some years, Father Kelly was appointed parish priest of Westport. There he commenced that wonderful career of church building, for which he was so distinguished. While in Westport he built the present Catholic chapel upon the Mall, a very pretty edifice in the Grecian style of architecture, and having inscribed outside the words of Holy Writ: 'This is an awful place.' Upon the death of Dr. Dillon, in 1809, Fr. Kelly was appointed Vicar Capitular of the Archdiocese by his brother priests.

These were troublous times for the Church, and the Pope, a prisoner of the French Emperor, was unable to discharge his high functions. Consequently, Tuam remained without a bishop, and there was an interregnum for five years in the see of Jarlath. It was only on the 4th of October, 1814, that Pope Pius VII. was able to issue his rescript, and that Dr. Kelly received his appointment. On the 12th of March, 1815, he was consecrated in the old Church at Chapel lane. In 1829 he received the Pallium from the Holy See. In Sir Oliver Burke's brief account of Dr. Kelly, 1814 is given as the date of his appointment, but the above are the exact dates. In the *Catholic Magazine* for June, 1834, we read of Dr. Kelly:—

His unalterable attachment to the purity of the Catholic faith, and his desire to preserve it in Ireland against the wily machinations of State tricks, were unequivocally manifested in his opposition to the rescript of Quarrantotti, in 1814, to the Vote under every shape, and to the pensioning project of 1825. He not only headed his own immediate bishops and clergy in denouncing those measures but on account of his peculiar firmness was chosen President of the assembled bishops of Ireland, in Synod, in 1815, when in the spirit of that great national apostle they declared that the giving of any direct or indirect influence to the Government of this country by veto, nomination boards, or pension, over the Catholic clergy, would be as destructive to the peace of the country as it would be subversive of the Catholic religion in Ireland.

Upon his appointment to Tuam, Dr. Kelly appointed Dean Burke his successor in Westport, and he was its last parish priest, as upon that good priest's death it was attached to Tuam by Dr. MacHale as a mensal parish, and it so continues. Dean Burke was an intimate friend of the bishop, and was regarded by priests and people as his probable successor, for the translation of Dr. MacHale from Killala by Rome was at the time somewhat of a surprise in Tuam. In 1822 famine stalked the land, and the labours at that time of Dr. Kelly were so untiring, so anxious and arduous, that they undermined his health, and he was never the same afterwards. Even so did the rigours of black '47 make such an impression on the late Bishop of Clonfert,

then parish priest of Cummer, that he never could shake off its effects upon his spirits and strength. A Relief Committee was formed in Tuam consisting of the two Archbishops, Dr. Kelly and Dr. Trench (the last Protestant Archbishop of Tuam). It may be incidentally mentioned that it was the abolition of the Archbishopric of Tuam, after Dr. Trench's death, by the Derby Ministry, that first made Dr. Newman consider the Erastian character of the Protestant establishment, and which made him doubt its divine origin. A contemporary writer says of Dr. Kelly during this trying time :—

This illustrious bishop was to be seen on the wilds of Connemara, or upon the remote mountains of the West, relieving the starving portion of his flock, and, like his Divine Master, administering to the wants of the poor and afflicted.

In 1825 Dr. Kelly, with Dr. Curtis, Dr. Murray, Dr. Doyle, and Dr. Magauran, were summoned to give evidence before a Committee elected by Parliament to examine into and report upon the tenets, morals, and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, and upon the state of Ireland in general. The evidence of these prelates had a powerful effect in opening the minds of the English people ; but that of Dr. Kelly, 'if possible,' says the same writer, 'exceeded the evidence of the others in opposing the then contemplated pensioning and vetoistical arrangements.'

In 1827 Dr. Kelly commenced the erection of the magnificent Cathedral of Tuam, 'the ornament and glory of town and diocese.' As was then said of it, 'for beauty of architecture, unity of parts, and chasteness of design, it is superior to any modern temple in the empire.' It may have some compeers to-day in Ireland, but it must be remembered it was the first of its size and style that was attempted after the dark night of persecution had to give way to the opening dawn of religious liberty. At this period Dr. Kelly threw himself with all his characteristic energy into the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and from the first was one of the staunchest friends and ablest advisers of O'Connell. In a letter dated from Merrion-

square, the 30th December, 1827, Daniel O'Connell thus addressed Dr. Kelly :—

The public papers will already have informed your Lordship of the resolution to hold a meeting for petitions in every parish in Ireland on Monday, 31st January. I would not presume to call your Lordship's particular attention to this measure, or respectfully solicit your countenance and support in your diocese, if I was not deeply convinced of its extreme importance and utility. The combination of national action—all Catholic Ireland acting as one man—must necessarily have a powerful effect on the minds of the ministry and the entire British nation. A people who can thus be brought to act together and on one impulse are too powerful to be long opposed.

We know the results of that splendid combination, even if we are not, by reason of our own apathy and want of co-operation, yet reaping the full fruits of O'Connell's victory.

Towards the end of 1833 Dr. Kelly's health declined. He visited the Continent, under medical advice, in the hope of recovery in that more genial clime, and away from the cares of his diocese. He spent some months in the South of Europe: and returning to Rome from Naples, he was taken ill at Albano, near the Holy City, and, at the early age of fifty-seven, there breathed his last on the 18th of April, 1834. The account of his death is thus given in the *Catholic Magazine* of August 2, 1834 :—

After struggling with various attacks he left Rome for Albano on the 13th of April, 1834, and early on the morning of the 18th he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator, after receiving the consolations of religion from the pastor of that district. On that day a splendid funeral service was performed in the Cathedral of Albano, and the Pope having heard of his death [letters from Rome acquaint us] shed many tears and ordered every respect to be paid to his remains, and that they should be conveyed to Rome, where his Holiness, attended by the Cardinals, the Superiors and the Students of the Irish, English, and Roman Colleges, formed the awful [*sic*] procession to the Church of the Propaganda. After the funeral service prescribed by Roman ritual had been performed, his body was placed in the vaults attached to the Church. On the 22nd of April another Office and High Mass were celebrated, attended by nearly the same persons. The church, magnificently hung with

black, and illumined by the numerous wax candles which usually adorn the churches on the Continent on such solemn occasions. The Right Rev. Dr. Baines, Vicar Apostolic, officiated as High Priest. Dr. Kelly was the intimate friend and favourite of Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Gregory XVI., the present Pontiff, who, during his stay in Rome, paid him marked attention, and lamented in his death the demise of one of the first prelates of the Irish Church. What a gratifying account for his friends—what an example for his successor to follow!

Such is the writer's account of Dr. Kelly, and such was Tuam's bishop, whose merits and fame are so little known even in the place adorned by his virtues, and where an enduring monument to his memory, the magnificent Cathedral of Tuam, stands to attest his zeal and love for religion. To Dr. Kelly Tuam's archdiocese is indebted, also for the foundation of the classic College of St. Jarlath (so called by Dr. Kelly in commemoration of the patron saint of the archdiocese), that school of learning as famous in its day as was its predecessor at Cloonfush (Cluamfois) in the years before the English invasion which, three miles from Tuam's town was founded by St. Jarlath—that place which has been for over sixty years the training ground for all the priests, not alone of Tuam's large diocese, but of so many scattered over the United States and the Colonies. In the *Catholic Magazine* of June, 1834, we read:—

The Tuam Cathedral, now nearly completed, has received, per the late Most Rev. Dr. Kelly, donations from Lady Elizabeth Russell of £15, and £5 from James Daly of Great Charles-street. St. Jarlath's College is receiving that degree of public support it so justly merits. The Rev. Mr. Brown, Principal, and the Professors, show extraordinary care and attention to its interests. Mr. Stack, the gifted Professor of Elocution, is employed in giving a series of lectures to the students there.

Dr. Kelly's successor in the see was Dr. MacHale, who completed and consecrated the Cathedral, and dying full of years and honour was succeeded by the present illustrious prelate, Dr. MacEvilly, who has laid out upon necessary repairs of Dr. Kelly's church over £10,000, making it exteriorly and interiorly one of the finest places of Catholic worship in the country.

RICHARD J. KELLY.

THE 'MULS' AND THE 'GILS': SOME IRISH SURNAMES.

I.

IT is not generally known that at least one hundred thousand people of Irish birth or descent bear, in their every-day surnames, a record of the zeal for piety and learning which distinguished early Christian Ireland. According to the last census, there are in Ireland alone eight thousand three hundred persons called (in Irish, of course) 'descendant of the servant of the Church.' Then there are thousands of 'descendants of the servants of God,' of Christ, of Mary, of John, of Brigid, of Finian, of Brendan, of Aidan. I am confident that many will read these phrases without at all recognising in them their own family names. So far as I know, the subject is wholly untouched; but now that the Irish people are at last beginning to learn their own language, they will find that their surnames, and many other things which, so far, must have appeared meaningless, have really a striking and often beautiful signification.

In the present paper, I propose to discuss some surnames formed from the names of twenty-six patrons, chiefly Irish saints. The surnames, in their English garb, amount to about seventy. I have thought it necessary to say, first of all, something about Irish names in general.

Most Irish surnames, although grievously disfigured in passing into their present English forms, are easily recognisable as such. It is to be hoped that, by this time, everyone who bears an Irish name knows, at least, that *Mac* and *O*, the two familiar signs of Gaelic descent, are just ordinary nouns, meaning *son* and *grandson*, but now in our surnames standing for *descendant*. So that every Irish name beginning with *Mac* or *O* means 'descendant of' some ancestor whose name, in the genitive case, forms the remainder of the surname. All Irish surnames are derived

from the names of ancestors, and, accordingly, all should have either Mac or O. I speak of names originally Irish, for there are some names of foreign origin, though now, and most deservedly, classed as Irish, such as Burke, Hyde, Walsh, which have neither Mac nor O, but either retain the *de* (in the case of the Norman names), oftened softened to *a*, as *de Búrca* or *a Búrca*, *de h-Ide*, or assume an adjectival form, as *Tomás Breathnach*, Thomas Walsh.¹

In Irish, all names of men have either *Mac* or *O*, and names of women have *Ni*, daughter. Custom has extended the use, in English, of *Mac* and *O* to women's names. *Mac* should be written at full length, not *M^c*. We do not write *Johnsⁿ*. Many Irish surnames have lost *Mac* or *O*; for this there are various reasons, all discreditable.

The English forms of most of our Irish surnames originated during the last two centuries, many in this century. We must not forget that in 1800, Ireland was to but a slight extent an English-speaking country. Education had been prohibited even in the English tongue. We find the first forms of our surnames, as a rule, in those precious legal documents which declare that Dermot Mac So-and-So or O'So-and-So, being a 'meere Irishman,' is hereby declared to have forfeited the lands, &c. The English forms are but rough and ready phonetic equivalents of the Gaelic names; and as everyone could devise a phonetic system of his own, there were and are often, several forms for the same family name.

To the student of the meanings of Irish surnames the English forms of these names are not only of little or no use, but sometimes are positively misleading. Thus, in names that are now spelled *Twomey*, *Twohill*, *Gilfeather*, *MacAvenue*, we see what strange results come from an attempted equation of parts of these names with certain English words. To study Irish surnames to any effect, we must leave the English forms out of sight for the moment,

¹ From such names, possibly, originated the practice of saying *an Brínnach*, *an Búrcaich*, corresponding to the modern English titles of *The Magillcuddy*, *The O'Neill*—forms unknown in classical Irish, although they are found in modern Scotch Gaelic. Possibly, however, the usage is of French origin.

and analyze as far as we can the original Gaelic names. Some of these names, coming to us in their present form from prehistoric times, may defy our analysis; but others—and these fortunately happen to be large classes—can be easily resolved into their constituent elements. In the present paper I propose to discuss two classes of surnames. These are the names which begin, or which should begin, in O'Mul- and MacGil- (Gaelic *O'Maoil-* and *MacGiolla-*), but which are found beginning in Mal-, Mel-, Mil-, Mol-, Mul-, and MacEl-, MacIl-, Gil-, Kil-, MacL-, Cl-, L-, and other forms.¹

We take the Mul- names first. Any surnames beginning in O'Mul-,—let us say O'Mulblank,—means 'descendant of Mulblank.' Mulblank is an ancestor from whom the family derives its surname, and as surnames did not come into use generally before the tenth or eleventh century, the ancestral Mulblank must be looked for before that date. In most names of this class, as we shall see, the ancestor belongs to the age of the great Christian schools of Ireland; but some Mul- names originated in prehistoric times.

What, then, was the meaning of the name borne by the original Mulblank? In other words, what is the meaning of the Mul- prefix? In modern Irish the Mul is written *maol*, and this *maol* represents different older Irish words in different names. (a) In most of our present names the Mul stands for 'servant of,' or 'votary of.' And most of these names are of Christian origin, and of very great interest. Thus, many centuries ago, a person devoted to St. John, for example, would assume the name *Maol-Eoin*, 'servant of John' Hence arose the modern surname *O'Maoil-Eoin*, descendant of the servant of John—O'Malone, Malone. (b) In other surnames the Mul stands for an old Gaelic word meaning 'hero, magnate.' (c) In others, Mul probably represents a word for 'head.'

The Gil- names have had a similar origin. Many

¹ There are a few surnames in O'Gil. The Scotch surname, Ogilvy (Ogilvie, which is sometimes quoted as the only O name in Scotland, is probably not Gaelic at all. The accent of the name is on the first syllable, and the name is probably a Lowland, not a Highland, one.

centuries ago there lived persons who answered the name, Gilblank. In some of these names, Gil, Irish *giolla*, older form *gilla*, meant 'servant,' as *Giolla-brighde*, pron. gilla-breeda, servant of St. Brigid. And now we have the surname, *Mac-Giolla-Bhrighde*, descendant of the servant of St. Brigid—in English Gilbride, Kilbride. In others of the Gil- names the Gil- prefix must be translated by 'person, fellow,' as *Mac-Giolla-bháin*, descendant of the white (haired) person, now MacIlvaine.

The Mul- names originated much earlier than those in Gil. In fact, we find no record of Gil- names until after the Danish invasion; and some maintain that the word *gilla* is of Danish origin. On the other hand, we find Mul- names of pre-Christian, and even of prehistoric origin. As far as can be ascertained, the original form of the prefix was a word *maglos*, connected in meaning with the Latin *magnus*, and meaning 'magnate,' 'hero,' or something similar. There is a Gaulish inscription, of course of the prehistoric period, mentioning a certain *maglomarus*, or 'great hero.' When Irish came to be written in the Roman alphabet, the word had become *mael*, and we have record of great numbers of *mael* names of the pre-Christian period. Thus we have *Mael-Midhe*, hero of Meath; *Mael-Caisil*, hero of Cashel. Then we find the prefix assuming the secondary meaning of 'one devoted to a servant of,' as *Mael-Bresail*, servant of Bresal; *Mael-cluiche*, addicted to play, gambling; and *Mael-bracha*, devoted to malt! We see, therefore, that the *mael* prefix had the meaning of 'servant' even in pre-Christian times, and we may assume that it is the same word, originally *maglos*, which we find in names like Malone, and all names meaning servant of a saint.¹

No doubt, people already accustomed to such names as 'servant of Bresal' found it very appropriate, when they fell under strong religious influences, to assume such names as 'servant of Patrick,' 'servant of (St.) Michael,' 'servant

¹ Some writers, however, think that the prefix, in the surnames formed from the name of a saint, is the adjective *mael*, bald, applied by the Irish to the first Christian missionaries on account of their remarkable tonsure. We find in a mediæval poem the phrase *Melcisedec mael*. M., the priest; and St. Patrick himself is often called 'adze-head.'

of Mary.' Accordingly, we find that such names were used very soon after the conversion of Ireland to the Christian faith. In an old life of St. Cellach of Killala, himself one of the early Irish saints, we find mention of persons called 'servant of St. Ibar' (one of the most ancient Christian missionaries in Ireland), and 'servant of Senach' (another early Irish saint). The bulk of these saint-names, however, do not occur so early: they are found chiefly in the annals of the seventh to the tenth century, the earliest entry in the *Four Masters* being that of 'servant of Brigid,' at the year 645. As we have seen, the Gil-names do not occur so early, the first such record made by the *Four Masters* being that of a 'servant of Kevin,' at the year 981.

Reserving the other names in Mul and Gil, we shall find it convenient to discuss, in the first place, the large, and, from the Catholic standpoint, most interesting class of surnames which contain the name of a patron saint.

II.

It was in the golden age of the early Irish schools, when Ireland was a lodestar that attracted students, scholars, and pilgrims from Britain, France, and Germany—from Rome itself, and even from the distant East—that the names which we shall now examine had their origin. Around the great schools grew up towns filled with native and foreign students, in some cases amounting to thousands. Then even the surrounding peasantry, with that admiration for learning which is characteristic of even the humblest class in Ireland, gloried in the fame for learning and sanctity of the great doctors and teachers of the colleges. What wonder if, in the lecture-rooms of Clonard, and through the neighbouring country, should be found many who bore the name of 'servant of Finian;' if Derry, Kells, Durrow, Iona, and many other shrines should shelter 'servants of Columba;' or if the innumerable places connected with the names of Patrick and Brigid should be visited by pilgrims who would take, and bear ever afterward, the names of those national patrons? Probably the first to adopt this practice were the clerics attached to the church or college founded by the

saint.¹ The adoption of such names would have been facilitated by the custom of changing the names of religious on their entrance of the service of the altar. The national apostle, we know, was in early life called Succat, a name which, could we but explain it, would solve for us the vexed question of St. Patrick's birthplace. St. Columba, too, changed his ancestral name of Criomhthann, 'fox,' for Colum, 'dove.' There are many later examples. Many of the clerics, in all probability, already bore such names as Maelbresail, servant of Bresal, &c., and would find it very easy and very appropriate to substitute a patron saint for the Bresal or other prehistoric ancestor. The practice, if it began with religious, soon extended to all classes, and to both sexes. If we find the names of women recorded but seldom, we must remember that the early annals deal, as a rule, with transactions in which men are generally the actors.

In the tenth century there must have been a large number of persons bearing Mul- names; and a little later, when surnames began to be formed, there were evidently plenty of 'descendants of servants of Patrick' and of other patrons. Hence, though many such surnames became obsolete, and have not reached our days, we have still, in English garb, about one hundred and fifty such surnames.

Let us now see them in detail. From *Dia*, God, came the name Gilla-de, 'servant of God,' often recorded in mediæval annals, and giving us in later times the surname Mac-Giolla-de, 'descendant of the servant of God,' in English dress Gildea, Gilday, Kilday (United States). O'Dea, O'Day (U.S.), is an old Gaelic name of pre-Christian origin, but the rage for anglicization has led some persons of the name to change it for Goodwin—*Dia*-God-Good.

Coimhde, Lord, gave the personal name *Giolla-coimhde*, 'servant of the Lord,' and thus arose the surname *MacG. coimhde*, 'descendant of the servant of the Lord.' O'Donovan gives the English form as MacGilcarry, which I have not met in use; but we have MacIlharry, hence an

¹ On the theory that the Mul- prefix stands for *maol*, a tonsured cleric, this would, of course, be the case always.

unwarranted form MacIlhenry (U. S.). It is possible that MacIlhargy and MacIlhagga are the same name, although the former would seem to come from St. Forga, as noted below. 'Descendant of the servant of Christ' has survived in the two forms; the Mul- form is Mylechrist, now used only in the Isle of Man, and the Gil- form is Gilchrist, Gilchreest, Kilchrist. In all these names the initial K represents the final consonant of the Mac- prefix. The name *Iosa*, Jesus, gave *Maol-Iosa* and *Giolla-Iosa*, both of frequent occurrence in the old annals. We read of one 'servant of Jesus,' who was Archbishop of Armagh, or, as the annalist puts it, 'successor of Patrick;' another was Maclisa O'Daly, poet-in-chief of Scotland and Ireland, who died in 1185. Walter Scott, who has so much of the mediæval spirit, has quoted the name in the *Lady of the Lake* :—

'Hail, Malise, hail! his henchman came.
Give our safe-conduct to the Graeme.'

From the Gil- form comes 'descendant of Jesus' in the various forms MacAleese, Maclise, McLeish, Gilleece, Gillies.

The name of Mary was particularly honoured by the early Christian Irish, and we find record of numbers of people, of all ranks of life, who bore the name of 'servant of Mary.' In the *Four Masters* we note, among others, 'a daughter of Nial,' an 'abbot of Ardbraccan,' a 'tanist of Leix,' a 'priest of Clonard,' 'a 'successor of Patrick,' or Bishop of Armagh, who bore this name, in either of its forms *Maolmhuire* or *Gillamhuire*. The scribe of the *Lebhar Brei*, one of the greatest Irish manuscripts that has come down to us, was a 'servant of Mary,' whose father was Conn, 'friend of the poor.' One of the most striking characteristics of our native Christian literature, from its earliest period down to the present day, is its constant and tender reference to the name of Mary. In Scotland, where the Christian faith was carried by Irish missionaries, we find that even in the districts now for three centuries non-Catholic, the cry of suffering in the old tongue is still

*a Mhoire, Mhoire ! O Mary, Mary !*¹ Both in Scotland and Ireland *Maolmhuire* is in common use as a baptismal name, and in Ireland it has given the surname *O'Maoilmhuire*, 'descendant of the servant of Mary, in English Mullery, Mulry.' As a baptismal name, the English translation was first Meyler, and later Miles, a name which really has no more connection with the Gaelic form than has Ned with Nebuchadnezzar. From the Gil-form came the surnames MacElmurry, Kilmurray, Kilmary, Gilmary, Gilmore—all intended equivalents for *Mac-Giolla-Mhuire*.

To the lively faith of the Gael, the angels were very real. We have a striking poem of early date (if not, as tradition would have it, the composition of Columbcille himself) describing the angelic patrons of Arran. To St. Michael, in particular, there was a peculiar devotion, and to the present day his name is of frequent recurrence in those household hymns of great antiquity, which, in the Gaelic-speaking districts, have never been superseded by the forms of prayer we are accustomed to in modern times. On the *Sceilg mhor*, the great lonely Skelligs rock that rises precipitously out of the Atlantic to the west of the Kerry coast, is buried, according to the old legends, the warrior Ir, one of the great ancestors of the Irish. These, too, for many centuries, have been a favourite shrine of St. Michael, and on the adjoining mainland the surname Mulvihil (Mulville, Mulverhill, U.S.), or descendant of s. of Michael—*O'Maoilmhichil* is most abundant. MacGilnichael, with the same meaning, was formerly an Ulster name, which is possibly now represented by MacElmeel, although that name may be from the adjective *maol*, as noted further down.

'Servant of the saints' is now obsolete as a first name, but has left us the surname *Mac-Giolla-na-naomh*, d.s.—descendant of the servant—of the saints, in English spelling MacElnea, MacAneave. *Eoin Bruinne*, or 'John of the Bosom,' is a usual, and, as all will admit, a most appropriate name in Gaelic for St. John. As we might expect, we find

¹ In Irish-Gaelic *a Mhuire, Mhuire* (a wirra wirra). So also, *a Mhuire is truagh* (a wirra iss throa), *O Mary, pity*.

that s. (servant) of John was a popular name: one of this title, Macleoin, or Malone, was Bishop of Trim in 929. The surname O'Malone, 'd.s. of St. John,' is well known and the Gilla-Eoin form survives in Maglone, MacAloone, MacLoone, Gilloon. In Scotland the word Eoin is pronounced Eain; Highland scholars now spell it Iain; the more English form, Ian, is familiar to readers of nowaday literature. The Highland 'd.s. of John' is, accordingly, Mac-Giolla-Eain—or, as they misspell it, Mac-Illeathan—and is anglicized MacLane, McLean.¹ Maelpedair, Maelpoil, two names we find in the old books, have left us only Mullpeters (U. S.); from the other forms we have Gilfedder, Gilfidder, Gilfeather, and Gilfoyle, Kilfoyle—d.s. of SS. Peter and Paul respectively.

The teacher of St. Patrick, St. Martin of Tours, has always been honoured in Ireland, and Martin as a baptismal name, is very common at the present day. The feast of St. Martin is still observed with curious ceremonies in some places. Maelmartin, s. of Martin, is recorded as having been used by various individuals in Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Kells, and Connor. It is now obsolete, but Gilmartin, Kilmartin are to the fore—d.s. of St. Martin. Churches, cells, and holy places without number recall St. Patrick, our great national apostle. Templepatrick, Donaghpatrick, Kilpatrick, Toberpatrick mark, in many places, the lines of his progress through Ireland. The annals of the middle ages are filled with the names of princes, priests, abbots, and bishops who bore the title of *Maclpatraic*, s. of Patrick, now obsolete, and *Giolla-patraic*, which has left us the surnames Kilpatrick, Gilpatrick, MacElpatrick, MacElfederick. These two last names occur only in north-east Ulster. The MacGillapatricks, most notable, were the princes of Ossory, and their descendants, as well as many other families of the name, have translated themselves to Fitzpatrick, although

¹ On account of some similarity of sound between *Liur*, the word for Monday, and the last syllable of 'd.s. of John, this name is in parts of Donegal translated Munday! To my own knowledge, a young man named Mac Keane (MacLain) was advised, by one who should have known better, to transform himself to Piggott—MacKeane *became* pigpottle! He refused, and kept to the grand old Gaelic name, nor did he regret it a few years later.

the prefix Fitz is wholly out of place here. The name of our saint is offered by some modern lights of philosophy to explain the legend of the banishment of the snakes from Ireland, and the subject deserves a passing reference. Scientific men are nothing if not iconoclasts, and, according to the latest theory, St. Patrick had nothing to do with banishing snakes. Snakes had disappeared from Ireland at least by the time of the Danish invasion, and the Danes, noticing the absence of the reptiles, and hearing much of the name of St. Patrick, interpreted this name as an Irish attempt at *padrekr*, from the Scandinavian *paddarekr*, toad-expeller. And so, according to this theory, the legend arose at first among the Danish-speaking invaders, and afterwards was adopted by the Irish.¹

St. Brigid, 'the Mary of the Gael,' had many mediæval clients named *Maelbrihte* and *Gillabrihte*. The famous scholar of Mayence, who is known in Latin as Marianus Scotus, was, in Gaelic, a 'servant of Brigid.' We have now Mulbride, MacGillbride, MacBride, Kilbride, and--*horresco referens*--Mucklebreed; all meaning d.s. of St. Brigid.²

There are, of course, many places named Kilbride, or church of Brigid, and Tubberbride, or holy well of Brigid. A 'Bride's Well' existed in London until Reformation times. Whether the Irish or the Swedish saint was the patron, I do not know; probably the Irish saint, as the Swedish name is properly Birgitta. Anyhow, when the Reformation came there was no further use for the holy well, but somehow jails were in great demand, and so even the buildings surrounding 'St. Bride's Well' were 'converted,' and henceforth rendered service as a prison, and the name 'bridewell' became synonymous with 'prison.' To such base uses do even words descend!³

¹ See *Folk-lore*, December, 1894.

² Readers may, perhaps, question the actual use of some of our less common surnames, but I give only names, I have heard myself or taken from the daily papers (especially reports of local meetings), or others whose use is guaranteed by the Secretary of the General Registry Office in Dublin, Mr. Mathieson, to whose reports and personal letters I am much indebted.

³ Although Birgitta and Brigid are now different names, the former may possibly have been of Irish origin. At the time of the Danish invasion some

'In the east and the west,' as the old phrase ran, or in Scotland and in Ireland, St. Columcille is venerated as the one in whom all the highest ideals of the Gaelic mind are found united. Tradition has it that his name in childhood was Críomthann, 'fox,' and that his late name, Colum, 'dove,' was assumed on his entrance into religious life. Out of Ireland he is better known by the Latin Columba, 'dove.' The name 'servant of Colum' has descended in the form *Maolcolum*, Malcolm, used only by Scotch families, although a more suitable Irish and Catholic name it would be hard to find. From it come the rather rare surnames Mulholm, Maholm, and from the Gil- form comes MacElholm, descendant of Colum. At a baptismal name, Colum is still used in the Gaelic-speaking districts of both Ireland and Scotland (in the latter country in the form Calum), giving the surnames MacColum (Scotch MacCallum), Colum, descendant of a person named Colum. The rage for anglicization has led to the fearsome form 'Pidgeon,' used as a surname by some benighted individuals.

In his student days Columba had been a pupil of both the Finians, of Clonard, and Moville. Of him of Clonard says the *Donegal Martyrology*: 'Finian of Clonard, in wisdom a sage; tutor of the saints of Erin in his time. . . . In life and ethics he resembled Paul the Apostle.' The same ancient record likens Finian of Moville to James the Apostle. There are several saints now named in English Finian, in Latin Finianis. The older form Finan, used by Bede, was much nearer to the original Gaelic Finnán,¹ a very common name in ancient Ireland.

'Servant of Finian' has left us the surname *Mac-giolla-Fhionnáin*; in English, MacAleenan, MacAlinnion,

Scandinavian names were adopted in Ireland, such as Auliff, Ivar, Otter, Sirrice, which have given us modern MacAuliffe, MacIvor, MacKeever, Ivers, MacCutter, Cutter, MacKittrick, and some Irish names, such as Oscar, Niall, Fergus, were adopted by the Scandinavians, who use them to the present day.

¹ It is a diminutive of the adjective *fin*, now *fiann*, fair-haired; but a recent and not unpalatable theory takes the word, in these saint-names, to mean fair, pure, holy. The names of Finnán of Clonard, Finian, also Berr-fhinn, of Moville, and Finn Barre of Cork, are all Latinized Finnianus (also Vennianus and Vennio, Venioneta). There is also a modern form Finghin, translated by 'Florence,' although there is no apparent connection.

MacLennon, McClennan, Lennon, Glennon, Gleenan, Gilfinnen, Finnan, and the translated form Leonard; that is to say, some d.s. of Finian have assumed the foreign name Leonard, because it had a certain resemblance, in the first syllable, to Lennon. I once spent a very pleasant couple of weeks at the house of one Padraig Mac-Giolla-Fhionnáin in Southern Connemara. In English he was known as Paddy Leonard; and this particular servant of Finian would have made the fortune of a dozen folk-lore societies, as his memory was a regular treasure-house of Gaelic tradition.

Some of the Irish Gilfillans, I am inclined to think, are rather Gilfinnens, and take their name from Finian, and not from St. Fillan, who is more identified with Scotland, and is alluded to in Scott's well-known lines:—

Harp of the North! that moldering long hast hung
On the witch-elm that shades St. Fillan's spring.

His name is preserved also by Glenfillan, one of the most beautiful spots in the Highlands, where, at the head of Lough Shiel, lies the little island of St. Fillan, with its ancient bells of the saint, a short distance from Glenaladale, the home of the MacDonalds, from where come Archbishop Angus MacDonald and Bishop Hugh MacDonald, both good Gaelic scholars and lovers of the old tongue. 'Servant of Fillan,' is represented now by the names Gilfillan, Gilliland, MacClellan, MacLeland, Leland. As a baptismal name Finian is still used in Kerry, but in Cork the 'translated' form Florence has taken its place in English. Derrynane, the home of O'Connell, is the 'wood of Finian.' *Doire Fhionnain*—this is not Finian of Clonard or Moville, but Finian of Inisfallen.

One of the ancestors of Finian of Clonard was the famous pagan warrior Celtchar, who was destined to have among his descendants not only such a pillar of the Christian Church as Finian, but also a most bitter enemy of the new faith in Ronan, who had two girls tied to stakes on the beach, to be drowned by the incoming tide, for refusing to abjure Christianity. Ronan had a son to whom he gave the name

of Maelcelchair, or servant, admirer of the great pagan ancestor already mentioned. Such, however, is the irony of fate, that this same Maelcelchair became the apostle of south-west Kerry, where his beautiful stone oratory, Kilmalhedar, still stands in perfect preservation, one of the chief glories of Irish archæologists.

Bishop Erc, of Slane, in Meath, was one of the early nomadic missionaries who travelled from place to place preaching the Gospel. From his name comes the surname Mullarkey, d.s. of St. Erc.

Dunshaughlin takes its name from St. Seachnall—in Latin, *Secundinus*—whom tradition represents as nephew of St. Patrick. For many centuries, 'servant of Seachlann' (the metathesized form of Seachnall) was a popular baptismal name, and is represented in English history books by Melaghan, and often by the foreign name Malachy, with which it has no further connection than some phonetic resemblance of the first syllables. One of the name was the Malachy that—

wore the collar of gold
Which he won from the proud invader.

This is the Malachy who is buried in an island in the beautiful Lough Ennell, now, I regret to say, more usually called Belvedere, in Westmeath. The name is still in popular use as a given name in the forms Loughlin (more informally 'Lack,' 'Loughie') and Malachy ('Mal'), the latter form being usual in the south-west, where the other Biblical forms, Jeremiah and Timothy, are also mistakenly used. The surname O'Melaghan, d.s. of St. Secundinus, has become merged in that of MacLoughlin; and this probably accounts for the abundance of folk of this name in Ireland—17,500, according to the census of 1891. The forms Loughlin, Laffin, Claflin (U.S.), are also met with.

A great body of Gaelic literature centres around the two St. Kierans, of Saighir, now called Serkieran, and of Clonmacnoise, by the Shannon. From him of Clonmacnoise, probably come the names *O'Mailchiaraín*, *MacGiollachiarain*, Mulhern, Mulheerin, MacIlherron, d.s. of St. Kieran.

Kilalla takes its name from St. Alladh—hence the Latin form of the name of the diocese, Alladensis. From him the surnames Mulally, Lally, d.s. of St. Alladh. Another bishop of the same see was St. Cellach, from whom the place name Kilkelly, or church of Cellach, and also the surname Kilkelly, *MacGiolla-Ccallaigh*, d.s. of St. Cellach. This St. Cellach had a very chequered career. Born of a royal house, he was destined for the service of the altar, and became a student at Clonmacnoise. The student was called, by the death of his father in battle, to be the reigning prince, and afterwards was, in turn, a fugitive, again a cleric, Bishop of Kilalla, a hermit on an island of Lough Con, and finally victim to the jealousy of his enemies. Something of a poet, too, was this western hermit. Awaiting his death the morning of his murder, and seeing, as he thought, all those dark omens to which Gaelic tradition attached deep meaning, he sang a lay, of part of which this is a translation:—

Hail to the morning fair, that, as a flame, falls upon the earth! Hail to Him, too, who sends it—the many-virtued morning, ever new! O morning fair, so full of pride—sister of the brilliant sun—hail to thee, beauteous morning, that lightest my little book for me! Thou seest the just in every dwelling, thou shinest on every tribe and race, hail! O thou white-necked, beautiful one, here with us now—O golden-fair and wonderful!

My little book, with chequered page [Scripture] tells me my life has not been aright. Macleroín [one of the assassins], 'tis he whom I do well to fear: he comes to smite me at the last. O scaldcrow, and O scaldcrow! gray-coated, sharp-beaked, wretched bird; thy desire is apparent to me; no friend art thou to Cellach. O raven! thou that makest croaking, if hungry thou be, O bird, depart not from this rath until thou hast a feast of my flesh. Piercely the kite of Chuan-Po's yew-tree will take part in the scramble; his horn-hued talons he will bear away filled; he will not part from me in kindness. To the blow that kills me the fox in the darkened wood will answer at speed; in wild and trackless places he, too, shall devour a portion of my flesh and blood. The wolf in the rath on the eastern side of the hill will come to rank as chieftain of the meaner pack. On Wednesday night last I saw a dream, I saw a dream: the wild dogs dragged me east and west through the russet ferns. I saw a dream: into a green glen men took me. Four were they that brought

me thither, but (so it seemed) ne'er brought me back again. I saw a dream : to a house my fellow-students led me ; for me they poured out a draught : a draught they quaffed off for me. O tiny wren ! most scant of tail, dolefully thou hast piped a prophetic lay ; surely thou, too, art come to betray me, and to curtail my gift of life.

O Macleroín, and O Macleroín ! pelf it is that thou hast taken to betray me : for this world's sake hast thou accepted it, accepted it for sake of hell. All precious things whatsoever I had, on Macleroín I would have bestowed them, that he should not do me this treason. But Mary's great Son above thus addresses speech to me : 'Thou must have earth, thou shalt have heaven. Welcome awaits thee, O Cellach !' "¹

As Kilkelly comes from Cellach, so Kilkenny, both the names of the city best known outside Ireland as the residence of the famous legendary cats, and the surname of the same form, comes from the name of St. Canice. Kilkenny, accordingly, means d.s. of St. Canice. There were at least four early missionaries of the name, one of whom is venerated at St. Andrew's in Scotland. The Gaelic form of the name Canice is *Coinneach*, and gives the surnames Kenny in Ireland and MacKenzie in Scotland.

Mulholland, Maholland are d.s. of St. Callan, from whom comes also Tyrholland, or the House of Callan, in the diocese of Clogher.

Senanus is known to general readers better than the majority of our early saints, on account of Moore's poem of the Holy Isle, as the saint had

Sworn that sainted sod
Should ne'er by woman's foot be trod.

Kiltammanlea, or Church of Grey Senan, still preserves his name, and also the surname Gilsenan, Giltenan, d.s. of Senan. Not improbably, however, some of the older name, MacUimhsionain, have been absorbed by the more familiar name, Gilsenan. Some of the names have 'translated' themselves to 'Shannon.'

Gilvarry, a western surname, comes from St. Berach, abbot, of Chuaincoirpthe, in Connaught. Mulrennin, in

¹ See *Silva Gadelica*, i. 56 ; ii. 59. This is the best book procurable to give a general idea of the character of Irish literature.

Gaelic *O'Maoilbhrennainn*, means d.s. of St. Brendan, the navigator whose name marks the map of Ireland and Scotland from Mount Brandon to St. Kilda, and whose *Voyages* are a curious medley of Pagan tradition blended with actual experience of explorations of the Atlantic

This brings us to a second class of saint-names in Mul and Gil, which deserve to be treated separately.

E. O'GROWNEY.

THE YELLOW STEEPLE OF TRIM

ON the left, or northern, bank of the River Boyne, not more than thirty perches from the old Church of St. Patrick's, Trim, stands the stately tower known as the Yellow Steeple. Competent authorities regard it as one of the finest specimens of Anglo-Norman architecture in Ireland. It is built on a portion of the ground granted to Patrick and Loman by Feidilmid 'together with his son Fortchern till the day of judgment.' From whatever side the traveller approaches Trim, the first object that catches his eye is the tall commanding form of this ancient ruin. Sir William Wilde, on the occasion of his visit to Trim, in 1849, looking at it from a point of vantage, on the Dublin-road, near Newtown, admiring its grim sentinel-like appearance, and contrasting it with the other remarkable remnants of antiquity extending for the space of above a mile, styles it, in his own poetical language, 'the guardian genius of the surrounding ruins.'

Anyone looking at the building, even now, can see it was evidently a square tower of Gothic architecture, and, like most towers of that period, used as a place of refuge and defence in time of danger. Ireland, at the time, and indeed ever since the Norman invasion, was in a very unsettled state. Feeling ran so very high amongst the Anglo-Irish and the native Celts that the slightest breath of provocation was sufficient to set ablaze the smouldering embers of dis-

content. As an evidence of the strained relations that subsisted, I may mention a little incident that took place in the court-house at Trim. The son of Barnewall, a local lord, and the then treasurer of Meath, beat a Caimen (a stroke of his finger) upon the nose of Mac-Mec-Feorais (Bermingham's son), which deed he was not worthy of, and he entering on the Earl of Ormonde's safeguard, Mac-Feorais felt so indignant at the slight put upon him, that he stole out of the town that night, went straight to O'Connor Offaly, and entered into an alliance with him. The result was a confederacy of war, made by the Berminghams and Calvagh O'Connor against the English. With their united forces they came into Meath, and preyed and burned a great part of the royal county; so it is hard to know, the old chronicles add, if ever was such abuse better revenged than the said Caimen; and thence came the notable word 'Cogadh au Caimen.'¹ Such was the state of feeling that prevailed when Richard Duke of York was sent into Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and, by letters patent, invested with almost royal authority. The King, Henry VI., was of weak mind, so weak that the real power of governing may be said to have fallen practically into the hands of his wife, Queen Margaret of Anjou, aided by her favourite minister, the Earl of Somerset. On more than one occasion, when the unfortunate king was wholly out of his mind, the Duke of York was appointed Protector.

It may be well, also, to bear in mind that the Duke was Henry's nearest relative, and even when the King's son Edward was born, he had still a strong, if not the strongest, claim to the crown, as his mother belonged to the elder branch of the Mortimers descended from the Duke of Clarence. It was the assertion of his claim that afterwards gave rise to the disastrous and prolonged struggle for supremacy between two rival houses, known as the War of the Roses. Margaret, the Queen, a far-seeing and ambitious woman, took in the situation, and was anxious to have the Duke, whom she feared as a formidable rival, put out of the

¹ *Arch. Misc.*, v, i., p. 202.

way. Hence, he was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in the hope that he would either perish in the attempt to rule the rebellious Irish, or at least that he would, by his drastic measures of repression, lose his reputation. But the queen and her wily advisers were wrong in their calculations. Contrary to their expectations, by his mild and gentle behaviour he won the haughty feudal lords and the native Irish, and secured their obedience without being obliged to use force; and, in fact, so endeared himself to them, that, with the exception of the family of Ormonde, they were afterwards loyal to himself and his connections, even in their greatest misfortunes. In 1449, the first year of his lieutenancy, he held his court in his hereditary castle at Trim, and not only repaired the castle, but built in a style of great magnificence the tower known since as the Yellow Steeple, the subject of our present sketch. The portion that is still standing, the eastern wall, 125 feet high, with its fine geometrical window and delicate tracery, parts of the side walls, with the various port-holes, into which the joists were inserted, indicating the several landings, are sufficient to give us an idea of the colossal size and splendour of the building in its original shape. From a rude engraving that is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1786, it would seem that three sides of the tower were then standing. The following letter, that appeared in the same magazine, may not be without interest at the present time:—

MR. URBAN,—I herewith send you an inelegant yet tolerably just representation of an old tower called the Yellow Steeple, at Trim, in Ireland. Above one-fourth of it is now ruined, having been blown up by Cromwell. The principal curiosity in the present state is the part marked almost at the top of the building, which overhangs several feet, and has done so long before any person now living remembers this edifice. Dangerous as the attempt may be, the boys often mount unto the top of this tower by ladders to the place where the stairs begin, and which is about the place marked. The tower is now undermined just at one of the angles, and probably will soon fall. But as the inhabitants of the town, as well as those of the adjacent country, give themselves no trouble to repair or preserve this elegant piece of antiquity, I was tempted to trouble you with this coarse view of it, should you please to preserve any appearance of so venerable a monument of our ancestors' piety.

A. M. T.

A beautiful lithograph of it in its present shape is given in Wilkinson's *Irish Architecture*. The staircase alluded to in the above letter is now gone, but was in existence in the memory of the present inhabitants of the town. Amongst the boys credited with the dangerous feat of climbing to the top was Edward Crosbie, afterwards Sir Edward of balloon notoriety, who used to attend the Diocesan School of Meath situated close by the Yellow Steeple. Amongst the boys attending the same school was the celebrated Duke of Wellington. When young Crosbie had reached the summit of the tower in his youthful freak, he took out a pencil, and made what he called his will, disposing therein of his game cocks and other boyish valuables, in case he should be killed in coming down. He threw down the paper, which was eagerly seized on by his playmates on the ground. Arthur Wellesley must have been a very small boy at the time, for when he saw nothing was left to him, the future Iron Duke forthwith began to cry.

Time is telling its tale upon this old historic tower. But its present dilapidated condition is due not so much to the effacing finger of time as to the disastrous effects of Cromwell's cannon. Gough, in his additions to Camden, states that the greater part of the tower was demolished by Oliver Cromwell, against whom it held out for a considerable time as a garrison. There is, however, hardly sufficient historical evidence for the statement that it held out as a garrison, or that Cromwell himself ever appeared in Trim. This much only is certain. The day after the siege of Drogheda, Cromwell, with a chosen company of his veterans, and a number of his heavy guns, marched along the Boyne by the Bective road, and put up for the night at a house since identified as Trubly Castle, the ruins of which are still standing three short miles to the east of Trim. Next morning, coming along with his foot, horse, and artillery, he reached the corner of the main road leading to Dublin. There the Constable of Scurlogstown Castle had the hardihood to challenge his approach. The Protector forthwith ordered his men to charge, and turning against the castle one of his heavy guns, by the first volley he split the building from top

to bottom, and the huge fissure on the eastern side of the castle was distinctly visible up to the year 1858, when the castle itself toppled to the ground. Cromwell found there was no need to proceed to Trim, for the castle there and the Yellow Steeple were both abandoned by O'Neill and the men under him; but lest any of the supporters of the royal cause should return and resume possession, from a fort close by, since called 'Cromwell's Fort,' he dismantled the Castle of Trim and demolished more than one-half of the Yellow Steeple, and next day wrote a letter from Dublin to the Parliament in England, thanking the Lord in his own puritanical fashion for all His crowning mercies vouchsafed to His unworthy servant.

But there are other associations clustering around the venerable walls of this ancient ruin of far more than historic or antiquarian interest. The Yellow Steeple is all that remains of the renowned Abbey of St. Mary's. It is the one solitary link connecting us with the past, and marking the hallowed spot where stood for ages the far-famed statue of our 'Ladye of Trymme.' The history of that statue, the wonders wrought through its agency from time immemorial, the circumstances that led to the demolition of the shrine, are matters of such absorbing interest, that I offer no apology for presenting a short summary of them to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. The abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, whose conventual chapel contained the shrine, was founded by St. Patrick, the first year of his arrival in Ireland, and was built upon a site given for that purpose by Felimid, son of Laighaire, and grandson of Niall. A list of the several abbots who lived and died in this monastery, with other interesting information, is given by Colgan and other historians down to the year 1402, when Henry IV., in the third year of his reign, at the supplication of the abbot of St. Mary of Trim, 'took under his protection all pilgrims, whether liege men, Irish or rebels, going on pilgrimage to said abbey, according to immemorial privilege.'¹

¹ Rot. Pat. 3 Henry IV.

Thirteen years later his successor, Henry V., confirmed the same privilege, and enacted that 'all Irish rebels and liege men, of whatever condition, wishing to come to said place for the sake of pilgrimage in honour of the Blessed Mary, could go there and return from thence without impediment of the king, of the lords of Meath, or of any other person whatsoever.'¹ In 1472, the twelfth year of Edward IV., a certain amount of property around Trim was granted by a Parliament, held at Naas, to the Abbey of St. Mary, 'for the purpose of erecting and supporting a perpetual wax-light before the image of the Virgin (in said house), and for supporting four other wax-lights before the said image on the Mass of St. Mary.' It was also enacted that 'if any person should attempt to rob or assault any pilgrim on his way to or from this abbey, the person or persons so offending should be attainted of felony, and totally excluded from the royal protection; and no charter of pardon whatever should be available, except by the express order of Parliament.'

Statutes such as these, passed through Parliament, and stamped with the seal of successive kings, are quite enough to show the vast amount of attention which the celebrated shrine of our 'Ladye of Trynne' commanded in olden times, and the position of prominence it had attained even in the minds of the civil rulers of the country. If one were inclined to moralize, he would have here a rich field for reflection, a veritable Klondyke, where he could sink his shaft, and draw up treasures of priceless value. He could picture to himself Celt and Saxon, lord and vassal, liege men and rebel, rich and poor, all sinking their social, economic, and political differences, kneeling before the same altar, and offering their homage before the same shrine, thereby giving striking proof of the unity of their faith, and of the benign, harmonizing influence of religion. The protection extended by Parliament to the various classes of pilgrims, journeying from afar, is also very suggestive: for it affords a practical proof of the beneficial results that, in

¹ Rot. Pat. 2 Henry V.

the mind of the legislators, were likely to flow from a visit to the consecrated shrine of our Blessed Lady. Surely those responsible for the government of the country would never have allowed a free pass to rebels and persons labouring under other disabilities, unless they were convinced that the homage offered at the hallowed shrine would have a humanizing effect, and would contribute more to the suppression of crime and the reformation of morals, than the most stringent measures that could be adopted by the law.

That numberless favours were granted, and miracles wrought, in favour of those who knelt in reality or spirit at this hallowed shrine of our Ladye, is one of the best authenticated facts recorded in history. In confirmation of this statement I refer the reader to that great standard work, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by O'Donovan. At the year 1397, we read that Hugh McMahan received his sight by fasting in honour of the Cross of Raphoe and the image of the Blessed Mary at Ath-Trim.¹ Again, we find it recorded that in the year 1412, the image of Mary of Ath-Trim wrought many miracles. O'Donovan, in a note, quotes also from *The Annals of Ulster*, 1412, 'The image of Mary at Ath-Trim wrought great miracles this year.'² Finally, at the year 1444, it is narrated that great miracles were wrought by the image of Mary at Trim—viz., it restored sight to a blind man, speech to a dumb man, and the use of his feet to a cripple, stretched out the hand of a person to whose side it had been fastened; and then follow other particulars about a striking case, which can be read with interest by those who consult page 937 of the same volume. I might multiply quotations, but the passages cited are sufficient to show that it would be hardly any exaggeration to call the Trim of those days the Lourdes of Ireland.

But, it may be asked, is this miraculous statue, that for centuries attracted so many thousands of pilgrims, and shed such a halo of splendour on the ancient town of Trim, still in existence, or is there any evidence to show what became of it? On this particular point our ancient annals give

¹ Vol. iv., p. 751.

² *Ibid.*, p. 809.

some very important and interesting information. A valuable manuscript volume of annals preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, gives the following account at the year 1538. The Irish text is given with the following translation:—

The most miraculous image of Mary, which was at Baile-Atha-Truim, and which the Irish people all honoured for a long time before that, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and every disease in like manner, was burned by the Saxons.

This event is also thus recorded by Sir James Ware, in his *Annals of the Reign of King Henry VIII.*, p. 96:—

Also about the same time, among the famous images whereunto pilgrimages were designed, the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary was burned, then kept at Trim, in the abbey of the Canons Regular of St. Austin, and the gifts of the pilgrims were taken away from thence.

The *Four Masters* have also on record how this remarkable relic, that was held in such veneration from time immemorial up to the period of the Reformation, was publicly burned as an instrument of superstition:—

A heresy and a new error broke out in England, the effects of pride, vain-glory, avarice, and sensual desire, so that the people of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. They gave the title of Head of the Church of God during his reign to the King. There were enacted by the King and Council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the orders who were permitted to hold property—viz., monks, canons, nuns, Brethren of the Cross, and the four Mendicant Orders, and their possessions and livings were taken up for the King. They broke up the monasteries, and the roofs and bells, and the sacred furniture and vessels were sold for the King. They further burned and broke the famous images and shrines of Ireland and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary which was at Ath-Trim, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and the sufferers from all diseases; and so great was the persecution that it is impossible to tell or narrate it, unless it should be told by him who saw it.

According to all these authorities, the statue of our Lady of Trymme was publicly burned by the Saxons who went into heresy, and were fired with a fanatical hatred for every emblem of Catholicity. The date of the burning is set down by the *Four Masters*, at 1537; by Ware and the other historians, at 1538. The latter date is the correct

one. Dr. O'Donovan proves clearly that the statue was in existence in 1538.

For, on the 10th of August, in that year, a letter from Thomas Allen to Thomas Cromwell (Earl of Essex), and Vicar-General to Henry VIII., has the following passage :—¹

The thre, viz., Archbishop Browne, Mr. Treasurer, and Master of the Rolls, wold not come in the Chapell *where the Idoll of Trym stode*, to the intent, they wold not occasion the people; notwithstanding my Lord Deputie veray devoutley kneling before hir hard thre or fower masses.

The Lord Deputy, in 1538, was Lord Grey.

But though this famous statue was cast into the fire, it must have been rescued from the flames. For, more than a century later, we find that this precious relic, all charred and blackened as it was, and called, therefore, the 'black statue,' was kept religiously in the house of Laurence Hammon or Hammond, the leading Catholic family in Trim in those days. This statement may seem strange and novel to most readers, and yet it is not a mere conjecture or surmise. It rests upon a solid basis, and has strong documentary evidence to support it:—

In the year 1641, the Irish [the Celts] bethought to garrison Trim. Pursuant thereto all Westmeath forces, and the Reyllies from the County of Cavan, marched thither. Those had some inklinge that Coote was thither cominge, and though making the best speed they could, Sir Charles Coote arrived first, and had the towne without one blowe. The weather being somewhat could, whereof Sir Charles complained, and commanded a fire to be made (he lodged in Mr. Laurence Hamon's house). Fuell being verie scarce there: his son Rice Coote (*qualis arbor talis fructus*) hitted upon a great ancient portraiture or image of our Blessed Ladye engraven in wood; kept with great veneration in said house since the Suppression of Holy Church in Henry the 8th his time which young Coot caused to be cutt and cloven in sunder to make fire thereof, for his father against his cominge in.

But God Almighty, the righteous judge, did not prolonge the punishment of this impietie, for as soon as Sir Charles thought to enjoy the benefit of that transformed divine fire, worde came that the Irish had already entered the town. Starting forth, trumpett sounded and drum beaten, all ran to the alarum, being very late in the evening, Sir Charles was shott or otherwise wounded, and making as much examination in this behalf as reasonable I

¹ *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 103.

might, could never learne how or by whom wounded, however, it being mortall, was conveyed to his lodging dead. Next day, Sir Charles his corps was carried to Dublin bemoaned by all the Parliamentarians, and interred with the ensuing epitaph :—

England's honour, Scotland's wonder,
Ireland's terror here lies under.

The above graphic description is given *verbatim* in that highly-interesting book, the *Aphorismical Discovery*,¹ edited by Sir J. Gilbert, in two volumes; and from it, it is clear that the statue of our Lady of Trim was in existence more than a century after the Reformation, when so many shrines and sacred images were burnt as objects of superstition. And there are many holy souls around Trim who cannot be induced to believe but it is in existence still. The town of Trim, they say, was burnt more than once. The very church in which the statue stood was burned, and two hundred persons who fled there for refuge perished in the flames, and yet God preserved this sacred relic.

When the Reformers came, and ruined everything, the sacred image again escaped; and though cloven in two to make fire for old Coote, see how he paid for his firing! They even point out, with a feeling of pride, the garden, close by St. Mary's Abbey, where the statue is hidden away, and show you a large stone that formed part of the pedestal on which the statue once stood. Be this as it may, one thing is unquestionable—the deep-rooted reverence of the people for everything connected with the honour of the Mother of God. Even now the people are giving practical proof of their devotion, in the efforts they are making to build a church on the bank right opposite old St. Mary's, and their determination to erect therein a special altar dedicated to our Blessed Lady. Some time ago, in replying to an address from the people of Trim, the venerated bishop of the diocese Dr. Nulty, made special allusion to this point; and with his Lordship's feeling words I will conclude this paper :—

There is one feature that touches my heart very deeply. In my early life, when a curate here, I made the history of this ancient town a subject of study. The history of it is very interesting and very exceptional. The town did not spring into existence in the usual way, and was not built for the natural

¹ From Sir J. Gilbert's *Aph. Discovery*, vol. i., p. 32.

advantage of its surroundings. What gave rise to this town is the broad historic fact, viz., the Blessed Virgin having, in her kindness and goodness, chosen this town and invested it with sanctity, like unto that of Lourdes or some shrine equally blessed by her visible presence. Our Blessed Lady selected the site of the Yellow Steeple beyond for the manifestation of her miraculous power and goodness to our forefathers long ago; and her miraculous interposition had the effect of attracting multitudes of pilgrims from every part of the kingdom, who came here to visit the sanctuary of our 'Ladye of Trymme.' Hence arose that most gorgeous church, even the remnant of which impresses with awe the visitor at the present time. That church was not erected by the people of Trim, but it was erected almost exclusively by the generosity of the pilgrims to this hallowed ground. People came here from all quarters, and to provide for their accommodation there sprung up, round the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, this town of Trim. That is how Trim began. That sanctuary was revered and hallowed for centuries, until at last the despoiler, the tyrant came, and laid his unholy hands on the temple of God. He demolished the sacred edifice, and the statue of the Blessed Virgin was burnt in the market-place. This is our history. Gentlemen, I had fondly hoped that the Blessed Virgin Mary would return again to this town of Trim. We are going to invite her. That church which is in course of building outside is nothing like the former church erected to commemorate the special graces bestowed upon Trim; but when complete it will be a very handsome church, indeed. I had fully expected to see it completed and finished. The people of Trim would never be able to complete that church; but I knew that the love of the people of this diocese for the glory of God and the honour of His Virgin Mother, and their regard for your popular parish priest of Trim, will enable you to erect a worthy edifice in your town, and to re-establish the devotion to our Blessed Lady in this place. Who knows but that the Mother of God would give renewed proofs of her presence amongst us? I expect to see that beautiful work consummated in my lifetime, and I had myself intended to have brought over from Rome a statue of our Blessed Lady worthy of the holy place, and to place it in the church, with the inscription that was on the pedestal of the original statue: 'To our Lady of Trymme.'

I shall add nothing to those eloquent and inspiring words of his Lordship, beyond the expression of a wish that our venerable and venerated pastor shall not sing his *Nunc Dimittis* until he sees the fond hopes, so feelingly alluded to in the above speech, realized to the full.

PHILIP CALLARY, P.P., V.F.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CONDEMNED SECRET SOCIETIES

IN reply to our correspondent, 'Anxious,' who desires to have the Documents in which certain secret societies have been expressly condemned, we print the following document, which comes from the Congregation of the Holy Office :—

I. An societas 'Independent Order of Good Templars,' nuncupata excommunicationi subjaceat latae contra societates secretas in constit. Apos. Sedis? Et quatenus negative;

II. An prohibitum sit sub gravi nomen dare isti societati?

Porro Emi. Patres Inquisitores Generales, se mature perpensa, in comitiis habitis die 9 Augusti, 1893, sequens cum approbatione Summi Pontificis ediderunt decretum.

Ad I. Dilata.

Ad II. Affirmative, seu deterrendi fideles a dando nomine huic societati.

As for the other societies about which he inquires, 'The Oddfellows,' 'The Sons of Temperance,' and 'The Knights of Pythias,' were condemned in a letter sent to the bishops of the United States through Mgr. Satolli, 20th August, 1894. The document will be found in full in the I. E. RECORD for June, 1896, page 568. The following extract will suffice here:—

Cunctis per istas regiones Ordinariis esse omnino connitendum, ut fideles a tribus societatibus prædictis et ab unaquaque earum recedant, eaque de re fideles ipsos esse monendos; et si monitione insuper habita velint adhuc eisdem societatibus adhaerere, nec ab illis cum effectu separari, a perceptione sacramentorum esse argendos.

It may be of interest to add that subsequently, in answer to a question of Cardinal Satolli, as to whether persons who had already joined these benefit societies were bound forthwith to break off all connection with them, and thereby lose for themselves and their families the right to grants of money on the occasion of illness or death, or whether they

might, avoiding all other communication with the condemned societies, continue to pay their subscriptions in order to maintain their claims against the societies, the following answer was returned by the Holy Office, 19th January, 1896 :—

Generatim non licere et ad mentem. Mens est, quod hoc tolerari possit sequentibus conditionibus et adjunctis simul in casu concurrentibus scil. 1° si bona fide sectae primitus nomen dederint, antequam sibi innotuisset societatem esse damnatam ; 2° si absit scandalum vel opportuna removeatur declaratio, id a se fieri, ne jus ad Emolumenta vel beneficium temporis in agere aliendo solvendo amittat, a quavis interim sectae communione et quovis interventu etiam materiali ut praemittitur, abstinendo ; 3° si grave damnum sibi aut familiae in renuntiatione obveniat ; 4° tandem ut non adsit vel homini illi vel familiae ejus periculum perversionis ex parti sectariorum spectato praecipue vel infirmitatis vel mortis, neve similiter adsit periculum funeris peragenda ritibus catholicis alieni ; 5° demum SSmus D. Leo XIII., haec approbens jussit, ut uniformis regulae servandae casu, in casibus particularibus pro tempore Delegatus Apost. Washingtonopoli provideat.

MASS ON BOARD SHIP

REV. DEAR SIR,—I will ask you to reply to the following questions :—

1st. Is a priest on a voyage from Ireland to America or Australia justified in saying Mass on board, without special permission, in order to give himself and the other Catholic passengers an opportunity of hearing Mass?

2nd. In case special permission is required, from whom should it be obtained?

SACERDOS.

The priest in question would not be justified in celebrating Mass without special permission. He would require a special indult, which, at the present day, at all events, is granted only by the Pope, or, in virtue of special faculties, by the bishop of the place from which the ship sails.¹ The indult is granted subject to the condition that there be no danger of irreverence. It is usually required, moreover, that there be a second priest or a deacon to hold the chalice.

¹ Vid. Putzer, 161, iii. c. ; Edit. Quart.

CUMULATION OF MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS

We would direct the attention of our readers to a reply of the Congregation of the Inquisition printed among the Documents in the present issue.¹ According to the hitherto received teaching, a bishop having *extraordinary* Apostolic faculties to dispense in various matrimonial impediments—diriment or prohibent—could not, without a further special indult, use these extraordinary faculties to dispense in a case in which there are two or more impediments over each of which singly he possesses (*extraordinary*) jurisdiction. Even the most recent writers make no distinction between private and public impediments.² This matter was explained, according to the received teaching in a former number of the I. E. RECORD.³ Now, however, according to a decree reaffirmed and published 18th August, 1897, by the Holy Office, the prohibition against using Apostolic faculties, in the event of cumulation, does not extend to the case in which the cumulation arises from the existence of an *occult* with a public impediment. If the two impediments were public, special faculties are still required to remove them; if one is public, the other occult, no special indult is required. It would seem to follow from the document now published, that even the cumulation of one public impediment with *two or more* occult impediments is not a bar to the exercise (without a special indult) of extraordinary Apostolic faculties.

D. MANNIX.

¹ See page 161.

² Vid. Putzer, Ed. 4, 1897. Becker, *De Spons. et Mat.*, 1895, p. 297, Feije, Ed. 4, 1893, n. 631, E. Gasparri, Ed. 2, 1893, n. 128.

³ Vid. I. E. RECORD, February, 1897, p. 171.

DOCUMENTS

METHOD OF FILLING A VACANT BISHOPRIC IN IRELAND¹

DECRETA SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE CIRCA
MODUM COMMENDANDI PRESBYTEROS, QUI AD EPISCOPATUM IN
HIBERNIA PROMOVEANTUR

SANCTISSIMO PATRI AC DOMINO NOSTRO LEONI PP. XII.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Constans atque paterna sollicitudo, quam cunctis retroactis seculis expertae sunt Ecclesiae Hiberniae a sanctis et venerabilibus Antecessoribus tuis, successoribus S. Petri, quibus Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, Filius Dei vivi, universos ubique terrarum fideles regendos commisit, nobis addictissimis tuis in Christo filiis, Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniae, pignus amplissimum ultro suppeditat vigilis illius curae, qua Sanctitas Tua cuncta negotia nostra respicit atque tuetur. Animo autem nobiscum volventibus plurimas eximias dotes a Supremo Numine, in Sponsae suae dilectae beneficium, Sanctitati Tuae collatas, sapientiam illam singularem et fere divinam consiliis tuis moderantem, egregiam illam prudentiam singularum orbis Christiani Ecclesiarum necessitatibus, haud secus ac si unice commissae fuissent, prospicientem, imprimis autem sedula mente reputantibus, quot quantisque beneficiis Ecclesias Hiberniae jam inde ab incepto Pontificatu cumulasti, non solum admiratione, memorisque animi sensibus perfundimur erga Sanctitatem Tuam, verum Deo omnium bonorum largitori, gratias quam maximas pectore ab imo referimus, qui Sanctitati Tuae istam infuderit mentem ad propriam ipsius gloriam redundantem, saluberrimamque Clero Populoque Hiberno, quibus jure quam optimo in Domino gloriari licet, Sedis apostolicae observantissimos, atque verae avitaeque fidei tenacissimos, semper extitisse.

Quae cum ita sint, Beatissime Pater, necessitatumstrarum memores, ac bonitati tuae expertae confisi, votis, humillimis supplicamus, ut dignetur Sanctitas Tua animum advertere ad gravia incommoda, Sedi apostolicae jam bene nota, quae in

¹ These Letters and Decrees, which have never hitherto been published in the I. E. RECORD, may be found useful as well as interesting to the clergy.

Hibernia enascuntur, ex defectu ejusdam fixae ac determinatae formae, juxta quam, sede aliqua vacante, digni habiti qui ad Episcopalem dignitatem promoveantur, Apostolicae Sedi commendarentur.

Ad quem finem, omni qua par est reverentia, liceat Nobis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Hiberniae, frequenti ordine apud Dublinum pridie Nonas Februarii convocatis, ad Sanctitatem Tuam referre quae nobis unanimi consensu circa istud caput disciplinae utilissima visa sunt.

Exitur Sede aliqua Episcopali, sive per Antistitis obitum, translationem, aliamve ob causam in posterum vacante, Vicarius juxta formam a sacris canonibus praescriptam constituatur, qui Dioecesi viduatae, durante vacatione, praesit. Metropolitanus Provinciae ubi vacatio contigerit, simulatque de vacatione et Vicarii electione certior factus fuerit, literis mandatoriis Vicario edicit, ut in diem vigesimum a dato edicto in unum convocet omnes quibus jus competat Summo Pontifici commendandi tres dignos Ecclesiastici ordinis viros, quorum unus a Summo Pontifice Dioecesi vacanti praeficeretur. Quos autem suffragii jure gaudere volumus, formamque in convocando conventu servandam, eodemque post convocationem regendo, sequenti ordine exponemus.

Qui in Hibernia nuncupantur Parochi, scilicet, clerici ad ordinem Sacerdotalem evecti, censurarum immunes, quique Parochiae seu Parochiarum unitarum actuali et pacifica possessione gaudeant, hi soli ad comitia convocandi sunt. Vicarius, edicto Metropolitanus accepto, intra octo dies singulos Presbyteros supra designatos literis scriptis admonebit, ut loco quodam opportuno, in eadem monitione nominatim exprimendo, adsint, die in edicto Metropolitanus statuto, ad tractandum de negotio ibidem descripto. Metropolitanus ipse, vel unus ex suffraganeis ejus Episcopis ab ipso delegatus, comitiis praesidebit, et nulla prius et invalida habenda sunt ibidem acta et statuta, non servata forma supra definita, sive in convocando, sive in moderando conventu.

Parochis, die et loco statutis, mane in unum congregatis, Missa sollemnis de Spiritu Sancto celebretur, Missaque finita, Praeses super sedile in medio Ecclesiae ascendet, omnibusque quorum nihil interest, exire jussis, foribusque Ecclesiae clausis, Vicarius, catalogum nominum omnium Parochorum Dioecesis vacantis Praesidi tradet, qui eorundem nomina, clara ac distincta

voce, a Secretario suo recitari mandabit, et unicuique Parocho, postquam nomini responderit, sedem propriam assignabit. Si unus aut plures Parochi absint, Praeses a Vicario probationem exquiret, absentibus sine fraude revera edictum fuisse, et tali probatione admissa, absentia cujusvis numeri, modo quarta pars totius Parochorum numeri adsit, nihil obstat quominus rata et valida sint quae in comitiis gerantur. Parochis, qui Vicarii monitione, sive propter adversam valetudinem, aliamve ob causam parere non valeant, liberum erit suffragia sua, propria ipsorum manu scripta, involuero sigillato inclusa, et extrinsecus ad Praesidem directa, cuivis alio Parocho ejusdem Dioecesis confidere, et suffragio sic tradito et probato, eadem inerit vis ac si Parochus ipse praesens adesset: modo literae certificatoriae de adversa ejus valetudine a duobus artis medicinae peritis subscriptae, ad Praesidem transmittantur. Insuper Parochus iste priusquam suffragium modo supra descripto ferat, eandem declarationem emittet, quam caeteris Parochis inter comitia emittere coram Praeside incumbet, ejusque declarationis coram duobus Parochis emissae probatio, in medium proferenda coram Praeside, antequam suffragium admittatur.

Comitiis ita compositis, ac Praeside tractanda proponente, duo Scrutatores juxta consuetas canonum formas eligantur, dein suffragatores ad Urnam supra mensam positam, singuli accedent, et clara altaque voce, tactis simul manu pectoribus, coram Deo, pro se quisque affirmant, se, neque gratia, neque favore inductos, ei suffragaturos quem dignissimum, digniorem, aut dignum, pro diversis candidatorum meritis, judicent, qui Dioecesi vacanti praeficeretur; postea suffragio in Urnam immisso, singuli ad propriam sedem recedent.

Tres suffragiorum series, totidemque scrutinia institui volumus, suffragatoribus unum tantum nomen singulis vicibus in Urnam mittentibus; nempe prima vice unusquisque suffragabitur ei quem dignissimum judicat, et nomen illius qui, facto scrutinio, majorem suffragiorum numerum, ultra medietatem, reportarit, clara altaque voce, a scrutatoribus ad Praesidem, et a Praeside ad conventum, renuntiandum est. Secunda vice, unusquisque suffragabitur ei quem digniorem, et tertia vice, suffragabitur ei quem dignum judicet; eademque forma respectu numeri suffragiorum, et nomina declarandi servanda est, quae prima vice servata est.

Quibus peractis, et nominibus eorum, qui in unaquaque serie majorem suffragiorum numerum ultra medietatem obtinuerint,

cognitis et publicatis, Praeses narrationem authenticam in scriptis redictam, patari coram comitiis, ejusdemque duo exemplaria a seipso et Secretario atque Scrutatoribus subsignanda, exscribi curabit. Ex istis exemplaribus, alterum Vicario tradendum, qui idem ad Sedem Apostolicam transmittat, alterum vero Metropolitano, cujus munus erit idem ad suffraganeos ejus Episcopos in unum congregatos referre. Quaecumque jura, privilegia, et munera supra recensentur, tanquam Praesidi conventus propria, eadem, sede Metropolitana vacante, seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo communicari volumus. Episcopis Provinciae, Praeside Metropolitano, aut ipsius defectu, seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo, in unum convocatis, et narratione authentica supra memorata coram ipsis prolata, de eadem coram Deo judicium sententiamque ferant. Si unanimi consensu, aut majori suffragiorum numero, approbaverint a Parochis commendatos, eodemque ordine, quo in narratione inseruntur nomina, idem propria uniuscujusque Episcopi, necnon et Praesidis manu subscriptum, et sigillo munitum, ad sedem Apostolicam Praeses transmittet. Si consensu unanimi, aut majori suffragiorum numero, commendatos quidem approbent, sed non in eodem ordine istud quoque ad Sanctam Sedem referent, ordine nominum ipsis probato, et motivis quibus eorum judicium immititur, simul expositis. Si concordibus animis, vel majori suffragiorum numero, consenserint unum aut duos ex commendatis parum dignos esse, qui ad ordinem Episcopalem evehantur, summum Pontificem de ea quoque re certiore facient, simulque mentem exponent de dotibus alterius commendati. Si tandem consensu unanimi, aut majori suffragiorum numero, judicaverint, tres commendatos parum dignos esse, ex quibus unus ad Episcopatum promoveretur, summum Pontificem de suo judicio certiore facient, ejusque Sanctitati supplicabunt, suffragatoribus per Metropolitanum edictum mandare, ut tres alios juxta jam descriptam formam de novo commendarent. Si suffragatores animo obstinato praveque, eosdem iterum commendant, Summus Pontifex accepta relatione Episcoporum Provinciae, et supra, pro sua sapientia Dioecesi viduatae de Pastore providebit. Si agatur de Episcopi Coadjutore, cum jure successionis cuivis Episcopo assignando, eadem quae sede vacante commendandi forma servanda est, cauto tamen varia privilegia, jura, et munera, Metropolitano aut seniori Episcopo suffraganeo jam attributa, ad Archiepiscopum aut Episcopum, cui Coadjutor assignandus est, unice pertinere, illaeso tamen

servato jure Metropolitanis, quando suffraganei ejus Episcopi ad ferendum judicium convenerint.

Tandem quicumque Sedis Apostolicae approbationi commendentur, cives sint Indigenae Hiberniae serenissimo Imperii Britannici Regi, fidelitate incorrupta obstricti, morum integritate, pietate, doctrina, caeterisque, quae Episcopum decent, dotibus insigniti.

Haec sunt, Beatissime Pater, quae pro meliore in posterum regimine Ecclesiarum nobis, licet indignis, commissarum, ad Sanctitatem tuam humillime referre muneris nostri esse duximus.

Apostolica benedictione, flexis genibus implorata, Deum O.M. precamur, ut Sanctitatem tuam, ad Ecclesiae universalis commodum, diutissime incolumem servet ac sospitet.

Beatitudinis Tuae.

Observantissimi atque Amantissimi Filii.

Datum Dublinii, die 17 Februarii, An. 1829.

Nomine totius Praesulum Coetus rogati subscribimur.

PATRITIUS, Archiepiscopus Armacanus.

DANIEL, Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis.

ROBERTUS, Archiepiscopus Casseliensis.

ILLUSTRISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE

SSmo Domino Nostro Pio PP. VIII. gratissimae fuerunt literae die 17 Februarii, Amplitudinis Tuae et reliquorum Archiepiscoporum ac Episcoporum Hiberniae nomine, Dublino scriptae, de methodo quam tenendam esse censuistis in commendandis Sedi Apostolicae iis quibus aliquis Hiberniae Episcopatus conferendus sit. Sanctitas sua enim accepit eas literas tanquam novum perspicuum argumentum illius studii singularis quo praestatis, ea omnia diligenter procurandi quae ad Religionis Catholicae incrementum et honorem spectare possunt. Laudavit autem praecipue sapientiam vestram, qui intelligentes quam grave sit negotium electionis Episcoporum, et quantopere cum Ecclesiae utilitate conjunctum, ut rite sancteque absolvatur, vestram curam eo praesertim convertendam arbitrati estis, ut methodus ejusmodi in ea re servanda statueretur, qua fieret ut Sedes Apostolica certissimam habere notitiam posset meritum eorum sacerdotum, pro quibus commendationes afferuntur, ut ad aliquem Hiberniae Episcopatum eligantur.

Amplissimis quoque laudibus, vestram ea de re solitudinem,

sacra Congregatio prosecuta est, quae memoratas vestras literas in Generali Conventu, die prima Junii habito, perpendit, una cum supplicii libello ab R. P. D. Oliverio Kelly, Archiepiscopo Tuamensi die 4 Maii allato, quibus vestro etiam nomine expunibat methodum de convocandis conventibus Capitulorum ad commendationes eas faciendas, si alia methodus quae in literis die 17 Februarii, de convocandis, ad eam rem peragendam, Parochorum conventibus, sacrae Congregationi non placuisset.

Itaque Amplitudini Tuae, et per te caeteris Archiepiscopis atque Episcopis Hiberniae significandum habeo, Sacram Congregationem judicasse, expedire methodum aliquam certam statuere, quam sequi oporteat in commendandis iis, qui ad aliquem Hiberniae Episcopatum eligi debeant: aliquibus vero adhibitis modificationibus probavit methodum a vobis, recensitis superius literis, propositam: Hae autem modificationes sunt quae sequuntur: 1. Ubi adest Capitulum convocentur cum Parochis etiam Canonici. 2. In documento ad sanctam Sedem transmittendo, nihil inveniat quod electionem, nominationem, postulationem innuat, sed simplicem commendationem. 3. In eo omittatur relatio ac mentio trium scrutiniorum, sicuti et iudicium de dignissimo, digniori ac digno, sed tantum requisita proferantur ac merita singulorum. 4. Hujusmundi autem documentum sit in forma supplicis libelli, ita concepti, ut inde pateat nullam in Sanctam Sedem inferri obligationem eligendi unum ex commendatis. 5. Denique semel peracta commendatione, si Episcopi judicaverint tres illos commendatos minus dignos esse quorum unus ad Episcopatum promoveatur, tunc, quin detur novae commendationi locus, summus Pontifex, pro sua sapientia, viduatae Ecclesiae provideat. Haec sunt quae in exposita a vobis methodo sacra Congregatio immutanda censuit, atque his ita positis methodum ipsam probavit. Verum eodem tempore Sacra Congregatio declaravit salvam semper atque illaesam manere debere, Apostolicae Sedis libertatem in eligendis Episcopis, ita ut, commendationes lumen tantum et cognitionem, Sacrae Congregationi, nunquam tamen obligationem, sint allaturae.

Amplitudinis Tuae diligentiae et summae in gravibus rebus gerendis peritiae erit, ita agere, ut quae Sacra Congregatio immutanda esse arbitrata est, in methodi a Sacra Congregatione probatae expositione, accurate servantur.

Precor Deum interea, ut te caeterosque Collegas tuos,

Archiepiscopos et Episcopos de religione optime meritos, diu sospitem ac felicem servet.

Romae ex Aedib. Sacrae Congreg. de Propag. Fide, 20 Junii, 1829.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Ad officia paratissimus,

D. M. CARD. CAPPELLARI, *Praefectus*,

C. CASTRACANE, *Secretarius*.

Loco ✕ Sigilli,

R. P. D. PATRITIO CURTIS,

Archiepiscopo Armacano.

DECRETUM SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS GENERALIS DE PROPAGANDA
FIDE, HABITAE DIE PRIMA JUNII, ANNO 1829

Cum ad gravissimum Electionis Hiberniae Episcoporum negotium rite sancteque absolvendum, certam aliquam methodum ubique in eo regno servandam statuere in primis opportunum esse Sacra Congregatio intellexerit, qua fieret, ut Sedes Apostolica exploratam notitiam habere possit meritorum Sacerdotum pro quibus commendationes afferuntur, ut ad aliquem Hiberniae Episcopatum eligantur, eadem Sacra Congregatio, postquam diu multumque de ea re definienda cogitavit, in generali tandem conventu die prima Junii anno 1829, referente Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo D. D. Mauro S. R. E. Cardinali Cappellari, Sacrae Congregationis Praefecto, censuit ac decrevit, methodum in toto regno Hiberniae super ea re servandam in posterum, esse debere eam quae hic describitur.

Sede aliqua Episcopali, sive per Antistitis obitum translationem, aliamve ob causam in posterum vacante, Vicarius, juxta formam a sacris canonibus praescriptam, constituatur, qui dioecesi viduatae, durante vacatione, praesit. Metropolitanus Provinciae, ubi vacatio contigerit, simul atque de vacatione, et Vicarii electione certior factus fuerit, literis mandatoriis Vicario edicat, ut in diem vigesimum a dato edicto in unum convocet omnes, ad quos pertinebit Summo Pontifici commendare tres dignos ecclesiastici ordinis viros, quorum unus a Summo Pontifice Dioecesi vacanti praeficiatur. Qui sint ii qui convocari debent, quae forma in convocando et regendo conventu servanda sit, habetur ex sequenti expositione.

Qui in Hibernia nuncupantur Parochi, scilicet clerici ad ordinem Sacerdotalem evecti, censurarum immunes, qui parochiae, seu parochiarum unitarum, actuali ac pacifica possessione

laudent, ad comitia convocandi sunt. Ubi vero adest capitulum, convocantur cum parochis etiam Canonici. Vicarius, edicto Metropolitanæ accepto, intra octo dies, singulos Presbyteros supra designatos, literis scriptis, admonebit, ut loco quodam opportuno, in eadem monitione nominatim exprimendo, adsint, die in edicto Metropolitanæ statuto, ad tractandum de negotio ibidem descripto. Metropolitanus ipse, vel unus de Suffraganeis ejus Episcopus ab ipso delegatus, comitiis praesidebit, et nulla prorsus, et invalida habenda sunt ibidem acta, et statuta, non servata forma supra definita, sive in convocando, sive in moderando conventu. Parochis, caeterisque de quibus supra, die et loco statutis, mane in unum congregatis, Missa sollemnis de Spiritu Sancto celebretur: Missaque finita, Praeses super sedile in medio ecclesiae ascendet, omnibusque, quorum nihil interest, exire jussis, foribusque ecclesiae clausis, Vicarius catalogum nominum omnium Parochorum et Canonicorum, si adsit, ibi capitulum, dioecesis vacantis Praesidi tradet, qui eorundem nomina, clara ac distincta voce, a Secretario suo recitari mandabit, et unicuique eorum, postquam nomini responderit, sedem propriam assignabit. Si unus aut plures Parochi absint, Praeses a Vicario probationem exquiret, absentibus sine fraude edictum fuisse, et tali probatione admissa, absentia cujusvis numeri, modo quarta pars totius Parochorum numeri adsit, nihil obstat, quominus rata et valida sint, quae in comitiis gerantur. Idem servandum erit circa Canonicorum numerum, in dioecesi in qua Capitulum adest. Parochis ac Canonicis, qui Vicarii monitioni, sive propter adversam valetudinem, aliamve ob causam parere non valeant, liberum erit, suffragia sua propria ipsorum manu scripta, involuero sigillato inclusa, et extrinsecus ad Praesidem directa, cuivis alio Parocho vel Canonico ejusdem Dioecesis confidere: et suffragio sic habito et probato, eadem in eam vis, ac si Parochus aut Canonicus ipse praesens adesset; modo literae certificariae de adversa ejus valetudine, a duobus artis medicinae peritis subscriptae, ad Praesidem transmittantur. Insuper Parochus iste vel Canonicus priusquam suffragium, modo supra descripto ferat, eandem declarationem emittet, quam caeteri Parochi ac Canonici inter comitia emittere coram Praeside debebunt; ejusque declarationis coram duobus Parochis vel Canonicis emissae probatio, in medium erit proferenda coram praeside, antequam suffragium admittatur. Comitiis ita compositis, ac

praeside tractanda proponente, duo Scrutatores juxta consuetas canonum formas, eligantur. Dein Suffragatores tactis simul manu pectoribus, coram Deo pro se quisque affirment, se neque gratia, neque favore inductos ei suffragaturos, quem dignum judicent, qui Dioecesi vacanti praeficiatur. Postea suffragio in urnam immisso, singuli ad propriam sedem recedent.

His peractis, clara altaque voce a Scrutoribus ad praesidem, et a praeside ad conventum, renuntianda sunt nomina trium eorum Sacerdotum, in quos major suffragiorum numerus convenerit. Tunc praeses, narrationem authenticam in scriptis redactam parari coram comitiis, ejusdemque duo exemplaria a seipso et secretario atque scrutatoribus subsignanda, exscribi curabit. Ex istis exemplaribus alterum Vicario tradendum, qui idem ad Sedem Apostolicam transmittat; alterum vero ad Metropolitanum, cujus munus erit idem ad suffraganeos suos Episcopos in unum congregatos referre. Quaecumque jura, privilegia, et numera supra recensentur tanquam praesidi conventus propria, eadem, Sede Metropolitana vacante, Seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo communicari volumus.

Episcopis Provinciae, Praeside Metropolitano, aut ipsius defectu Seniori Provinciae Suffraganeo in unum congregatis, et narratione authentica supra memorata coram ipsis prolata, de eadem coram Deo judicium sententiamque ferent. Praeses Episcoporum suffraganeorum sententiam, de meritis trium sacerdotum qui Sedi Apostolicae commendantur, literis consignatam, uniuscujusque Episcopi et Praesidis manu subscriptam, sigilloque munitam, ad Sedem Apostolicam transmittet. Semel peracta commendatione, si Episcopi judicaverint tres illos commendatos minus dignos esse, quorum unus ad Episcopatum promoveatur, tunc quin detur novae commendationi locus, Summus Pontifex, pro sua sapientia, viduatae ecclesiae providebit.

Si agatur de Episcopo Coadjutore, cum jure successionis cuivis Episcopo assignando, eadem, quae, sede vacante, commendandi forma servanda est, cauto tamen varia privilegia, jura et munera Metropolitano, aut Seniori Episcopo suffraganeo jam attributa, ad Archiepiscopum, aut Episcopum, cui coadjutor assignandus est, unice pertinere, illaeso tamen servato jure Metropolitanum, quando suffraganei ejus Episcopi ad ferendum suffragium convenerint. Tandem quicumque Sedis Apostolicae approbationi commendentur, cives sint indigenae Hiberniae,

Serenissimo Imperii Britannici Regi fidelitate incorrupta obstricti morum integritate, pietate, doctrina, caeterisque quae Episcopum decent, dotibus insigniti.

Haec sunt, quae in commendandis Sedi Apostolicae Sacerdotibus pro episcoporum Hiberniae electione, Sacra Congregatio servanda praescripsit. Ea vero decernens, significari omnibus voluit, in documentis de hac re pertractantibus, ad sanctam sedem transmittendis, nihil inveniri debere, quod electionem, postulationem, nominationem innuat, sed simplicem commendationem: memorata praeterea documenta esse debere jussit, in forma supplicis libelli ita concepti, ut inde pateat nullam in sanctam sedem inferri obligationem eligendi unum ex commendatis.

Declaravit denique Sacra Congregatio, salvam semper atque illaesam manere debere Sedis Apostolicae libertatem in eligendis Episcopis, ita ut commendationes, lumen tantum, et cognitionem Sacrae Congregationi, nunquam tamen obligationem, sint allaturae.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus dictae Sac. Congregationis, die 17 Octobris, 1829.

Gratis sine ulla omnino solutione quocumque titulo.

D. M. CARD CAPPELLARI, *Præfectus*.

C. CASTRACANE, *Secretarius*.

(Verum Exemplar.)

ILLUSTRISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE

Initum a sacra Congregatione consilium ut certam methodum in regno Hiberniae servandam decerneret circa sacerdotes commendandos Apostolicae Sedi quando agitur de Episcoporum electione in eo totum versatum est, ut memorata methodo accurate servata, Apostolica Sedes exploratam notitiam habere possit, meritorum sacerdotum pro quibus commendationes afferuntur. Quare sacra Congregatio in decreto quod die prima Junii 1829 et de re factum fuerat ac die 17 Octobris ejusdem anni promulgatum est, declaravit mentem suam esse ut commendationes illae lumen tantum ac cognitionem sibi compararent circa eos inter quos Apostolica Sedes Episcopos est electura. Voluit quidem Dioecesanum Clerum consuli atque ejusdem opinionem circa sacerdotes commendandos per secreta suffragia requiri. Id autem ea tantum de causa factum est, ut

Sanctae Sedi constaret quinam praecipue sacerdotes aestimationem obtineant Cleri Dioecesani, et tale testimonium consequantur, ex quo intelligi posset eos apud Dioecesanum clerum ad Episcopatum consequendum idoneos censi. Hoc vero unico scrutinio fieri posse manifestum est, et revera decreti superius memorati contextus hic est, ut in uno tantum scrutinio res peragatur, atque ex eo scrutinio constet quinam sint tres sacerdotes in quos major suffragiorum numerus convenerit.

Ad Sacrae Congregationis notitiam nuper pervenit in aliquibus Hiberniae Dioecesibus hoc obtinuisse ut in conventibus qui habentur a Clero Dioecesano ad sacerdotes Sanctae Sedi commendandos ex quibus Episcopus aliquis eligatur, non unum sed tria fiant: intelligens Sacra Congregatio hinc evenire posse ut non tres praestantiores ex clero, sed unus revera commendetur atque ei duo alii veluti ad formam tantum adjungantur, meritis omnino inferiores: cupiens praeterea eadem Sacra Congregatio ubique in Hibernia eandem methodum circa ejusmodi commendationes servari, scribendum judicavit Amplitudini tuae hanc epistolam, caeteris Archiepiscopis communicandam, ut in Dioecesibus omnibus Hiberniae constet unicum scrutinium in conventibus Cleri peragendum esse ad tres sacerdotes Sanctae Sedi commendandos antequam ipsa deveniant ad Episcopi alicujus Hiberniae Dioecesis electionem, et hunc verum decreti diei 1 Junii 1829 sensum esse. Precor Deum interea ut Amplitudinem Tuam diu sospitem ac felicem servet.

Romae ex Aedib. Sacrae Congreg. de Propag. Fide, 25 Aprilis, 1835.

Amplitudinis tuae

Ad officia paratissimus,

J. C. Card. FRANSONIUS, *Praefectus*.

A. MAIUS, *Secretarius*.

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

R. P. DANIELI MURRAY,
Archiepiscopo Dubliniensi.
Concordat cum Originali.

✠ DANIEL MURRAY.

INDULGENCES FOR ST ANTHONY OF PADUA

TOT INDULG. PLEN. CONCEDUNTUR CHRISTIFIDELIBUS QUI, SERVATIS SERVANDIS, FER 13 FERIAS TERTIAS, VEL 13 DOMINICAS CONTINUAS INFRA ANNUM, IN HONOREM S. ANTONII PATAVINI, PIE ORAVERINT ETC.

LEO PP. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Iucundo animum Nostrum sensu perfuderunt, Nostrisque plane responderunt optatis supplices litterae, quas modo Dilectus Filius Laurentius Caratelli Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium Minister Generalis ad Nos dedit significans cupere se atque optare, ut S. Antonii Patavina cultus ubique gentium augeatur in dies singulos et provehatur. Verum catholici omnes propriam habent rationem cur Beatum Antonium praecipuo prosequantur honore, excolant obsequio. Ille enim singulari Dei concessu et munere gratias et beneficia quotidiana populo christiano conferre ita solet, ut ipsa Ecclesia cohortetur quemlibet fidelem ad eum confugere, si quaerit miracula. Accedit etiam calamitosis hisce temporibus quod Antonius Patavinus quasi icto caritatis foedere cum S. Vincentio a Paulo quodammodo consocietur, atque ambo amice coniurent ad levandas vel saltem deliniendas aerumnas miserasque tenuioris plebis, ita ut beneficiis alter panem comparet, alter, diribeat. Et multis quidem in templis ad stipem cogendam in alimentum egenorum posita est suavis imago S. Antonii in ultris gestantis Puerum Deum, et quasi gratias ab Eo implorantis, quae imago invitare quodammodo christifideles ac provocare videtur ad expetenda beneficia, quibus acceptis dant stipem obligatam, quae assumatur in emptionem panis pro pauperculis. Ex quo fit ut Vincentianae Sodalitates, quae proletariorum familiis necessaria vitae cibaria ex instituto dispensant, validum ab Antonio praesidium et columnen sibi polliceantur. Quae cum ita sint volenti lubentique animo Nos admotis precibus obsecundamus, et ad augendam fidelium religionem animarumque salutem coelestibus Ecclesiae thesauris pia charitate intenti, omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus christifidelibus, qui vere poenitentes et confessi ac S. Communione relecti tredecim feriis tertiis continuis et non interpolatis vel tredecim Dominicis item continuis et non interpolatis, quolibet intra annum tempore, ad cuiusque arbitrium eligendis, piis meditationibus vel supplicationibus vel aliis pietatis exercitationibus ad Dei gloriam et eiusdem Sancti honorem

vacaverint, qua ex his feriis tertiis vel Dominicis id praestiterint Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem vel defunctis applicabilem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. In contrarium facientibus non obstant. quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Volumus autem, ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae; et praecipimus, ut praesentium Litterarum (quod nisi fiat nullas easdem esse volumus) exemplar ad Secretariam S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae deferatur, iuxta Decretum ab eadem S. Congregatione die XIX Ianuarii MDCCLVI latum et a Benedicto XIV Decessore Nostro rec. mem. die XXVIII dicti mensis probatum. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die I Martii MDCCCXCVIII Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo.

Pro Dno CARD. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus*.

FACULTIES FOR ACCUMULATING IMPEDIMENTS

VI FACULTATUM CUMULANDI, DISPENSARE POTEST EPUS CIRCA IMPEDIMENTUM DIRIMENS SECRETUM, CONCURRENTE ETIAM ALIO IMPDIR. PUBLICO; SI VERO UNUM SIT DIRIMENS, ALIUD VERO IMPEDIENS (CUIUS DISPENSATIO RESERVATUR S. SEDI) INDIGET SPECIALI FACULTATE

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus Mysurien. ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humiliter exponit se interdum ancipitem haerere in usu facultatum cumulandi (ut aiunt) quibus in tribuendis dispensationibus matrimonialibus pollet. Hinc enixe petit insequentium dubiorum resolutionem:

I. Utrum concurrente aliquo impedimento dirimente secreto, seu fori interni, cum alio impedimento item dirimente, sed publico, necessaria sit ad dispensationem specialis cumulandi facultas.

II. Utrum concurrentibus duobus impedimentis, quorum unum sit dirimens et alterum impediens tantum, eo excepto quod

religiosis relinimus dicunt, pariter necesse sit ad dispensationem specialis cumulandi facultas.

Fer. IV., 18 Augusti, 1897.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis dubiis, prae habitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto iidem EEmi ac RRmi DDni responderi mandarunt :

Ad I. Negative ; et detur Decretum diei 31 Martii 1872 in *Coimbaturen.*

Ad II. Affirmative quoad impedimenta impediencia, quorum dispensatio reservatur S. Sedi, ea nempe quae oriuntur ex mixta religione ut aiunt, atque ex sponsalibus et ex voto simplici perpetuae castitatis ; secus in reliquis, circa quae Episcopus uti poterit iure suo.

Feria vero VI., die 20 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII., idem SSmus Dominus resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum in omnibus adprobavit.

Decretum autem die 31 Martii 1872 datum occasione dubii a R. P. D. Vicario Apostolico Coimbaturen. propositi, prout constat ex actis S. Congr. de Propag. Fide, sic se habet : ‘SSmus Dominus declaravit generatim prohibitionem concedendi absque speciali facultate dispensationes, quando in una eademque persona concurrunt impedimenta matrimonialia, non extendi ad eos casus, in quibus cum impedimento natura sua publico aliud occurrit impedimentum occultum, seu fori interni.’

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inq. Notarius.*

SUCCESSION OF FACULTIES

FACULTATES SPECIALES, HABITUALITER A S. SEDE ORDINARIIS CONCESSAE, TRANSIUNT AD SUCCESSORES, PRO TEMPORE ET IN TERMINIS CONCESSIONIS.

Feria IV., 24 Novembris 1897.

In Cong. Gen. S. Rom. Univ. Inquis. habita ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Card. in rebus fidei et morum Gen. Inquisitoribus, iidem Emi Patres, cerum temporumque adiunctis mature perpensis, decernendum consuerunt : Supplicandum SSmo, ut declarare seu statuere dignetur facultates omnes speciales habitualiter a S. Sede Episcopis aliorumque locorum Ordinariis concessas non suspendi

vel desinere ob eorum mortem vel a munere cessationem, sed ad successores Ordinarios transire ad formam et in terminis decreta Sup. hac Cong. editi die 20 Februarii 1888 quoad dispensationes matrimoniales.

Insequenti vero feria VI., die 26 Novembris 1897, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, Sanctitas Sua Emorum Patrum resolutionem adprobavit, atque ita perpetuis futuris temporibus servandum mandavit, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Ios. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I., Notarius.*

L. ✠ S.

CASE OF 'SANATIO IN RADICE'

EX S. CONGR. S. R. U. INQUISITIONIS, EPISCOPI STATUUM FOEDERATORUM AMERICAE SEPTENTRIONALIS CONCEDERE VALENT 'SANATIONEM IN RADICE' IN CASU DISPARITATIS CULTUS, EXCEPTO CULTU IUDAICO.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter provolutus expono: Dionysius (non baptizatus) tribus annis elapsis matrimonium contraxit cum Maria Iosepha (catholica) coram magistratu civili. Pars acatholica omnino renuit consentire conditionibus ab Ecclesia requisitis in matrimoniis mixtis, praesertim relate ad baptismum et catholicam proles educationem, quamvis uxori liberum sit facere quid vellet relate ad puellarum educationem. Huic conditioni ante matrimonium Maria Iosepha consensit. Nunc eam poenitet id fecisse; attamen quum vir sit bonus paterfamilias et optimus provisor pro prole, haud sperandum se virum derelicturam. Quare ad validandum matrimonium et prolem legitimandam et pro bono spirituali matris et filiorum rogo cum 'sanatione in radice,' dispensatio 'disparitatis cultus' concedatur, quum vir renuat dare consensum, et mulier sciat suum matrimonium esse invalidum.

✠ GULIELMUS ENRICUS, *Archiepiscopus Cincinnatiensis.*

RESPONSUM.

Feria VI. die 3 Iunii 1892.

Sanctissimus D. N. Leo divina providentia PP. XIII in audientia r. p. d. Adessori S. O. impertita, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis in casu concurrentibus et indubiis res pisciculturae

signis Oratricis catholicae, Mariae Iosephae, benigne remisit preces prudenti arbitrio et conscientiae r. p. d. Ordinarii Cincinnatiensis, ut, quatenus utraque pars in consensu de praesenti perseveret, sanare valeat in radice matrimonium initum ab ipsa catholica Maria Iosepha cum acatholica non-baptizato, dummodo Oratrix spondeat serio se curaturam totis viribus educationem totius prolis in religione catholica, et dummodo perseveret partium consensus. Ipse vero Ordinarius in hoc sibi commisso munere explendo declaret se agere nomine Sanctitatis Suae et tanquam ab Apostolica Sede specialiter delegatum. Serio moneat Oratricem de gravissimo patrato scelere : ‘ salutare poenitentias ei imponat,’ a censuris absolvat simulque declaret ob praesentem dispensationis gratiam a se acceptatam matrimonium fieri validum, legitimum et indissolubile iure divino, et prolem susceptam et suscipiendam legitimam habendam esse. Oratrici etiam gravissime imponat ac declaret obligationem, qua semper tenetur curandi pro viribus conversionem viri ad catholicam fidem et prolis utriusque sexus tam natae quam nasciturae in catholica religione educationem.—Cum autem de matrimonii validitate in foro externo constare debeat, idem Ordinarius nomen cum consueta personali indicatione tam mulieris quam viri in Regestis describi iubeat, simulque autographum documentum praesentis concessionis communicationis, acceptationis, absolutionis et declarationum Oratricis ut supra facturam, servetur in Curia Cincinnatiensi, et exemplar authenticum eidem Oratrici sedulo custodiendum tradatur. **Contrariis non obstantibus.**

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

ROMAE, 20 Iunii 1892.

ILLUSTRISSIME AC REVERENDISSIME DOMINE,

Amplitudo Tua literis datis die 24 superioris mensis aprilis sanationem in radice expetebat matrimonii contracti a Maria Iosepha catholica cum Petro Dionysio non baptizato, nec non matrimonii contracti a Maria N. cum quodam Henrico M. pariter non baptizato. Rescriptum S. Officii quoad sanationem matrimonii Mariae Iosephae iam paucos ante dies ad te misi, nunc vero haec adnexum mitto rescriptum eiusdem Supremi Tribunalis circa sanationem alterius matrimonii supra memoratii. Tibi autem ex parte eiusdem S. Officii summo opere commendandum habeo ut velis omni sollicitudine adiri quo proles in catholica religione educetur. Iisdem vero literis Amplitudo Tua duo

proponere dubia : primum erat utrum recta fuerit dispensatio a te aliquando concessa cum 'sanatione in radice' circa matrimonia nulla ex impedimento 'disparitatis cultus' cum pars non baptizata renueret satisfacere conditionibus de educatione proles etc., dum pars catholica promitteret se, in quantum fieri posset, curaturam ut filii filiaeque baptizarentur et in religione catholica educarentur.

Alterum dubium erat num non obstante speciali clausula de iudaeis in facultatibus quas habes, recte dispensaveris nonnumquam cum mulieribus catholicis ut inira possent matrimonium cum iudaeis, qui cupientes huiusmodi nuptias contrahere in scriptis Iudaismo renuntiaverint.

Haec dubia delata pariter fuerunt solvenda ad Supremum Tribunal Sancti Officii, et illi Emini Patres Inquisitores Generales in Congregatione feriae V, loco IV, die 2 vertentis mensis Iunii, sequentes dederunt resolutiones a Summo Pontifice adprobatas :

Ad I. 'Quatenus urgeret necessitas, consensus perseveraret, et impositum fuerit matri onus baptismi et educationis proles totis viribus curandae, potuisse uti facultatibus.'

Ad II. Quod ad praeteritum, 'supplicandum Sanctissimo pro sanatione in radice,' quatenus opus sit (quibus precibus Summus Pontifex annuit). Quod ad futurum, recurrat (Ordinarius) in singulis casibus, expositis omnibus circumstantiis.

Haec tibi erant per me significanda : interim omnia fausta felicia Tibi a Domino precor.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Addictissimus Servus,

M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

IGNATIUS Archiep. TAMIATHEN, *Secret.*

DOMINO GULIELMO ELDER,

Achiepiscopo Cincinnatiensi.

BOOKS PROHIBITED BY THE ORDINARY

EX S. CONGREGATIONE INDICIS, QUOAD LIBROS AB ORDINARIIS
LOCORUM PROHIBITOS

Feria VI, die 6 Decembris 1895.

Proposito dubio : utrum qui habent generalem facultatem legendi libros in Indice librorum prohibitorum contentos, legere licite possint etiam libros ab Ordinario proscriptos, sine speciali eiusdem Ordinarii licentia? Emini Patres responderi mandarunt : *Negative.*

ST. PASCHAL BAYLON, PATRON OF EUCHARISTIC
CONGRESSES

E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

S. PASCHALIS BAYLON DECLARATUR PATRONUS COETUUM, EUCHA-
RISTICORUM, OMNIUMQUE SOCIETATEM A SSMA EUCHARISTIA

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Providentissimus Deus fortiter sauviterque disponens omnia, singulari quadam cura Ecclesiae suae ita prospexit, ut quum inclinatae maxime res viderentur, ex ipsa temporum acerbitate insperita eidem solatia suscitaret. Id, quum saepe alias, tum potissimum videre licet his rei christianae ac civilis temporibus. Quum enim communis tranquillitatis osores, insolentius se in dies efferentes, quotidiano impetu eoque validissimo adnitantur Christi fidem omnemque poene societatem evertere, placuit divinae bonitati his rerum fluctibus praeclara studia pietatis oblicere. Quod quidem plane declarant, et sanctissimi Cordis Iesu longe luteque propagata religio, et excitatus ardor ubique terrarum provehendi cultus Marialis, et inelyti eiusdem Deiparae Sponsi adhaucti honores, et catholicorum coetus in vario rerum genere ad omnemque fidei defensionem parati, aliaque complura, promovendo divino honori et mutae caritati fovendae, sive amplificata, sive primum invecata. Quae quidem omnia etsi animum Nostrum suavissime afficiunt, nihilominus divinorum munerum summam hanc esse putamus, auctam in populis in Eucharistiae sacramentum religionem post habitos in eam rem coetus per haec tempora celeberrimos. Nihil enim efficacius videtur Nobis, quod alias significavimus, catholicorum animis excitandis tum ad fidem strenue profitendam, tum ad virtutes christiano nomine dignas exercendas, quam ut alantur et acuantur studia populi in admirabile illud amoris pignus, quod pacis vinculum est atque unitatis.

Quum igitur tanta res maxime Nobis curae sit, quemadmodum coetus eucharisticos saepe laudavimus, ita nunc uberiorum spe fructuum permoti, faciendum ducimus ut iis patronus coelestis assignetur ex sanctis coelitibus qui in augustissimum Corporis Christi sacramentum vehementiore affectu flagarunt. Inter eos vero, quorum ardor pietatis in praecelsum hoc fidei mysterium efferbuisse magis visus est, locum obtinet dignissimum Paschalis

Baylon. Qui animum sortitus rerum coelestium apprime studiosum, postquam adolescentiam in custodia gregis transegit innocentissime, severioris vitae institutum amplexus in Ordine Minorum strictioris observantiae, eam ex contemplatione divina convivii meruit haurire scientiam, ut rudus ac litterarum expertus potuerit et de rebus fidei difficillimus respondere et pios etiam libros conscribere. Idem Eucharistiae veritatem publice palamque professus inter haereticos multa et gravia perpressus est, ac Tharsicii martyris aemulus, ad necem quoque crebro petitus. Eum denique pietatis affectum defunctus etiam retinere visus est: quippe iacens in feretro, ad duplicem sacrarum specierum elevationem, his oculos dicitur reserasse.

Igitur apparet, coetus catholicorum, de quibus loquimur, nullius in tutela melius esse posse. Propterea qua ratione Thomae Aquinati cupidam litterarum iuventutem; Vincentio a Paulo consociationes caritatis causa initas; Camillo de Lellis et Ioanni de Deo aegrotos et quotquot aegrotis adiutandis dant operam, opportune commendavimus, ita, quod bonum faustumque sit et rei christianae benevertat, suprema auctoritate Nostra, praesentium vi, sanctum Paschalem Baylon peculiarem coetuum eucharisticorum, item societatum omnium a sanctissima Eucharistia, sive quae hactenus institutae, sive quae in posterum futurae sunt, Patronum coelestem declaramus et constituimus. Atque ab eiusdem Sancti exemplis patrociniisque hunc fructum fidenter petimus, ut e populo christiano quotidie plures animum, consilia, amorem ad Iesum Christum servatorem referant, omnis salutio summum augustissimumque principium. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque. Volumus autem, ut praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die XXVIII. Novembris MDCCCXCVII., Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimo.

A. CARD. MACCHI.

FORM OF BAPTISM UP TO FOURTEEN YEARS OF AGE

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

IN BAPTISMO CONFERENDO, SERVATUR ORDO BAPTISMI PARVULORUM,
ETSI BAPTIZANDI ATTIGERINT AETATEM 14 ANNORUM

EME AC RME DNE OBLME.

A Sacra Rituum Congregatione remissum est Supremae huic Congregationi dubium expositum ab Em. Tua, utrum scilicet baptizari possint, servato ordine Baptismi parvulorum, ii pueri neophyti qui scholis catholicis admissi baptizantur ante primam Communionem.

Porro Emi Patres una mecum Inquisitores generales, mature perpenso proposito dubio, respondendum esse duxerunt 'Affirmative'; responsiones autem praescriptae dentur a pueris baptizandis insimul cum eorum patrinis. Haec autem Emorum Patrum responsio a SS. D. N. rata ac confirmata est.

Attamen mens est eiusdem S. O. ut Em. Tua qua pollet apostolica charitate, parochorum zelum excitet, qui current ut ii pueri catholicorum scholis recepti opportuno tempore ad baptismum accedant.

Haec autem dum pro mei muneris ratione E. Tuae communico, quo par est obsequio eiusdem manus humillime deosculor.

Emae Tuae

Romae, 10 Maii, 1879.

Humill. Dnus servus verum.

P. CARD. CATERINI.

EMO CARDINALI GUIBERT, *Archiepo Parisien.*

SOME DEFECTS IN ORDINATION

IMPOSITIO MANUUM OMISSA CERTE FUIT A SACERDOTIBUS ADISTENTIBUS, ET PROBABILITER AB IPSO EPO ORDINANTE: ORDINATIO DENGO FIAT SECRETO ET SUB CONDITIONE

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humiliter exponit quod in ordinatione sacerdotis B. ex mera oblivione, omissa fuit impositio manuum ex parte Sacerdotum adistentium: insuper non recordatur Episcopus (neque alii adstantes recordantur) utrum tenuerit manus elevatas super caput ordinandi, durante

secunda impositione quando recitabatur oratio 'Oremus fratres carissimi,' etc., quapropter a supremo oraculo petit quid nunc agere debeat.

Feria IV die 17 Martii 1897.

In Congregatione Gen. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EE. et RR. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto Dubio, iidem EE. ac RR. DDni responderi mandarunt: 'Sacerdos B. ordinetur secreto et sub conditione quacumque die, etiam feriata, obtenta a SSmo facultate.

Sequenti vero fer. V die 18 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita Audientia R. P. D. Adessori impertita, facta de his omnibus relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, idem SS. Dominus resolutionem Emorum et Rmorum Patrum in omnibus adprobavit, facultatem concedendo.

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inq. Notarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MISSALE ROMANUM, BREVIARIUM ROMANUM, HORÆ DIURNÆ
RITUALE ROMANUM. Tours : Alfred Mame et Fils.

WE have received from the great publishing firm of Mame of Tours several specimens of their missals, breviaries, and other liturgical publications, which they have asked us to bring under the notice of the Irish clergy. We do so with pleasure. The works that have been sent to us deserve the highest encomiums. The large and medium-sized missals, bound in dark-embossed shagreen, with gilt edges, black and red letters, seem to us excellent value, the former for 29 f. 50 c., and the latter for 21 f. 50 c. In most churches and chapels on the Continent two missals are kept, one for every-day use, and one at least for great feast days and special celebrations. Whether such a luxury can be indulged in here in Ireland depends very much on the locality. There is, we know, a general desire that the missal, like all the furniture of the altar, should be neat and becoming. The excellence and cheapness of the missals we have before us will enable all who have care of churches or chapels to have a book on the altar in keeping with its spotless surroundings. Those who require a really splendid missal can have one for about £4, richly bound in Morocco. Those whose means will not allow them to offer such a present to the altar may well be content with the missals at 21 f. 50 c.

As for the breviaries, they are of all shapes and sizes. As an excellent serviceable breviary, we recommend the edition in 18mo (No. 52 in catalogue), which is quite up to date in every respect, and costs 15 or 33 francs, according as the binding is first or second class. A really beautiful breviary, one of the best in existence, is that in 12mo (marked 88 in catalogue), and costing from 41 to 57 francs, according to the binding. The bound copy at 48 francs seems to us a splendid book. There is also a 'Totum,' costing 16 francs, and an edition of the whole breviary in two volumes in 16mo, nicely bound, at 28 francs. There is a handsome ritual for 5 f. 50 c. It is well printed, but the size is a little large, and would be somewhat inconvenient for

'sick calls.' There is also a very serviceable 'Horæ' at 8 f. 25 c. In France the house of Mame has a great and honourable reputation. In a country in which bad literature abounds, the press machines of Mame's great establishment have never been sullied by corrupt or even doubtful work. Their proprietor has built up for himself and his family an immense fortune, and has done so by giving the best value that trade competition would allow him to give. If we must send money out of Ireland, it is, at all events, satisfactory to know that it is going into worthy hands.

J. F. H.

LE COSTUME ET LES USAGES ECCLESIASTIQUES SELON LA TRADITION ROMAINE. Par Mgr. Barbier de Montault. Toure Premier Regles Generales, Le Costume Usuel, le Costume de Choeur. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, Editeurs.

THIS is the first volume of a book which, when completed, will be a unique publication. The subject of the present volume is ecclesiastical dress, taken in its widest sense to include the details of every-day wearing apparel and of choir costume. The author's object has not been to write a history of ecclesiastical costume, but to set forth the practice of the Roman Church as contained 'in law, tradition, and custom,' with a view to set up a standard to which ecclesiastics throughout the world should, as far as possible conform. Rome has been his guide—not France—where, according to himself, 'la regle a disparu et on lui substitue une volonté, absolue et arbitraire.' The volume before us is divided into three books. The first is a collection of the texts of Canon Law, the Pontifical Briefs (arranged in chronological order), and the decrees of the Sacred Congregations which bear on the subject of the work. These are very useful and interesting, as indicating the mind of the Church. The author does not discriminate between what in them is of strict obligation and what is not, and thus, of course, relieves himself of a very onerous undertaking. Reading over those wise regulations of ecclesiastical authority we cannot help noticing the constant anxiety of the Church to keep her ministers from the pursuit of worldly avocations, pastimes, and fashions.

'Clerici officia vel commercia secularia non exerceant . . .

Ad aleas et taxillos non ludant . . . Pannis rubeis aut viridibus, nec non manicis aut secularibus conseuticiis, fraenis, stellis pectoralibus, calcaribus deauratis non utantur.'—Decretals.

The distinction between the long and short dress has long been canonically recognised, but the short soutane or coat (soutanelle) should reach the knees. 'Nous permettons néanmoins à l'occasion d'un voyage que les susdits vêtements soient plus courts, de façon toutefois qu'ils couvrent les genoux et qu'ils soient conformes à la modestie ecclésiastique.'—Edit du Cardinal de Carpegna (1708).

The second book deals with 'Le Costume Usuel,' *i.e.*, everyday dress. The author's treatment of this department is quite exhaustive, beginning with the feet and ending with the crown of the head. 'Le mot costume,' he writes, 's' étend à tout l'ensemble de la toilette; chaussure, habillement de dessus et de dessous, chevelure, coiffure et accessoires. L'examen de ces diverses parties va se faire en détail en commençant par les pieds pour finir par la tête.' In a preliminary dissertation he states that the use of velvet is reserved to the Pope, and that inferior clergy should not affect even velvet trimmings. But he cites no authority for this view. He evinces a prejudice against red shirts. 'Laissons,' he writes, 'les chemises rouges aux Garibaldiens,' and he would have us relinquish pantaloons and laced boots for culotte, long stockings, and buckled shoes. He presumes, however, the soutane is worn over them on ordinary occasions.

'Le Costume de Chœur,' is the heading of the third book; and while here we notice the same attention to minutiae, we meet less of the author's predilections. The material, cut, and use of all the various articles of choir dress are fully described. This book and the preceding are profusely illustrated. Bishops in cappa, mozzetta, mantelletta; prelates in mantellone; canons in cappa; priests in short dress and long dress, in surplice and soutane, are exhibited in different attitudes, and altogether constitute a pictorial collection of ecclesiastics of unexceptionable *tenue*.

We sympathize with the author's desire to secure uniformity according to the Roman usage, and we have no doubt this interesting and learned volume will do something to realize his ideal. It is not too difficult to abolish unrubrical choir costumes, *e.g.*, the wearing of a surplice over a short coat; but local usage,

climate, taste, and convenience, must, we think, be always allowed to exercise a reasonable influence on the every-day dress of the priest.

T. P. G.

VITA JESU CHRISTI. Ex textibus quatuor Evangelorum distinctis. Auctore: L. Méchineau, S.J. Paris: Lethielleux.

THE letters affixed to the author's name are usually a guarantee of soundness and scholarship, and accordingly we opened the volume before us with high expectations. Nor were we disappointed. We venture to say that no more satisfactory life of our Lord has yet been written. For here there is no padding, no speculations, no pious or other exaggerations, no human eloquence. In the first part of the book each page is divided into six columns. In the first are numbers, in the second facts arranged in historical sequence, and in the remaining four references to the four Gospels. So we have a synopsis of the life of Christ in which each individual fact is numbered (for convenience), located, and authenticated. In the second part, under corresponding numbers, the texts referred to in the first part are printed in parallel columns. The reader is thus enabled to see at a glance the inspired records of any individual fact in our Saviour's life. These two parts constitute the main body of the work. A learned '*præambula de Medio Historico Vitæ Christi*,' and a closing exegetical dissertation on selected questions, complete a work which deserves to be widely circulated among ecclesiastics

T. P. G.

OUR LADY OF AMERICA. Liturgically known as 'Holy Mary of Guadalupe.' By Rev. G. Lee, C.S.Sp. Baltimore and New York: John Murphy and Co.

THIS is an attractively written history of the rise, growth, and fruits of the Guadalupean devotion in honour of the Blessed Virgin, which, for well-nigh six centuries, has been a feature of the Catholicity of the New World—as beautiful as it is inspiring. The conquest of Mexico by Spain was accompanied by the introduction of Christianity among the conquered races, and the good work of evangelizing the natives was forwarded by a very special Divine Providence. Our Lady seemed to take a particular joy in bringing about the widespread conversion of the Indians. For, while the Mexican Church was still in its infancy, she appeared

in this land, which formerly had been the scene of so many abominations, 'spoke to its people, and left them a wondrous memorial of her visit.' An humble Indian peasant was the privileged one to whom this heavenly visitant manifested herself. To Juan Diego the Mother of God appeared on the Hill of Tepeyac, near the Mexican capitol. Him she commanded to go to Zumarrago, the devout Bishop of Mexico, with a request that he would cause a temple to be erected to her honour on the spot where she stood. In proof of the authenticity of his commission she painted upon the coarse canvas of the Indian's cloak the picture which ever since has been held in deep veneration by the faithful, and whose miraculous origin is not only attested to by the highest human authority, but also stands revealed in its marvellous beauty, its faultless perfection as a work of art, and in its undecaying freshness. The main facts of this wonderful apparition and picture our author undertakes to prove to be not only morally and historically, but also theologically and ecclesiastically, certain. And, indeed, we cannot read his interesting narrative without being fully convinced of the justice of his contention. In Father Lee the Guadalupean shrine has found an able exponent, a loving client, and a powerful advocate. He shows us that Roman Pontiffs have believed in Guadalupe, enriched the devotion with many privileges, granted a feast in its honour to be celebrated as a double of the first class with an octave, and finally proclaimed Our Lady, under the title of Guadalupe, patroness of New Spain. But, perhaps, he is most interesting when he treats of the extraordinary influence wielded by Guadalupe in stimulating religious fervour and enthusiasm among the simple people of this country, in moulding their lives in habits of virtue, and in fostering among them a deep and tender love for the Mother of God. Guadalupe is to the New World what Lourdes is to the Old. In both God's favours are abundantly bestowed on deserving suppliants, and both, too, seem to bear the stamp of the supernatural. We commend the book to our readers as delightfully interesting, as breathing a spirit of lively faith in God's special revelations, and, above all, as being a tribute of warmest love to our Blessed Lady. We hope, too, with the author that these pages will make this holy Mexican shrine more widely known and still more deeply venerated, and that, before long, our Blessed Lady, under the title of Guadalupe, will be enshrined the patroness, not of New Spain only, but of the whole of Central America.

P. M.

GREGORIAN MUSIC. An Outline of Musical Paleography. Illustrated by Fac-similes of Ancient Manuscripts. By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. London and Leamington: Art and Book Company.

HANDBOOK OF RULES FOR SINGING AND PHRASING PLAIN-SONG. By the Benedictines of Stanbrook. Same Publisher.

IN recent times there is a growing conviction that for the proper understanding and satisfactory rendering of the Gregorian melodies, even in the abbreviated form of the *Editio Medicea*, some knowledge of the results of the archæological researches instituted in this subject is necessary. The literature on this matter, while very extensive, is not very accessible for the general reader. There is a particular dearth of books in the English language. The *Elements of Plain-Song*, published by the Plain-Song and Mediæval Music Society, has up to recently been the only publication to be mentioned in this connection. We must be very grateful, therefore, to the Benedictine nuns of Stanbrook Abbey for laying before English readers the principal results of musical paleography, especially of the *Paleographie Musicale*, the quarterly publication of the Benedictine monks of Solesmes, which holds the foremost place amongst the publications on this subject.

Gregorian Music opens with a nicely-written chapter on the aim of Church music. Some general idea on the subject of musical paleography having been given, the origin and development of the neumatic and diastematic notation are clearly set forth. The fifth chapter deals with the important and practical question of liquescence. We are not quite satisfied that the explanation of the reason of liquescence given in this chapter is correct. We certainly should not like to hear the word *confundentur* pronounced anything like con"-fun"-den"-tur. But the subject itself is very important for the rhythm of plain-chant, and without a knowledge of it it will scarcely be possible to do justice to the Gregorian melodies. Unfortunately, liquescent notes are not indicated in the Roman chant books. Recourse must, therefore, be had to the manuscripts, or printed editions reproducing their notation, in order to acquire that refinement of rhythmical feeling which will enable one to determine with accuracy in what cases liquescence should take place. But the hints given in the

present book, together, perhaps, with the suggestions in Dr. Haberl's *Magister Choralis*, chapter 15, under 3, will give some help to the student.

After a fairly exhaustive exposition of the Romanian signs and letters, three chapters are devoted to rhythm, the *cursus*, and the adaptation of texts. These we are inclined to consider as the best part of the work, and we imagine that nothing is better calculated to produce a delicacy of rhythmical feeling than a careful study of these chapters.

A few special remarks on execution bring the body of the work to a conclusion. An appendix deals with the modes and psalmody. The former are dismissed pretty summarily, a proceeding to which we do not object, as the subject is by no means fully investigated, and not very practical. The reproduction of the numerous mediations and endings of mediæval psalmody is of not much use for those following the Roman usage, but the principles of treatment are the same. The management of the additional note required when a dactylic word formation has to be fitted to the cadences of trochaic structure, is very instructive. The method of dealing with such formulas as the mediation of the third tone is particularly interesting, and we should like to see it generally adopted. But, unfortunately, the rules governing this additional note are not expressly stated. The reader has to abstract them for himself from the examples given.

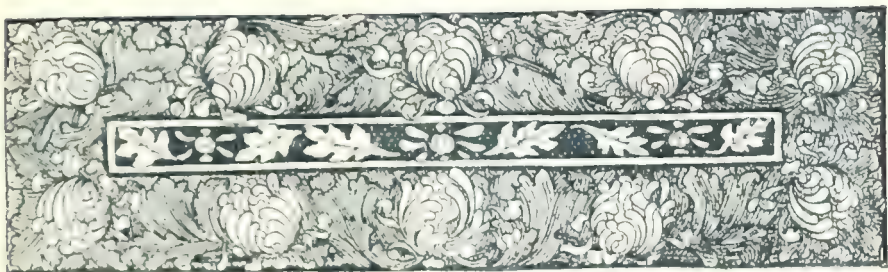
The *Handbook of Rules* is a little pamphlet intended to be put into the hands of singers. It gives simple and plain rules on pronunciation of Latin, accentuation, voice production, plain-song scales, notation, &c. In the chapter on the value of notes, the vexed question whether accent means prolongation, is solved, to our mind satisfactorily, in the following manner:—‘. . . an accent is brought out, not by being lengthened, but by being strongly marked. In practice, however, it will inevitably become a little longer; but this is by no means to be aimed at.’ As to the rendering of the neums, the rule now frequently accepted by writers is given that the first note of each neum is the accented one. While freely admitting that at every first note of a neum the voice receives a slight renewal of impulse, we cannot make up our minds that this note in all cases should bear the greatest stress. In a *scandicus*, for instance, if it stands by itself, not influenced by any modifying exigencies of the text, we should consider as the natural expression an increase of strength towards

the last note, and we believe that is the method adopted by the best choirs. At the same time, we consider that too much importance cannot be attached to the rule given in the same chapter, that the force of the accented syllable must be put on the *first* note of the first group of notes set to it.

In the chapter on pauses, we meet, among other excellent rules, the one that a consonant beginning a new syllable should be pronounced on the last note of the previous syllable. This rule works out most admirably in practice, though it is based rather on an illusion, inasmuch as most consonants cannot be pronounced on any definite pitch.

In conclusion, we congratulate the nuns of Stanbrook Abbey on their excellent publications, and hope that for the benefit of Church music these books will meet with an extensive circulation.

H. B.



VICTOR VITENSIS ON THE VANDAL PERSECUTION

READERS of the U. E. RECORD who remember so well our Irish persecutions, will be interested in a short account of one exactly similar which took place a thousand years before—the Vandal persecution in Africa—of which Victor, to a great extent an eyewitness, has left us an account in a work which Sirmond calls ‘a golden book,’ and again, ‘one of the most illustrious monuments of all antiquity.’ Victor’s identity was a long time disputed, but can be so no longer, since Liron, one of his commentators and biographers, clearly proved that he was a priest of Carthage, who lived there during the reigns of Genseric and Huneric, and then became Bishop of Vita in the province of Byzacene, where he wrote this work about the year 487. No more is known of him with certainty: but all admit that he was a very pious and learned man, and a most judicious historian.

By keeping in mind the following dates we can more easily follow Victor’s narrative of events. The Vandals crossed over to Africa at the beginning of 428, and had completed their conquest at the death of St. Augustine in 430, with the exception of the three cities of Hippo, Cirta, and Carthage. By the treaty of Hippo, in 435, they restored Mauritania and Western Numidia to the Empire, but kept

¹ Migne, tomus LVII, *Patrologia Latina*.

this treaty only to the death of Valentinian, in 455. They took Carthage in 439. Genseric reigned to 477, and was succeeded by his son Huneric, who died in 484. He was succeeded by his nephew Guntabund, who reigned twelve years, and was succeeded by his brother Thrasamund, who died in 525, and was succeeded by Hilderic, who was dethroned in 530 by Gelimer, the last Vandal king. Belisarius, the great general of Justinian, expelled the Vandals in 534, and the country remained subject to the Greek Empire until the Arab conquest in 665.

Having already noticed¹ that part of Victor's narrative which was connected with the conquest, I shall begin the present notice from the taking of Carthage. The savagery we shall often meet with in this narrative is so revolting, that I must ask my readers to remember, for the honour of humanity, that the Vandals were an exceptional race among all those that invaded the tottering Empire in the fifth century. All the other races divided the lands with the old inhabitants, and left the Catholic Church undisturbed; the consequence was that the conquerors gradually imbibed the civilization and religion of the vanquished; and even in Britain this process would probably have taken place only for the obstinacy of the old natives. But the Vandals, like our own Cromwellians, respected nothing; they confiscated all the lands; and, as fanatical Arians, banished, tortured, or murdered every Catholic bishop or priest on whom they could lay their hands. They spared as many of the common people as they needed to cultivate their lands, to exercise the various handicrafts, carry on their trade and commerce, keep the financial and administrative accounts, &c., &c.; for of all these things the Vandals were completely ignorant, and remained so to the end. The only progress they ever made was in the effeminacy engendered by sudden wealth and a delightful climate, and to this, like their predecessors the Africo-Romans, they owed their final downfall.

This Vandal persecution was carried on by means of a penal code and spasmodic outbursts. The Vandal kings

¹ *Life of St. Augustine*, chaps. xvi., xvii.

were absolute, and their edicts were laws. Victor's narrative, in five books, embraces the reigns of Genseric and Huneric; the books will be indicated by Roman numerals, the chapters by ordinary figures.

The first thing Genseric did on entering Carthage was to seize the Bishop, Quodvultdeus, with as many of his clergy as he could lay his hands on, and pack them on board rotten ships without provision of any kind. He then divided the confiscated lands among his soldiers, and issued an edict of banishment against all the bishops and nobles of the country, under the penalty of perpetual slavery in case of the slightest resistance or delay. Victor adds,¹ that he knew many bishops and distinguished laymen who thus became slaves to the Vandals. A number of bishops and nobles from the provinces, who had already lost everything, came to Carthage, and humbly asked for the bare permission to live among the afflicted people to console them; but Genseric answered, 'I have decreed the extermination of your race and name, and you dare to make such a request.' It was only by the entreaties of his own courtiers that he was prevented from having them all cast into the sea. Having seized upon all the churches of Carthage, some for the Arians, he ordered all the churches of the country to be closed or confiscated; and, says Victor,² 'they then celebrated the divine mysteries as they could, and where they could.' But even from this they were terrified by another edict³ forbidding 'all opportunity for prayer or immolation.' The next edict⁴ ordered all the sacred books and vessels to be delivered up; and a veritable fiend named Proculus was sent to the country to see this edict executed. A holy bishop named Valerianus, having refused to submit to this sacrilege, was cast out on the public highway, where no one could even speak to him; 'but,' says Victor, 'unworthy as I am, I had the honour to salute him.' He was over eighty years of age, and was left almost naked to perish.

The next paragraph vividly depicts the state to which the Catholics were reduced by all these edicts:—¹

In a place called Regia, the faithful forced open their church to celebrate Easter day; the Arians heard of it, and immediately one of their priests, named Adduit, at the head of an armed mob, rushed upon the innocent multitude. Some rushed in with drawn swords, others mounted the roof, while others discharged their darts through the windows. The people were listening or singing, and the lector in the pulpit chanting *alleluia*, when, pierced in the throat by an arrow, he fell dead, the book having fallen from his hands. Many others were killed on the very steps of the altar, being pierced with arrows and darts; and those who were not then slain by the sword were nearly all put to death by order of the King, especially those of mature age. Elsewhere, as at Tinuzuda and Ammonia, for example, when the Sacraments of God were being administered to the people, they rushed in breathing vengeance, scattered the body and blood of Christ on the pavement, and trampled it under their polluted feet.

This was the state of things during the whole reign of Genseric, with only a few short respites procured by the Emperors. A few personal facts will help to complete the picture.

Genseric was himself a most able, and, to some extent, an educated man; but he had among his followers no men capable of filling the high administrative posts in his vast kingdom; he had therefore to fall back on some of the old imperial officials. One of these was Count Sebastian² ‘a man greatly needed, but also much feared by Genseric; a man valiant in war and wise in council.’ One day the King sent for him, and in presence of his bishops and courtiers said:—

Sebastian, you have sworn to be faithful to us, and your acts prove your sincerity; but that your friendship may be more lasting, it is the wish of our priests here present that you should embrace the religion which we and our own people venerate.

Sebastian refused, and gave his reason in a beautiful parable which reduced them to silence. But another pretext was found, and his life was taken by order of the King.

At this time¹ Genseric, at the instigation of his bishops, issued orders that no one but an Arian should hold office in his own palace or in those of his sons. Armogastes held office in the palace of Theodoric, the King's third son; and when it came to his turn, as Victor expresses it, his legs were bound tight with cords—a torture which was long continued, and often repeated. They also beat and cut his forehead, on which was marked the sign of the cross—an African custom, as St. Augustine often tells us;² the holy man looking up to heaven all the time. The cords burst, but the executioners brought others of hemp, and much stronger. They too burst, the victim only invoking the name of Christ. They then suspended him, head downwards, by one foot; but he looked to the spectators like one reclining on a bed of down. Theodoric then ordered him to be beheaded, but he was dissuaded by his priest, Jocundus. Lest he should be honoured as a martyr, he counselled some slower process. He was then banished to the province of Byzacene, to dig trenches; but, for his greater humiliation, he was afterwards brought back, and placed as a cowherd near Carthage. In this occupation he at last felt his end approaching, and sent for his friend Felix, procurator of the prince's household, and a good Christian. He told him that his hour was at hand, and pointed out the spot where he wished to be buried. 'No,' said Felix; 'you shall be buried with honour in one of the basilicas'—a thought savouring more of zeal than of prudence—for Genseric had strictly forbidden all Catholic burial rites. But Armogastes replied: 'By the faith which we both hold, and as you shall answer to God, bury me here.' A few days later the holy confessor died, and while digging the grave Felix came upon a marble sarcophagus fit for a king. His name occurs in the Roman Martyrology, March 29.

Saturus, procurator in the house of Hunneric, the King's eldest son, was summoned to choose between Arianism and all he held dear in this world. Riches and honours were to reward his compliance; loss of position, substance, home,

¹ i. 4.

² *Serm.* xxvii., &c.

and family was to be the penalty of his refusal ; and, to crown all, his wife was to be made the spouse of a camel-driver before his face. He did not hesitate a moment, but told them to do quickly what they had to do. His wife was then brought upon the scene. She found him alone in prayer. Her garments rent, her hair dishevelled, surrounded by her children, and an infant in her arms, she embraced his knees, and filled the whole place with her lamentations. ‘O my beloved husband,’ she cried, ‘have pity on me, have pity on these children, have pity on yourself. Comply with this order, and God will see that you only do by compulsion what others have done, perhaps, willingly.’ But he answered her in the words of Job : ‘Thou hast spoken like one of the foolish women.’¹ My spouse, you have made yourself the emissary of Satan, as if there was no other life but this. I hold fast to the promise of my Lord : if anyone will not renounce wife and children,’ &c. ‘They then deprived him of everything ; but his baptismal robe they could not take away,’ says Victor.

Archinimus² was one of those on whose perversion Genseric had set his heart. He even stooped to exert all his personal influence, lavishing on him caresses and promises. But it was all in vain ; and then, without further ceremony, he sent him to the scaffold, with this satanic order to the executioner, that, if he yielded at the last moment, his head was to be struck off ; if he held firm, he was to be brought back alive. He did hold firm ; and, says Victor, ‘although cheated of the glory of martyrdom, that of confessor could not be taken from him.’ Even Gibbon cannot plead ignorance in this case for Genseric, who was himself an apostate.

To understand the following pathetic story³ we must remember that the southern borderers of Roman Africa, from Tripoly to the Atlantic Ocean, were the pagan Moors and Gestulians. These, from the very first, Genseric adopted as allies, and left them undisturbed in their vast territories. Hence, during the whole Vandal period, one of the

¹ ii. 10.² i. 15.³ i. 10.

most ordinary punishments inflicted on bishops, priests, nobles, &c., was to be sent as slaves to the Moors.

A Vandal millenarian (captain of a thousand) had among his slaves four brothers and a consecrated virgin named Maxima, young, beautiful, and intelligent, and mistress over the entire household. The brothers were ordinary Christians; but from the moment they came under the influence of Maxima they advanced constantly in fervour. The Vandal discovered this by a series of occurrences too long to mention here, and ordered them all to join his sect. They refused, and were subjected to various tortures. Again and again they refused, and were again and again flogged almost to death. They were then cast into prison, manacled, and racked before a great multitude. A curse fell upon the Vandal; his cattle died, his children died, and at last he died himself, leaving only a desolate widow, who gave these slaves to one Sesacni, a cousin of the King, who at once ordered him to continue the persecution; until at last ashamed of his failure with Maxima, he ordered her to be dismissed as an incorrigible. The four brothers he ordered to be given to Capsur, a Moorish chief of an oasis called Caprapieta. By word and example they converted Capsur and his people, built a church, and sent a great distance (*ad civitatem Romanam*) to the nearest bishop for a priest to baptize them, and live among them. When all this came to the ears of Genserik, his rage knew no bounds. He ordered the four brothers to be seized, bound, fastened to the tail of a cart, and dragged by wild horses over briers and thorns, and rocks; and in this way they were crowned with a glorious martyrdom. Miracles were wrought at their tomb, and their names are found in the Roman Martyrology on the 16th October. Maxima was still alive when Victor wrote, and abbess of a large monastery.

When about to give these details, Victor says: 'If, as everyone knows, martyrs were then numerous, confessors were more numerous still.'¹ Gibbon, unable to deny or conceal the facts, is not ashamed² to offer excuses for all this

savagery ; and certainly some of his excuses are a curiosity. Genseric, he says, was an apostate, and could expect no favour from the Catholics ; the Catholics exasperated him by their constancy ; the Arian clergy were few and ignorant, and no match for a clergy so numerous and learned as their adversaries ; the Catholics refused to proclaim the principle that truth and error had equal rights. He also insinuates that Genseric dreaded a Catholic rising, and actually asserts¹ that there was such a rising, but takes care to give neither date nor reference. There is no record of such a rising, and Genseric had no such fear ; he knew that his Catholic subjects were an unwarlike race, and were completely unarmed, as they had always been, even under the Romans. His fears were of a very different kind : he feared the Emperors whose territories he raided in his annual piratical expeditions ; he feared the constant risings and incursions of the Moors ; but above all, he feared the conspiracies of his own people, many of whom despised him as a base-born usurper, while others hated him as the murderer of the legitimate heirs. Gibbon admits in this very chapter, that during his reign more Vandal blood was shed on the scaffold than on the field of battle.

A word now about the respites already alluded to, and which were very short and few. In 439, the Primate arrived at Naples in his rotten ship, and had to remain in exile until his death, in 452. In 454, Genseric, at the request of Valentinian, allowed the churches of Carthage to be reopened and a bishop consecrated ; this bishop was Deogratias, who lived only three years, and was almost entirely occupied in alleviating the miseries occasioned by Genseric's sack of Rome, in 455. We shall allow Victor to describe this in his own words² :—

Were I to attempt a full account of the wonders wrought by God through this holy bishop, words would fail me. For, after his ordination, Rome, that most noble and famous city, was taken by Genseric, and, on his return to Carthage, the multitude of captives was divided as usual among the Moors and Vandals,

¹ Ch. xxxiii.

² i. 8.

husbands being separated from their wives, parents from their children. At once the man of God sold the gold and silver vessels to redeem the captives and restore the husbands to their wives, the children to their parents. And, as no other place could shelter such a multitude, he gave up to them two great churches which he filled with beds and litter, attending daily to the distribution of food &c. And as most of them had suffered from the sea, to which they were unaccustomed, and from the hardships of captivity, there was much sickness among them. The holy bishop attended to them like a tender nurse, went the rounds with the physicians, and saw himself that each was supplied with the nourishment he needed. Nor did he cease from this work of mercy during the night, but went round the beds asking each one how he felt; and this he did without a thought of rest for his weary limbs or his decrepit old age. The Arians were so enraged that some of them plotted against his life; and it is my belief that the Lord called him away so soon only to save his poor sparrow from the hawks. The grief of these poor captives at his death was so great that they felt as if they had been delivered up again to the barbarians. He spent three years in the ministry, and such was the veneration of the people that he had to be buried privately, during the usual prayers, lest they should tear his body in pieces.

His name occurs in the Roman Martyrology on the 22nd of March.

On the death of this bishop the churches of Carthage were again closed and the clergy banished; a special decree was also issued against any attempt to ordain a bishop within the Province of Carthage, usually called Proconsularis, and sometimes Zeugitana.¹ The next and last respite in Genseric's reign was in 475, when Severus, the ambassador of the Emperor Zeno, obtained the reopening of the churches of Carthage and the return of the clergy.² We do not find any mitigations of the penal laws obtained for the rest of the country during Genseric's reign. He died in January, 477.

We can now form a tolerably clear idea of Genseric's persecution. His plan was to exterminate the clergy and the gentry, and then make what he liked of the common people. This plan succeeded against the gentry, who had only the chance of becoming tenants under exorbitant rents on the worst lands of their former estates, or emigrating to other countries, or being sold into slavery; both the Eastern

and Western empires were crowded with these illustrious exiles. His plan succeeded with the clergy, too, as far as their property, movable and immovable, was concerned ; but in every other respect it was one of the most signal failures recorded in history. Looking at the means employed, anyone would expect to see the African Church completely extinguished ; but, on the contrary, it never before was so illustrious, not even in St. Augustine's time.¹ Having already endeavoured to describe the moral and religious state of Africa at the arrival of the Vandals, I can only say now that it was immeasurably better at the death of Genseric. The proof of this will be more clearly seen at the end of the whole Vandal persecution which has still half a century to run.

How did all this happen ? Well, in the first place, as Liron one of Victor's commentators, remarks, not a single bishop—there were nearly five hundred—deserted his post unless dragged away by violence. Ordinations were forbidden, but the sees were never left vacant,² except in Carthage and its immediate neighbourhood, where the King and his satellites were ever on the watch. Even at Carthage there were always priests to attend to the wants of the faithful. Victor himself lived there all through Genseric's persecution, as Liron clearly proves. In the next place, as Victor tells us,³ ‘the people of God held firmly to their faith, and even grew stronger and stronger in it, fulfilling these words⁴ “the more they were oppressed, the more were they multiplied and strengthened.”’ Finally, and above all the rest, extraordinary graces and supernatural favours were freely lavished on these faithful Christians.

Nor must we omit the human means which, in the providence of God, contributed to Genseric's discomfiture.

1. During the first twenty years of Genseric's rule, the western half of the country was subject to the Empire, and was thus able in various ways to help the persecuted Christians in the east.

¹ *Life of St. Augustine*, chap. xvi.

² This was clearly verified in 484, when King Huneric obtained a complete list of the Bishops by pretended clemency and most heartless fraud.

³ i. 7.

⁴ Exod. i. 12.

2. North Africa is entirely mountainous, except a narrow strip on the coast. In the very worst times there were convents and monasteries in these mountains, and, of course, individual bishops and priests could escape notice still more easily.

3. The eastern provinces, where the Vandals chiefly resided, were so very populous, that their presence was hardly perceptible in the daily life of the people. In the other provinces, the only Vandal to be met with, outside the towns, at any time was the new landlord, and, at stated times, the king's tax-gatherer.

4. The extent of the complete kingdom was immense, 1,500 miles from east to west ; and the Vandals were never more than some thousands among millions.¹

5. During his whole life Genseric had many other troubles to attend to beside the persecution of the Catholics.

Victor mentions no apostates in this reign, but it is hard to think there were none. He mentions² spies and informers, and these must have been apostates, for they penetrated into the religious assemblies of the faithful and if the preacher happened to mention such names as Pharaoh, Holofernes, &c., he was denounced as having alluded to the king, hunted down by Genseric's satellites, and sent at once into exile or sold into slavery. Victor gives a list of bishops who were seized in this way, among them one named Crescens who was Metropolitan over one hundred and twenty bishops. Ruinart remarks in a note that this word *Metropolitan* was unusual in Africa. Besides the Bishop of Carthage, who

¹ The Vandals were not a numerous race. Salvian (*De Gubernatione Dei*, i. 7.), thinks they were the least of all the barbarian races of the time. Yet, by the mere terror of their name, they made the greatest conquests of all. Genseric ruled over Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, Majorca, Minorca, and Sicily, which Odoacer held from him as vassal. He had a strong piratical fleet, manned by Moors and desperados of all nations, with which he ravaged annually the coasts of the Mediterranean, bringing back to Carthage slaves and treasure. Like our own Cromwell, he prostituted religion to his designs: when once asked by the pilot, on leaving Carthage, whither he was to steer this time, he answered, *to those with whom God is angry*. But, as Gibbon remarks, he took good care to direct him afterwards to the place which he knew from his spies to be richest in treasure and weakest in protecting force. On land he had always a Bible carried before his standard.

² i. 7.

was Primate of all Africa and also local Primate of Proconsularis, there were five other provincial primates called *Primas*, or *Senec* from the fact that they succeeded by seniority; they had power to ordain the bishops of their province. Victor thus concludes the first book: 'Here ends our persecution under Genseric; so cruel, yet so sublime.'

PHILIP BURTON, C.M.

THE 'MULS' AND THE 'GILS': SOME IRISH SURNAMES

III.

ONE of the most striking characteristics of the Irish race has always been a great veneration and affection for those consecrated to the service of religion. As far as we can gather from the native literature, the Druids seem to have held a strong position in the popular favour, even though they spoke of the world beyond with no very certain voice. Celtic Paganism had lost all definiteness of teaching at the time St. Patrick came to Ireland, and the strong contrast between the vague, cheerless generalities of Druidic tradition, and the definite and consoling assurances of the Christian faith was, no doubt, one of the reasons of the wonderfully rapid conversion of Ireland. We are not to be surprised, therefore, that the early Christian teachers who with St. Patrick, or after him, taught the new faith, should hold a warm place in the hearts of the nation. We speak now of but one indication of this, connected with our present subject. It was very usual in early Christian Ireland, in speaking of the early missionaries, to add to the names of many of them the endearing diminutive terminations -an or -óc (modern óg).¹ Thus, St. Columcille is often found with

¹ There is a curious and somewhat analogous usage in English in such expletive phrases as 'by'r lakin' = by our Lady-kin (Shakespeare), 'ods bodkins' = by God's body-kins, and some others which I have not seen in print, though they exist in our Anglo-Irish dialect, such as 'upon me soukins' (*aliter*) 'sukkins' = my soul-kins, and similarly 'fekkins' = faith-kins. These last examples are from Meath; the -kin, -kins, is the diminutive termination as in mannikin.

the name Colmoe: hence Staholmock, or 'house of little Colm.' The Isle of Rona, north of the Hebrides, takes its name from St. Rona, who is also called Ronán and Ronóc (modern Ronog). The -án form was easily Latinised, and so we usually find these names ending in Latin in *-anus*, and in English (after the Latin) ending in *-an*, as Ronan, Colman, Aidan. There was also the still more curious practice of prefixing to the names the endearing particle *mo*, my; thus 'the church of (St.) Rona' is the translation of the name of a ruin at the east end of Loch Lomond; the name itself is Kil-ma-ron-og, 'Church of my little Rona.' It is the same Rona (venerated at Iona and elsewhere on February 7th) that Walter Scott alludes to when he speaks of

A vot'ress in Maronnan's cell

—*mo-ron-án*, my little Rona.

Some of our Irish saints have had their names much disguised, like that of Rona in the line just quoted; such as St. Molua, really *moLua*, or my Lua, possibly one of those from whom *Cill-dá-Lua* or Killaloe (Church of the two Luas) takes its well-known name, just as Timoleague stands for *Tigh-mo-Laga*, house of 'my Laga,' usually called St. Molaga. The patron saint of Kinsale, in English called Multose, is in Gaelic² *mo-Elte-og*, my little Elte, a pupil of St. Barre of Cork. Portmarnock, Kilmarnock, Inchmarnock, contain another well-disguised name, for those places are the 'landing-place,' 'cell,' and 'island,' respectively, of *m' Ern-óc*, my little Erna, the same St. Erna who was with Columba in Clonmacnoise. He is, perhaps, better known by the other diminutive form of his name, Ernan. Hence comes the surnames MacAlearney, MacLerney, MacLarney, Millarney — *o' Maoil-Erna*, if not merely a rapid pronunciation of MacLarney), MacAlernon, MacLernon, MacClermand, MacLorinan: all meaning d.s. of St. Ernan, whose feast day is August 18th.

We may take it that a name of this class was the origin of the Latin Columbanus, the Irish Colman being a very

² So I am informed by Father Lyons, P.P., Kilmichael.

common name at all times, and used to the present day.¹ Several of these names are given in a quatrain quoted in the old *Martyrology of Donegal* :—

Mo-Lua ba hanamchara do Dabid
Dar muir modh-mall,
Is dom Aedhog, is dom Chaemog,
Is do Chomgall.

‘My-Lua was soul-friend (= spiritual director) to David over the slow-rolling sea (*i.e.*, in Wales), and to my-little-Aedh, and to my-little-Caem (Kevin), and to Congal.’

This quatrain refers to the time when there was constant and friendly communication between the schools and churches of Ireland and the Welsh and English coasts, when Welsh students came to study in the Irish colleges, and brought back with them to Wales many Irish traditions that can still be recognised in Welsh literature. This was the time when Alfred, a student in Ireland, laid the foundations of that love for learning which afterwards caused him to solicit the aid of his former Irish professors in founding the first University of Oxford. The quatrain also contains the name of one of our saints, a name disguised more effectually than any other, that of St. Aedh, if we may venture to call him so. Aedh is really his name. It is one of the commonest Irish names, and is now represented in English by Hugh, a name with which it has no connection whatever. The saint, however, is never known by his mere name Aedh, but is called either *Aedhán*, little Aedh, or m’Aedh-óg (pronounced mayogue), literally ‘my little Aedh.’ The former form is in English Aidan, the latter Mogue. The saint is generally known by the name Aidan, and is the patron of the diocese of Ferns, in which Aidan and Mogue are both used as baptismal names. In a sense, Aidan and Mogue are the same name; they mean practically the same thing, although

¹ It is curious to note how at present people called in Gaelic Colum are named Colman in English. The name Colman in this place calls to mind the theory – which has the merit of novelty at least – that the name Columbanus, derived from an Irish Colman, gave rise to a South-European family name Colombo or Columbus, one of which family discovered a new world, known later as Columbia. Perhaps it is needless to add that the author of the theory hails from the country in question.

differing so very much in appearance. The records of the Registrar-General in Dublin bear witness to the fact that many people called Mogue, in familiar and ordinary life, insist on writing themselves down as Moses. But do not both words begin with Mo-? and is not that sufficient reason for getting rid of an old Irish name, in times when Anglicization is fashionable—although this particular case is rather one of Judaization?

St. Aidan, or Mogue, was much honoured in early Ireland and Scotland. In the latter country he is found venerated at Kilmaddock, in Perthshire, and his name in the form Maddock (Scott refers to him as St. Maddox) is familiar to students of Scottish archæology. As we might expect 'servant of Mogue' was a popular name; we read of one who was 'Abbot of Armagh' in 1136. This was the friend of St. Bernard, whose Gaelic name *Mael-mhaodhog*, or servant of Mogue, is Latinised *Malachy* (O'Morgair). The surname directly descended from this name is rarely met with now-a-days in its proper form, Mullavogue or Mullawogue, most bearers of the name having taken the name Molloy, as less jarring on English ears. This also accounts for the fact that in Donegal, at least around Killybegs and Glencolumcille (so far as I can learn from Mr. J. C. Ward and Mr. Patrick O'Byrne) the English name Mulloy is used by families called in Gaelic O'Ludhōg, the usual English of which is Logue. Evidently this Gaelic name is but part of the full O'Maolmhaodhog, d.s. of Aidan, just as Lally is but a shortened form of Mulally. O'Ludhog represents fairly well the Ulster sound of the Gaelic name, after the *mao* of the prefix has been dropped. In Westmeath the Leinster pronunciation of the same ending is well represented by the local surname Leeogue, which, like Logue, also means d.s. of Aidan.¹ So that the primatial see of Armagh, adorned centuries ago by a 'servant of Aidan,' is once more filled by an eminent inheritor of the same

¹ What then accounts for the other Gaelic form of Logue, O'Loig? I believe it is a recent formation taken from the English form itself. A real Gaelic name would not end in -oig, even in the genitive, as the -óg termination, in such names as *Maedhog*, was invariable in all cases.

title. The Gil- form with the same meaning is MacGiolla Mhaodhog, now MacElvogue. Boolevogue also seems to have taken its name from the saint.

One of the great Irish school-founders was St. Carthage, who first conducted the great school of Raham, and afterwards, when obliged to abandon Raham, founded Lismore. This saint has two names; in Gaelic he is usually called Mochuda and his English name, borrowed from the Latin form Carthagus,¹ is founded on his other Gaelic name, Carthach. Mochuda (= mo-Chuda = my Cuda) may have been his personal name, and Carthach, or Carthy, the name of his clan. Hence the surname MacGillicuddy, d.s. of St. Mochuda. Other forms are MacElcuddy, MacElhuddy (Huddy ?), and, apparently, MacElligott.

Another name with the diminutive terminations -án and -óg is that of St. Fintan; at least it seems to me that the surnames MacAlinden, McClinton, McClintock, are Mac-Fialla-Fhionntáin, Fhionntóg,¹ d.s. of Fintan. Fintan is one of the few ancient names still in use as a baptismal name.

St. Fintan is one of the many saints who, like Columba, Fillan, Erna, Mogue, were venerated in both Scotland and Ireland. There were many bonds of union between Ireland and the highlands; the people were of the same race, they spoke the same language; had the same traditional literature; for ages they professed the same faith, and venerated the same patrons, Patrick, Brigid, and Columba, being the chief in both countries. And, although, for many centuries there has been no active intercourse between the Gaels of Scotland and those of Ireland, and although the two countries have been influenced in very different ways, still we find many traces of old times in the language and customs of Scotland. The Scotch-Gaelic forms of the surnames are the same as ours, except that they write MacIlle phonetically, instead of MacGiolla. In some localities of Ireland *a ciolla* would be the phonetic form, as

¹ Not Carthage, although I have heard *et intercedente beato Carthagine* sung at a solemn function.

² Professor MacKinnon writes the name Mac Ille Fhionntaig. In Irish-Gaelic we do not change the *óc, óg*, termination.

a ciolla-mhaire, Gilmor. This Gaelic name is used in the Highlands and is often translated Morrison. The Scotch have few Mul names, MacMillan, Mellis (for Maelisa, according to Mr. Flannery), and Maolmoire, servant of Mary, which we shorten too much, to Maoilre. One name is curiously misspelled by our Highland cousins: MacIlleathan, properly Mac Ille Eain, our Mac Giolla Eoin, d.s. of St. John.

There is at least one Highland saint who has left his memory in two surnames, St. Cattán of Kilchattan—there are three places of the name, in Argyle, Bute, and Colonsay—as recalled by the surnames Mulhatton and MacElhatton, d.s. of St. Cattán. The saint was probably one of the Clann Chattán of Caithness, of whom Scott writes in the *Fair Maid of Perth*. The adjectival form Cattánach is used as a surname in Scotland.

Here we may give a few names omitted from the first part of this paper. St. Senach has left us MacElhenney, McAlinney, Gilheany, McIlhaney, McEllany. MacElkenny, another form of Kilkenny, already given. Maelmochta, client of St. Mochta, of Louth, is now represented by Moughty, a rare name (Westmeath); Kilcullen, like the place-name similarly spelled, indicate a St. Cullen, there is one of the name in O'Gorman—MacIlbargy seems to be d.s. of St. Forga, of Killargy or Killargue; and the Antrim MacIlbaggá is either the same name or a form of MacIlharry already mentioned. Mulvennon, at first sight, would seem to be d.s. of St. Benen or Benignus, one of St. Patrick's converts, and afterwards his constant companion; but I am told that in Galway the form Mulvrennan is heard: in that case the meaning is d.s. of St. Brendan. As we have seen, Mulrennin is another form, and still another is Mulreany. This last form is misleading, although it is now, perhaps, the form in most general use in English, the Gaelic form used by the same persons being O'Maoilreanail (for -réanain).¹

We cannot always translate the Mul prefix by the same English word. When it is followed by a saint's name,

¹ Compare Dingle from Gaelic Daingean, and Bandanail for Baldwin in Finghin O'Mahony's 15th century translation of Mandeville.

'servant of' or 'client of' is a good translation; but there are some names in which 'one who loves,' 'one zealous for or anxious for' will better represent the meaning. Such a name was *Maeldomhnaigh*, 'one who loves the church,'¹ giving our modern surnames Muldowney, Mullowney, Moloney, and similarly MacEldowney, Gildowney, Downey, all meaning 'descendant of one who loves the church.' Compare Colum Cille, 'Colum who loves the church, cell,' and the obsolete *Maeldithraibh*, 'one who loves the hermitage.' There were many beautiful names of this class in ancient Erin, such as Maelaithgin, 'one anxious for regeneration,' Maelbeannachta, 'one anxious for blessings,' Maelbeatha, 'one anxious for (eternal) life.' This last name is given as the proper title of Shakespeare's Macbeth, whose more familiar name is equivalent to 'son of life,' a usual phrase for a converted person, believer. There was also *mac báis*, 'son of death,' a reprobate. Macbeth is still in use as a surname, with the alternative for us, McBeith, McAbee, MacVeigh, McAvay. *Maeldcoraidh*, 'servant of the stranger, pilgrim,' is the original of Muldarry, Mulderry; we have also MacIlderry. Gillespie is servant of the bishop. Used as a Christian name, it is translated Archibald, in Scotland. *Maeltola*, 'one devoted to the will (of God),' was a common name, and perhaps some who now bear the name Tully may be descended from an ancestor of this title.

Here end the surnames connected with religion, with the exception of those about which there is more or less doubt, and which we discuss further on.

IV.

We turn now to another class of names in Mul and Gil. In this class there are two groups; Molloy and Mulconry will serve as types, with forms in Gil to correspond. In the Molloy group the prefix is followed by an adjective or its equivalent; in the Mulconry group the second element is a proper name.

¹ *Deal nateh*, church, from Latin *dominica* (domus), also means a shrine. Also means Sunday, *dominica* (dies). Maeldomhnaigh is yet used in Scotland as a Christian name, and for some reason unknown to me is translated Ludovic.

Molloy (Mulloy, Milloy, Meloy—all these forms are met with, the last two, at least, in the United States) is a type of the oldest surnames in Mul. Most of the names of this class have disappeared within English-speaking times. Here the Mul prefix has its original meaning of hero, chieftain; thus *mael-muaidh*, noble chieftain, gave the surname *O'Maol-mhuaidh*, O'Molloy, d.s. of the noble chieftain. Compare the name of the river Moy, 'the noble' river.

Mael-fabhaill was an old Gaelic name, meaning apparently 'one fond of travel,' from *fabhall*, journey. It seems that the name used to be duplicated Mulfavill, and the form Mulavill is yet used about Gort. But in most of Galway and Mayo, where the name is quite common, the last two syllables are so manipulated as to produce the French-looking name Lavelle. Probably some persons educated in France, and ignorant of the true origin of the name, gave the lead in the use of this form. There is on record an instance where a priest, in the course of a few years, caused the disappearance upon a whole district of an old Gaelic name by always substituting a more modern name for the old ones when proposed at the baptism of children. Let us see now if something can be done to re-introduce the old names, Colum, Ita, Finian, and the like, in the districts specially connected with their names.

Mullanphey, Melanophy is a name more generally known in the United States, owing to the great Mullanphey Hospital of Saint Louis, than at home in Ireland. We find the name occurring in Tyrconnell, early in the seventh century, *Mael-anfaidh*, chief of the tempest, or tempestuous person. Compare the surname Mulgeehy, also from Donegal, chief of storm, stormy person. It seems that some families have abandoned the name for that of Magee—thus the old name gradually disappears,¹ and there are cases where it has been translated by Wynne. *Mael-gaoithe*: *gaoth*—wind—*win*' in Anglo-Irish = Wynne. In these names we see how the Mul

¹ Immigrants of the last century to New England bore the old forms of these names, and then, living among a Puritan population, landed on the Irish surname to some descendant with an old Testament-given name; thus I find an article by one "Micaja McGeece," in the 1891 volume of the *Century Magazine*.

prefix gradually loses its original meaning of 'chief, hero,' for the less uncommon one of 'person,' 'man of,' the same meaning that we find attaching to the Gil prefix in MacElhoney, McIlhune, MacIlhone, MacElhone, MacAloney all for—*Macgiolla-O'-chonnaidh*, the man of the wood, fuel. Of similar import are Killemet, Killemeade, the man of the wood, timber (*adhmad*), and MacElhoyle, MacElhill, the man of the wood, forest (*coill*). All these names are duly translated by 'Woods.' MacAlivery (and probably the Islay name MacLiver, which Professor MacKinnon tells me of), represents descendant of the man of winter (*geimhreadh*), and is accordingly translated Winters. It may thus be compared with the old Gaelic name Maelmithimb, person dedicated to June, on account of some connection with that month.

The name Mulmoghery, 'one fond of early rising,' has entirely disappeared, being replaced by the translation Early. We find many recorded examples of this name in the annals, such as a 'bursar of Clonmacnoise,' in the tenth century, and a 'lecturer at Clonard,' in the eleventh. Mac-giolla-meidhre has given us the equivalent name Merryman. Another name which has practically disappeared is O'Maoltuille (O'M. *alias* Fludd,' in the Elizabethan records quoted below), now used only near Ballinrobe in the form MacAtilla, but usually translated Flood. The Galway Gaelic form has *tuinne*, genitive of *tonn*, wave, instead of *tuille*, and perhaps this is the origin of the surname Tunney. It is probable, indeed it is positively stated by some families, that some of the present Tullys are in reality Múltullys. It is not unlikely, also, that O'Maoltuille in many, or possibly in all cases, represents the old common name *Maeltola*, or *MacItoile*, 'one zealous for the will (of God),' people having substituted the better-known word *tuille*, flood, tide, for the genitive of *toil*, will. Another instance of substitution is offered by the history of the old Gaelic name Maelmór, great hero, often translated Malmore. Religious influences caused this name to give

way to *Maelmuire*, servant of Mary, translated Mulmorie in Elizabethan records, and in later times represented by Moyler. Later Norman influences introduced the present translation Miles.

Our next names are those in which the Mul or Gil prefix is followed by a proper name, such as Mul-conry, Mul-ryan. If a man attached himself to the service of another, he would naturally be called 'follower of' that other, and this is expressed by the prefix; Mulconry Mulryan, therefore, meant 'follower of Curio' (genitive Conroi) 'follower of Ryan.' So that from some mediæval personal names we have, not only surnames in O and Mac, but others in O'Mul and Machl. Mulrine is another spelling of Mulryan; and some families, now known as O'Ryan, Ryan, are really Mulryans, and are so called in Irish.

Mulready, Murready, Mulreed come from the same original Riada as the names Macready (= MacRiada), Ready. Mulrooney, Marooney, Moroney are descendant of the follower of some Ruanaoh, or Rooney, whose own name meant 'hero.' Mulcahy is des. of foll. of Cathach, whose name means 'the warlike.' From some one of the name the island of Iniscathaigh or Inniscattery is called. 'Follower of Miadhach (the honourable one)' is the translation of Mulvey. Mulcreavy seems to be *Maol-mhic-Riabhaigh*, follower of MacCreavy, McGreavy, a name equivalent to 'descendant or the gray man.' Mulcreavy is sometimes translated by Rice, possibly because the two names, Rice and Riabhach, begin with the same syllable! Kilcawley, Gilkawley, is apparently *Giolla-mhic-Amhlaibh*, follower of MacAnliffe, Kilgannon, follower of Geanán or Gannon, a familiar name. Mulcrowney, a rare name, stands for *Maol-congamhna*, contracted to *Maol-e'n'amlua*. Mac-Congamhna, is the present Mayo Gaelic form of the old tribe-name of the Cinel Cinngamhna. The name is now 'translated' by Caulfield; this translation resulting from a curious and characteristic popular equation: Caulfield = Calf-head = Cinngamhna! Thus English names find a footing. So, Lestrangle is regarded by the few people who speak Irish in County Meath, as a translation of Coffey (as if from

coimhthidheach, a stranger). Mulcrowney is also connected with the name of the present writer, and has for him, at least, a special interest.¹

Mulroy, Kilroy, MacElroy are types of another class of names, in which the prefix is followed by an adjective, usually one denoting the colour of the hair. In such names we may take Mul to represent the Gaelic *maol*, skull, a noun from *maol*, bald.²

It would matter little what the origin of the Mul prefix is in these names, as Mulroy would be either 'descendant of red-skull,' or 'descendant of the red (haired) individual;' the idea conveyed is much the same. There is no difficulty about the Gil prefix; here, as before, it means 'person,' or, as our philological friends are fond of translating it, 'wight,' 'carle.'

The surnames can be most easily classified after the adjectives from which they are derived. Thus *Dubh*, black, gives Maliffe, MacElduff, Kilduff—descendant of black-haired person. *Bán*, white-haired, gives MacIlwaine, Gilbane, Gillivan. Mulvane I have met once with the very unIrish praenomen Phineas—the bearer was evidently a descendant of an early immigrant among the Puritans of New England. *Ruadh*, red-haired, gives Mulroy, Milroy, Mulroc, MacElroy, Kilroy, Gilroy, MacElroe, all meaning descendants of a red-haired person.

¹ Relatives of mine, of the last generation, used, in writing only, the name Gaffney, as if their usual name was but a form of O'Gomhna or MacGamhna. This tradition leaves the *r* unexplained. On the other hand, an old Irish-speaking neighbour of ours insisted that the name was 'the Irish of Caulfield,' a statement I could not understand until recently. The original is Mac-Congamhna, shortened to Mac-C'namhna, Magamhna. Compare the colloquial Gaelic O'Connach for MacDonough.

² It is the theory of some that this word *maol* is the original form of the Mul prefix, not only in the class of names, but wherever the prefix is followed by the name of a person or thing connected with religion, the word passing from its natural sense of 'bald' to mean 'tonsured,' and then coming to mean 'a cleric,' 'priest,' 'one consecrated to,' 'one devoted to.' Others regard the Mul prefix, except in the class of names we are about to consider, as *mael*, in its various senses from 'hero' to 'slave.' Hence we find Maelthain O'Carrol, the *annchura*, soul-friend or director of Brian Boru, rendering his name in Latin by *Calvus porcanus*, while a distinguished French Celtologue translates it '*esclave de l'Eternel*.' It seems to me that the first translation is too literal to be intelligible; taking the name as one given for religious motives the meaning seems to be 'constant client or votary,' or, better still, 'a priest for ever.'

There is also the Mulroy Bay in Donegal, taking its name from St. Maclrabha, from whom is called also Loch Maree in the north of Scotland. I have noticed a surname Maree in Mayo, and it also may be from Maelrubha, who was greatly honoured in early Christian times. He is mentioned by the Four Masters, under date of 671, as 'Abbot of Bangor in Ulster, and of Abercrossan in Alba.'

From *buidhe*, yellow, come MacElwee, Kilboy, MacElvoy *Odhar*, dun-coloured, gives us MacAleer, MacLear, MacAlery. *Crón*, brown, *liath*, grey, and *lachtna*, greyish or drab, give Mulchrone (Mayo), Killilea, and Mulloughney, unless this last is d.s. of St. Fachtna, patron of Ross, as it may well be, for all the guidance the sound gives.

Riabhadh means literally striped, brindled, but is used for 'iron-grey.' It gives Mulreavy, Milreavy, Mulleavy, Leavy, MacGillreavy, and probably MacAleavey, descendants of the grey-haired man. *Maol*, bald, gives MacElmoyle, MacElmeel, MacMeel. Kildunn (Mayo) is from *donn*, brown-haired. Mulgrew, Magrew, and probably Kilgariff, certainly come from *garbh*, coarse, as MacElveen, descendant of the smooth or sly person, is from *min*, smooth. Kilgar, Gilgar, a Donegal name, is from *gearr*, short.

The great majority of our Whites, Blacks, Grays, &c., belong to this class, the English names being translated from the Irish. In 1465, by an Act of Edward IV. of England, it was decreed 'that every Irishman . . . in the County of Dublin, Meath, Uriell, and Kildare . . . shall take to him an English surname of one town . . . or colour, white, blacke, browne . . .!' And even at the present day, according to the records of the Registrar-General, there are instances of families having two surnames, one the English, and the other the Irish word for the same colour. Thus, according to the records of the Registrar's office, there are families that go by the two names of Gormley and Bloomer (*gorm* = blue); others that have the two names, McGlashan and Green (*glas* = green); others again are called both Colreavy and Gray (*riabhadh*, gray). The word *maol*, bald, gives the noun *maolán*, a bald head. From this come MacMullan, MacMillan, also O'Mullen,

Moylan. The Mulligans, Milligans, are descendants of a person whose name, *maolagán*, means simply little bald man. *O'Maolagáin* is represented in parts of Donegal at least by 'Molyneux.'

McGillan, Gillan, Gilligan, Gilgan, MacElligon (U.S.), are all from the diminutives of *giolla*, and mean descendant of the little fellow.

The prefix MacGiolla, as used in the various classes of names which we have reviewed, is often used by itself as a surname, just as Mack is used as the surname of some families, the name of the ancestor having fallen off. MacGiolla thus used is represented in English by McGill, Magill, Gill, and Mackle.

V.

Up to this point we have been discussing surnames, the explanation of which may be regarded as fairly certain ; but we cannot be surprised to find that there are other names about the meaning of which there is more or less doubt. The study of the native annals, and of the literature generally, will probably bring to light the original forms of these names ; for the modern English spelling is often not only not a help in that direction, but is positively misleading. Then, again, we are not always able to translate the original name, even when we have it before us, as the study of ancient Irish has not yet ascertained the meaning of all old words. I shall, at least, endeavour to classify the names which I cannot explain. To summarize all that has been said up to this, the surnames fall into the following classes :—

1. Those in which the prefix is followed by the name of a person or thing connected with religion—typical names are Malone, Mallowney, Maglone, and MacEldowney.

2. Those in which Mul has its various stages of meaning, from 'hero, chief,' as in Molloy, down to 'person'—with Gil also meaning 'person,' as in MacElhill.

3. Those like Mulconry, Mulryan, Kilgannon, in which the second element is a personal name, and the prefixes mean 'follower of.'

4. Those like Mulroy, Kilroy, MacElroy, where the prefixes are followed by an adjective describing personal appearance.

5. Diminutives like Mulligan, Gilligan.

Mulloughney (Class 1 or 4) is a Tipperary name. The Registrar's report gives it as a synonym of Moloney; but this is surely wrong, as the *gh* represents, I take it, a guttural sound. It is probably *mael-lachtna*, grey-headed person, or *mael-Fhachtna*, servant of St. Fhachtna, of Ross. Loughney seems to be a shortened form—compare Lally for Mullally. Possibly Loughrey may be but another form of the same name.

Kilcar occurs as a surname in West Mayo; it is probably d.s. of St. Gilla Carthach, from whom Kilcar, in Donegal, takes its name.

Kilrane may be descendant of the follower of Ryan (compare the spelling Mulrean, Mulrane, for Mulryan), or it may contain the name of a minor saint, such as the patron of Cill-Riain or Cill-Rioghain, Kilrane, in Donegal, or Cill-Raighne, near Kinnegad.

Mulhall is probably *O'Maoilfhabhaill*, 'descendant of the traveller,' a name already mentioned. 'Descendant of the follower of Cahill' is a less likely interpretation, as the form Mulcahill would, I think, have been preserved had this been the meaning.

Mulleady, Meleady, Meledy, are forms of frequent occurrence. Can we see in this a name of the first class, *O'Maoil-Ida*, d.s. of St. Ita (of Limerick—compare Killeedy), Cill-Ida, Church of Ita? I am afraid this interpretation is not well authorized, and that we must see in these names the modern representatives of the annalists.

Mael-éitigh, exactly equivalent to *Cinnéitigh*, Kennedy. The translation, 'Ugly-head,' is not very flattering; but it will be consoling to reflect that those who originally deserved these names are dead many centuries.

Mael-caere occurs in the *Four Masters*, and is now represented by Mulcaire and Wilhere (- *ui mhaoil-chacre*). The meaning is, apparently, servant of Caere (Class 3). Perhaps this Caere is the original of the present name Carr,

Kerr. The name seems to have come to us from Scotland, where the famous Cár, Cárach, are used, leading to the English Carr. Some branches of the family, however, claim the Gaelic name Ceárr, left-handed, and have a tradition, that endeavours to justify the name. This form would give Kerr in English, and is the form used in Donegal, where the Carrs are called Mac-giolla-cheárr, d.s. of the left-handed person. There is also an English MacElhair coming from this Gaelic form. The Gaelic form used about Galway is Mac-giolla-Chearra. Is the Mayo name Morcarey connected?

MacElmeel most probably belongs to Class 4, and means 'descendant of the bald person.' There is not much probability that it contains the name of St. Michael; the name formerly written MacGillmichael seems to have died out. MacMeel has lost the *l* sound of the giolla prefix—just as MacEvoy has lost it. I think we should also class here MacAdorey, MacEleavey, which seem to be *Mac-giolla-dorcha*, d.s. of the dark (featured) man, and *Mac-giolla-riabhaigh*, d.s. of the grey man. Here MacAtamney would at once suggest (as a mere conjecture, however) the analysis Mac-giolla-tSamhna, descendant of a person connected in some way with the old pre-Christian feast of Samhain,¹ the memory of which is handed down in the curious popular observances connected with Hallow-eve. The occurrence of a form MacAtimney is most favourable to this conjecture. In the United States the form MacTammany is more common.

MacElrone seems to have religious connections. The ending appears to be the same as in the name of the famous Abbot Maelruain of Tallaght; but how he obtained his name of servant of Ruan, or who (if a person at all) Ruan was, are questions I cannot answer. Another name that seems to go back to the ages of the Irish saints is the Tipperary name Mollumby, which at first sight recalls the

¹ Compare the English surnames Christmas, Pentecost, Easter, Hallowes, Spring, Summers, Winter, March, &c.

well-known inscription at Clonmacnoise: 'A prayer for Suibhne mac Maele-umai.' But how few ever heard of this venerable Gaelic saint and scholar, the thirty-fourth Abbot of Clonmacnoise, who is set down by the Irish, English, and Welsh annalists of the time as *doctor Scotorum peritissimus*—the most learned teacher of the Gael. In 891 he, with other learned Irish teachers, was called to England to advise with King Alfred, who was then busy developing the studies of the University of Oxford, founded, in 886, in imitation of the great Irish schools, where Alfred, like many another English student, had found hospitality and education. Probably the Abbot of Clonmacnoise had been one of Alfred's own teachers in his student days.

The name *Mael-uma*, if we may venture to attempt a translation, may mean 'worker in brass,' and would be an appropriate name in those days for the craftsmen who wrought such marvels of metal-work as we can see in museums. But, if this is the meaning of the name, the modern form would be O'Maoil-umha, and could not be the original of Mollumby; so perhaps we should place this surname in Class 1, and explain it as Maoil-Lomma, d.s. of St. Lomma or Lomrán. A saint of the name is remembered at Portloman, on the southern shore of Lough Owel, in Westmeath; and the first Bishop of Trim bore the same name. The form Malumy, which I find in a list of Antrim names, is, therefore, nearer to the original Gaelic, if it is the same name, as it most probably is if the accent is on the middle syllable.

Mulvany, Melveney, O'Melveney (Los Angeles, California), Mulvenna, MacElvenna, MacIlvany, Gilvany—all these forms evidently mean descendant of the follower or servant of some person named Bena, Mena, or Menach, Benach; but who this person is, whether a saint or a Gaelic ancestor, is a problem. If we look upon the names as coming from an ancestral name we shall probably be right in regarding that ancestor as Maenach, from whom the O'Dooleys take their tribal name of *Clann Mhaenaich*. The names given above would then belong to Class 3, and would mean descendant of the follower of Maenach. From

a person of the same name comes the name O'Maonaigh, which is O'Mooney in the North of Ireland, and is, perhaps, the original of Meany in the South. On the other hand, can we find in these names the name of one of the Irish saints? I have seen, but where I cannot recollect, and no one that I have consulted can ascertain, the name of a Menóc, one of the 'host of the saints of Erin.' This name presupposes a simpler form, Men or Mena, and I have noticed a mention of a place called Kilvany, which might contain the name. I prefer the first interpretation; the latter, if correct, would have the advantage of explaining the names Manogue, Minogul, Minnoch, and Mannix, all meaning d.s. of St. Mena or Menóc. I hope that someone who has an opportunity of consulting suitable authorities will be able to locate the reference to St. Menóc.¹

Mulqueen, Mulkeen, Kilcoyne, are names which are like those in the previous paragraph. If they contain the name of a saint, it is probably St. Kevin, as both Mael-Caeimhghin and Gilla-Caeimhghin occur in the Index to the *Four Masters*, but they rather seem to mean descendant of the follower of Conn—a name from which came also Quinn, M'Queen, Kilgun, MacElgunn, seems to be 'follower of Gunn.' They could hardly mean 'the man with the gun.' The name MacElrath (MacIlwrath, Mucklewraith), not uncommon in Ulster, is probably *Mac-giolla-raith*, d.s. of Rath, an ancestor from whose name are derived Magrath (= MacRaith), Magraw, MacRae, and perhaps also O'Raine. One might be tempted to class it with Moloney and such names, as 'd. s. of grace,' but this is not a likely meaning. Perhaps one of the Maloney class is found in Magillivray, which may be 'one zealous for judgment day'—*Mac-giolla-brátha* represents well the pronunciation. Carmichael is another Scotch name that, at first sight, would seem to belong here; but I think that with Kirkpatrick it is to be regarded as originally a place-name, which afterwards was

¹ About Scarriff, according to the Registrar's report on surnames and their synonyms, Minnogue and Mannix are regarded as the same name, the latter name being formed from the root minóg, manóg; by the addition of s, as Cairns, Burns, are formed from Kieran, Byrne.

adopted, like York, Birmingham, and others, as a family name. 'Caer'-now seems to be the Welsh word for 'seat,' just as Kirk- is the familiar Lowland-Scotch for 'church.' Anyhow, they are both Lowland and non-Gaelic names, the Highland forms being MacMichael (in Gaelic Mac-giolla-mhichil, and Kilpatrick. Another Scotch name is Maclurg—one would like to class it with MacIl-Largy, but it is not very probable that a local Irish patron, as far as I know, like Forga, would be remembered in Scotland. Maclehose is another Scotch name that would seem to belong to the Gil-class, but I am unable to throw any light on it. It is, perhaps, like Meiklejohn, a Lowland name with no connection with Gaelic. Maclure (M'Clure, MacLure) is probably *Mac-giolla-uidhir*, d. s. of the brown-haired person, the same as our MacAleer.

I had finished these notes when there came into my hands a large volume of 600 pages containing an immense list of Irish surnames as they were written in Elizabethian times. It is the *Twenty-Second Report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* (Dublin, 1890, price two shillings) and is full of interesting points, although it is merely an index to other publications. Very few of our surnames then existed in their present forms, as given in this 'index of Fiants:': they are much nearer to the original Gaelic forms as McEua for McKenna, and often preserve the Gaelic system of spelling. Many of the names then in full force have now disappeared, or have been much changed. Mulmorie, servant of Mary, occurs commonly.

'O'Machtulye' was still in use—perhaps, indeed, it is our present name Tully. This index throws some light on the difficult names. Mulooly, Gilooly [Gilhooly, Gilhool, &c.]. The old Gaelic Maelguala—which I cannot translate—seems to be the original of Mulooly, and the form Gilla-guala would explain the various forms McGilgowlye, Gille-gooly, Gilleguly, occurring in the Fiants. But these would not explain the form Gilhool, which is still in use, and which is evidently the descendant of the names McGillehole, McGillechomhaill (here the Fiants preserve partially the

Gaelic spelling), occurring in the Elizabethan index, and traceable to the Gaelic original meaning 'servant of St. Congal' recorded in the Annals. The Four Masters give a spelling Mac-giolla-shúiligh, descendant of the sharp-eyed person; but I fancy the worthy annalist invented this on the spur of the moment. There were, probably, two sets of names, one from the obscure *guala* (probably a personal name) quoted above, and the other from the name of St. Congal of Bangor. And it would be strange, indeed, if his name should not be put in remembrance with those of the other Irish saints. Few were more honoured in early times, says the *Book of Leinster*: 'Congal, of Bangor, in Ulster, Abbot, of the race of Trial. A man full of God's grace and love was he; one that trained and edified many other saints, in whose hearts and minds he enkindled and inflamed the unquenchable fire of God's love, as in Erin's ancient books is evident. In life and manners he resembled James the Apostle.' Such a one could not fail to have clients in early Ireland, and accordingly we find both Mael-comhghail and Gilla-comhghaill on record, servants of Congal.

From these come at least some of our present Muloolys (many of whom have adopted the more usual name Molloy) and Gilhoolys. Owing to the strange habit of throwing away family names that are any way rare, and adopting names somewhat similar and more common, it is now impossible to say what is the original Irish form of many names. Thus, we have seen in this paper, that the name Molloy has been adopted by two other families who had no right whatever to it. In the same way, which the name Malone may be usually taken to stand for d.s. of St. John (O'Maoil-Eoin), there can be little doubt that it sometimes stands for the obsolete O'Maoilbhuidhain and other names.

A few more names and we shall have done. Muldoon, a name of which we have very early record, is, of course, d.s. of Dun; but whether Dun was a person, or as it seems perhaps more probable, a place, we have no reason to decide. Here we may recall that one of the earliest of the Imrama, or voyage narratives, is that of Maeldun, which Tennyson has

rendered in verse. If Muldoon means 'one fond of the dun or fort,' it is of the same class as Mael-achaidh, 'one fond of the field,' a name on record in the annals, but now obsolete. We have, however, Kilahy and Killackey, which may be the Gil forms with the same meaning. Are Leahy, Lahy, in any way connected with this? Kilgallon, is a name on which I cannot throw any light; also Mullany, although I think O'Donovan has a reference to it somewhere in his voluminous notes. Kilcline might be analyzed as d.s. of the stooped (claon) person, but the old Elizabethan forms McGillacleyne, McGillacloyne, McGillacleyny, rather point to d.s. of knavish (cluaineach) person. But compare the Elizabethan Malacline, for Melaghlin, seemingly Mulhane is but a form of Mullen; compare Culhane and Collins both from O'Coileáin. Names ending in—ane (pronounced *aan*) abound in Cork and Kerry; the sound given to the Gaelic endin *áin*, in these names, is quite exceptional in modern Gaelic. The Gaelic equivalent of Lysaght seems to be *Macgiolla-iasachta*, d.s. of the 'borrowed' person! Why so called, I surely cannot tell. Cuskelly (Elizabethan McGilla cosglie) and McCluskey also appear to belong to this class; and, apparently, also McGlew, McLagan, McClatchy. The names Kilgore, Kilburn, MacIldowie, are obscure to me.

In addition to Gaelic names in Mul and Gil, there are names of foreign origin beginning in the same way; such as Mulgrave (which was the original of some of our McGrews or Mulgrews), Gilbert, Gilbreath, a form of Galbraith, Gillick seems to be an abbreviation of MacUlick, a name that occurs frequently in the Elizabethan records. The name Gilleran (Killeran) occurs in the annals, and is yet in use; the annal form is O'Gillarain ('O'G. abbot of Trinity Church at Tuam,' died 1256), and if the final syllable is short, as it seems to be, the name is not of the class we have been considering. It is probable that we have the Mul prefix also in O'Máille (O'Malley).

I find, on review of this paper, that we can count more than two hundred fairly different modern forms of our Mul and Gil surnames.

I bring to an end this very imperfect treatment of an

interesting subject. Most of the surnames are familiar to us all; some that are rather rare I have collected from current newspapers and similar records. The index to the *Annals of the Four Masters* contain the original Gaelic forms of many of the names. I owe to the kindness of Mr. Patrick O'Burne, of the New York Gaelic Society, a copy of the part of this index containing all names of the classes here discussed. I have also to thank Dr. Meyer of Liverpool, and Professor Mackinnon, of Edinburgh, for their courtesy in answering many queries of mine in reference to old Gaelic and Highland names. It is pleasant to find men of learning so ready to place their knowledge at the disposal of inquirers. Mr. Matheson, of the Registrar-General's Office, in Dublin, has published two very interesting lists of synonyms and alternative forms of surnames in Ireland. Such work, however, can be done but imperfectly by anyone, however zealous, who has not a knowledge of Irish, as many things will be quite clear to a Gaelic scholar that would be a mystery to another.

I venture to express the hope that those who have access to Irish books and manuscripts, and particularly to the works, printed and manuscript, of O'Donovan, and the Genealogies of MacFirbis, will supply whatever is needed in the way of correction and improvement to this paper, written at a distance of many thousand miles from Ireland, and with no access to authorities of any kind.

E. O'GROWNEY.

TWO GREAT SPIRITUAL ASSOCIATIONS

I.

AMONG the spiritual organizations which the Church of our day employs for the advancement of God's interest on earth, there is hardly one that exercises a more powerful and widespread influence, than the rapidly extending devotion, popularly known as the 'Apostleship of Prayer.' Quite recently it has attracted a considerable share of attention, as the Holy See by its legislation in 1896 has greatly enlarged the sphere of its operations and of its efficiency over the Catholic world. As a knowledge of the events which led to its formation and growth will interest our readers, we shall give in outline its history, and to it we shall add a brief notice of the 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart.'

About seventy miles from Lyons, in the South of France, lies Puy, one of the most picturesque cities of Southern Europe. It is celebrated for its ancient shrine and magnificent statue of Our Lady. Not far from the shrine stands a large college, which, until the expulsion of the Religious Orders from France, was a Scholasticate, or House of Studies for the younger members of the Society of Jesus. This college gave many apostolic men to the Church, and its pious students were always remarkable for an ardent desire to labour in the foreign missions.

In the year 1844 the Spiritual Director of the College was Father Gautrelet, S.J. On the 3rd of December, the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, he pointed out to the scholastics that by consecrating all their thoughts, words, actions, and sufferings, to the Sacred Heart, and offering them to the Eternal Father for the interests of Jesus Christ, they could find, even during the course of their ecclesiastical studies ample scope for satisfying their missionary zeal. The proposal was received with enthusiasm by the young religious, and thus were laid the first foundations of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' which was destined to spread with

wondrous rapidity throughout the world, and to inscribe on its registers many millions of associates. By degrees other communities joined this Holy League of Prayer; and in 1849, five years after its foundation, it was enriched by Pius IX., then an exile at Gaeta, with many indulgences.

In 1861 appeared the first number of *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. The monthly issue of this periodical led to a prodigious development of the 'Apostleship of Prayer.' Numerous additional indulgences were granted by the Sovereign Pontiff; and, in 1866, the League received a definite organization through the approval of its statutes by the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

The present glorious Pontiff, Leo XIII., was then Archbishop of Perugia, and in a letter addressed to the Central Director of Italy, he said: 'The Apostleship of Prayer is so beautiful a work, and unites so much fruitfulness with so much simplicity, that it assuredly deserves all the favour of ecclesiastical authority. I rejoice to see it established in my diocese, and I shall never tire of promoting it.' And in a pastoral letter of 1868, he adds: 'The plentiful fruit which the Holy League has already produced, no less than its rapid extension, shows plainly how pleasing this Association must be to our Lord.'

Diffused not only through France, but through Germany, Spain, Switzerland, in North and South America, India, China, and even in Oceanica, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' may, in the truest sense of the word, be called a Catholic work.

The statutes of the Holy League were perfected and confirmed in 1896 by Leo XIII., who, since his election to the Chair of Peter, has continued as warm a friend and patron of the Association as he was while Archbishop of Perugia. No less than eight successive briefs or rescripts, each conferring some new grace or privilege, have marked the Holy Father's appreciation of the labours and fruits of the League, and have raised its organization to its present perfect state.

The development of the 'Apostleship' within the last twenty years is simply marvellous. The League now numbers 20,000,000 Associates. It is still spreading far and wide throughout the Catholic world, and its organ, *The*

Messenger of the Sacred Heart, is issued every month in seventeen different languages.¹

Considering the extraordinary development of the Holy League, the simplicity of its organization, the multiplicity of means it is capable of employing to advance God's interests, and the abundant blessing that the Sacred Heart pours on the united efforts of its millions of Associates, it is evident that this peaceful crusade is one of the principal institutions raised up by Divine Providence for the succour of the Church in these days of coldness and infidelity.

It will hardly be necessary to trespass on the patience of our readers to define the nature and work of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' for it has become, within the past few years, almost a household word in every Catholic homestead in the land. Even tiny school-children can now grasp its meaning and lip its definition, as they tell us in their own simple words that, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' means 'praying with Jesus in the Tabernacle.' In more formal phrase, the more grown associates accurately describe it as 'praying in union with Jesus for the advancement of His interests on earth—praying for the accomplishment of His holy will—praying for the establishment of His kingdom in every human heart, in every Christian family, in society, and in nations.' And, indeed, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' is nothing else than praying with the Heart of Jesus in the Tabernacle, that the power of the Evil One may be crushed, and that the kingdom of our Heavenly Father may be universally established on earth. Two petitions of the Lord's Prayer embody and reveal its object: 'Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.'

If we ask why this 'Union of prayer with Jesus praying' has assumed the title of 'Apostleship,' the answer becomes apparent when we remember that an 'Apostle' is one *sent* to accomplish some work or execute some errand, while an 'Apostleship' signifies the work to be performed by the

¹ There are 28 different *Messengers* published over the world at present—1 in French, 6 in English, 4 in Spanish, 2 in Italian, 1 in Albanian, 1 in Bohemian, 1 in Basque-Breton, 1 in Canadian French, 1 in Catalanian, 1 in Chinese, 1 in Croatian, 1 in Flemish, 1 in Dutch, 1 in Hungarian, 1 in Polish, 1 in Portuguese, 1 in Tamul, and 2 in German.

apostle or person to whom it is entrusted. Hence we correctly conclude that in this vast enterprise of 'united prayer' Jesus Himself is the *Great Apostle*, and His work on earth and in heaven, an Apostolate of Prayer.

During the course of His divine mission in Judea, over and over again, He reminded His hearers, that He was an Apostle, or One *sent* in His human nature by His Heavenly Father to do a great work. 'As the Father hath sent Me,' He said, 'I also send you.' 'I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' &c. We may also recall how, as the Apostle of his Heavenly Father, after a night spent in lonely prayer on the mountain side, coming down at day-break to the shore of Lake Tiberias, Jesus chose twelve fishermen to share His Apostolate, and to help Him in His work. They, in turn—personally, and through their successors—were commissioned to choose and invite others to co-operate and assist in this glorious undertaking of the Redeemer. The 'Apostleship of Prayer' in our own day and in our midst, is the outcome and response to this invitation.

This vast enterprise which the Son of God thus came down from Heaven to accomplish, and which is being worked out by His servants, night and day, all the world over, is mainly effected by prayer—that is, prayer in union with Jesus, both praying in the Tabernacle, and praying in Heaven, too, at the right hand of His Father, where 'He is ever living to make intercession for us.'

That this Divine Apostolate might be more efficaciously realized, the Church, the Spouse of Christ, has stamped it with the seal of her fullest approbation, and enriched with unstinted indulgences the organization of the 'Apostleship.' A passing word explanatory of this organization to some will not be unwelcome.

The members of the 'Apostleship,' who may be regarded as a vast army of soldiers of their Heavenly King, are divided into three spiritual battalions or divisions, called technically the 'Three Degrees.' The Associates of each 'Degree' have certain simple but easy conditions of membership to fulfil.

Once admission by enrolment into the ranks has been

effected, members registered in the 'First Degree' are only required to make a 'Morning Offering' of all their thoughts, words, and sufferings of the day in union with those of Jesus in the Tabernacle. Thus, their every thought, word, work, and suffering becoming supernaturalized, is united with His and entitled to eternal recompense—and their lives, blended like streams with His, run in one channel with His divine life. So in truth, they can say, 'I live now, not I, but Christ Jesus lives in me!' This 'First Degree' entitles to membership, to a vast number of indulgences, and to a share not only in the satisfaction of all the good works of the members, but, as well, of all the good works of religious orders who have generously granted this inestimable privilege to the 'Apostleship.' Should members desire to mount a step higher and reach the 'Second Degree' (and vast multitudes of the members enjoy this additional blessing), they undertake to say, in addition to the 'Morning Offering,' the Papal Decade, which consists of one Our Father and ten Hail Marys, offered for the intentions of our Holy Father and for the further advancement of the interests of the Heart of Jesus. Such priceless value does His Holiness attach to the recital of this Decade, that he assigns a special intention for each month of the year, and for it he entreats the prayers of all the members. To the recital of this Papal Decade immense indulgences are also annexed, while the monthly Papal Decade Leaflets are reminders that this prayer is not lightly to be overlooked or omitted.

One step higher still and the summit of the 'Apostleship' is gained. This step is the 'Third Degree,' which following the 'Morning Offering' and 'Papal Decade,' gives the work its final perfection and magnificence in the 'Communion of Reparation.' Gathered round the Altar, the members of the 'Third Degree,' in addition to their 'Morning Offering' (and, if they so will, in addition to the 'Papal Decade') come to atone by their love, sorrow, and reparation, for the innumerable insults and outrages offered to the Adorable Heart of Jesus in the Sacrament of His infinite charity. This is the crown and completion of the idea and of the

work of the 'Apostleship.' One day, in each month, is specially set apart and richly indulged by the Holy See for this special devotion, and is called the day of 'General Communion of Reparation.' On it all the members are invited to approach the altar in order to receive and console their Divine Redeemer and His Suffering Heart.

That nothing may be wanting to the perfection of the organization, all the members—where at all possible—are divided into guilds or circles of fifteen. Each 'guild' or 'circle' includes one of the members styled Promoter, who, so to speak, is entrusted with some spiritual and unobtrusive charge over the others, gets their names registered for admission, supplies them with their monthly 'Papal Decade Leaflet,' &c., and presides over the 'guild' or 'circle.' In parishes where the 'Apostleship' is regularly organized as a Confraternity in the Church, one of the 'circle' acts as Prefect or Promoter.

It is important to note here, that the 'Apostleship' supplies a great devotional want, often experienced by both priests and the faithful, regarding those, who on account of distance, age, delicacy, or other hindrance, cannot possibly attend Church Sodality Meetings. Since they cannot attend the 'Apostleship' Meetings in the church, the 'Apostleship' goes to them in their homes, in the person of zealous Promoters who enrol them, bring to them their 'Papal Decade Leaflets,' apprise them of the 'Monthly Intention,' &c., and so keep them in touch with the life and spirit of the organization.

Over these promoters a Rev. Local Director is constituted by diploma. He meets his Promoters once each month, discusses with them the work of the 'Apostleship,' its interests, advancement, and everything in connection with it. These monthly meetings of Promoters may be regarded as the very soul of the organization, infusing into it constantly renewed life and activity.

The Rev. Local Directors (parish priests, or curates delegated by them, or, in case of institutions, Rev. Chaplains) receive their powers by diploma from the Rev. Diocesan Director, who is designated by the Ordinary of the diocese,

where the 'Apostleship' is established. The Director-General of the 'Apostleship of Prayer' is the Father-General for the time being, of the Society of Jesus. Higher still in its hierarchy, if we be permitted so to speak, is our Holy Father, who with unremitting vigilance and interest never ceases to watch over its gigantic work. But, highest of all, controlling its destinies and ensuring its spiritual success, is Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son of God, Whose kingdom it helps to establish, and Whose Divine Will it assists to accomplish.

Such is the nature and object of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' and such the methods it employs to compass its Divine mission. And although, as we have said, scarcely fifty years have passed since its inception, in that brief period, we find it striking root in every quarter of the globe and, broadly speaking, in every nook and cranny of the Church. Here, we see it in the broad daylight, creating, vivifying, or consolidating vast confraternities for honouring the Sacred Heart in public churches. Elsewhere, we find it like some frail exquisite flower breathing the fragrance of holiness in the peaceful solitude of countless cloisters. Now, we come across it in the crowded school-room, lighting up the minds and warming the hearts of the young; or, again we meet it in the busy workroom or crowded factory, where Christian toilers are working side by side from early morning to sun-down, or on through the night. Often, we discover its emblematic Badge lying beneath the regimentals of the soldier in the barrack-room, or, on the battlefield; and many a time, thank God! it rests on the breast of the Catholic sailor or fisherman, 'rocked on the bosom of the deep.'

Thus here, there, and everywhere, and under widely varying and often unexpected circumstances, the 'Apostleship of Prayer' testifies to the extraordinary grasp which devotion to the Sacred Heart has taken on the Church; bringing home, as it does, with marvellous distinctness to every sincere Catholic, the mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God.

All over the world this same 'Apostleship' has called into almost miraculous prominence the devotion to the

‘Nine First Fridays,’ and fills our churches with such crowds of frequent and fervent communicants, as have not been witnessed since the time of the early Christians. And, stranger still, under its influence this wonderful spiritual activity has broken almost instantaneously, and as if by magic, on the normal life of the Church; and in some continental countries, far less blessed than holy Ireland, it has startled the faithful into religious energy, which has filled even themselves with amazement. Thus, to the most casual observers, it has revealed what latent fire of faith and charity still exists everywhere in the Church, needing but a spark from the furnace of the Heart of Jesus to set it all aglow. It almost reminds one of the miraculous, sacrificial fire, hidden by the Jewish priests before they were hurried into Captivity, whose damp ashes burst anew into consuming flames, beneath the noonday sun, when they were needed for sacrifice.

II.

THE ‘ARCHCONFRATERNITY OF THE SACRED HEART’ AND ITS RELATION WITH THE ‘APOSTLESHIP’

Before terminating our notice of the ‘Apostleship of Prayer,’ we will briefly call attention to the intimate connection which has always subsisted between it and the ‘Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart,’ established by the Canons *della Pace*, in Rome. Inaccurate information, and loose, vague statements regarding their kindred object and relations have left room for some words of needful explanation. We may premise that, with regard to the requisite conditions for the valid erection and consequent conveyance of the indulgences and privileges of the Archconfraternity, there exists occasionally some misapprehension. A brief historical notice of the ‘Archconfraternity’ and of some of its privileges will, perhaps, serve best to dissipate this misconception, and remove grounds for anxiety.

Our readers will, we are sure, permit us to avail ourselves of this paper to record our grateful recognition of the cordial and unstinted bestowal of alliance and spiritual treasures accorded to the ‘Apostleship’ by the Supreme

Directorate of the 'Archconfraternity' at Rome. We find a striking instance of this uninterrupted friendship in the renewal of the faculty granted in favour of the Rev. Local Directors of the 'Apostleship,' by which they are still personally empowered to aggregate members to the 'Archconfraternity.' (April 11th, 1897.)

Although the history of the devotion to the Sacred Heart of our Lord is perfectly known to all instructed Catholics, yet it may serve to increase their interest, and throw some light upon the work of the 'Archconfraternity,' if we direct attention to some of the distressing circumstances which surrounded its early beginnings. Students of Church history will easily remember that, scarcely had our Lord revealed His Sacred Heart to Blessed Margaret Mary, than Jansenism, frantically branded the new devotion as heresy of the darkest dye—as opposed to the dogma of the Incarnation—and as upsetting its own system of permitting persons to communicate only at rare intervals, and hence as dangerous to faith and morals. Subsequently a pseudo-council was convened at Pistoia to obstruct and condemn the devotion; and Gallican theologians denounced it as a nefarious Jesuitical intrigue, designed to secure influence in Christendom by appealing to the emotional fervour of hair-brained devotees. And, when on the eve of its suppression, the Society of Jesus stood on trial before the tribunal of its implacable foes, one of the leading counts of accusation against it was the unpardonable crime of teaching and propagating devotion to the Sacred Heart. To these deadly enemies of the Church it mattered little that Christ Himself had pre-eminently entrusted to the Society of Jesus the mission of expounding and spreading this devotion, as Blessed Margaret expressly states in her ninety-fifth letter.¹ Nay, in seeking to compass their unworthy object they aimed, naturally enough, a first blow against a devotion, which was earnestly preached by a body of men, whose

¹ 'Jesus Christ has shown me in a manner that admits of no doubt, that it was especially by means of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus that He wished to establish everywhere this solid devotion, and by means of it to make to Himself an infinite number of faithful servants, perfect friends, and truly grateful children.' *Letters of Blessed Margaret Mary*.

destruction they were plotting. And since these gloomy days of Pombal,¹ the devil has never ceased by open obstruction and hidden artifice to discredit and defeat, wherever he could or can, this latest revelation of God's love to man.

After this explanation, we may now proceed to unfold the nature and object of the 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart.' We fancy that now-a-days there are few devout Catholics who are not aware that the object of this wonderful 'Archconfraternity' is to offer to the Sacred Heart in the Tabernacle an unfailing tribute of praise, reverence, honour, and glory—to return It love for love—to thank our Blessed Redeemer for the institution of the Most Holy Sacrament—and to make some reparation for the coldness, ingratitude, and insults, that are offered to His infinite Charity.

Authentic records prove that this 'Archconfraternity' has sprung from and rests on the revelations vouchsafed to Blessed Margaret Mary. This holy nun testifies in one of her Letters (111th) to the exceeding joy which she experienced on learning of the establishment of a Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, at Coutances in France, and expressed her ardent desire that a similar one might be established later on in Paris. Scarcely had three years elapsed after her death, when a Confraternity of the Sacred Heart was inaugurated at Paray-le-Monial, 1690, which Benedict XIII. solemnly confirmed in 1728, and enriched with precious indulgences. In the following year, 1729, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, assisted by Father Gallifet, S.J., founded in the Church of St. Theodore another Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, which, in 1732, was raised to the rank of an Archconfraternity. During the subsequent eleven years, seven hundred Confraternities were affiliated to it, and thirty years later the number of its affiliated Confraternities reached one thousand and ninety.

Soon afterwards, the anarchy and carnage of the French revolution briefly interrupted the progress of this great work,

¹ Pombal was the Portuguese Prime Minister, who chiefly contributed by threats and intrigues to the suppression of the Society of Jesus, under Pope Clement XIV.

but when more peaceful times followed, the 'Archconfraternity' with apparently redoubled life and vigour, recommenced and extended its operations. This notable expansion of the devotion was brought about in the following way. On the 14th February, 1801, a number of devoted priests who had founded among themselves the '*Pia Associatio Sancti Pauli*' obtained from the Holy See the requisite permission to establish anew the Confraternity of the Sacred Heart in their Church of Sancta Maria ad Pineam, known as *in Capella*. In a Brief, dated 25th January, 1803, it was elevated to the dignity of an Archconfraternity, with power to affiliate to itself all Confraternities bearing the same title and pursuing the same object; and moreover, to communicate to them the numerous indulgences which it had already acquired. The seat of this Archconfraternity was transferred in 1827 to the Church of Sancta Maria della Pace, and from that time up to the hour in which we write, it has never ceased to spread itself like a golden network, and with almost lightning-like rapidity, over the whole Church. In 1881 it had aggregated to itself no less than nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight branches.

For a moment, we may pause to observe here, that among the privileges and indulgences granted by Pius VII., to the 'Roman Archconfraternity,' and to its *duly erected canonical Affiliations*, are included some that are very special and remarkable in their character. One of these privileges is, permission to establish in the same locality several Confraternities of the Sacred Heart. Moreover, such Confraternities may be erected in churches and chapels of religious without its being necessary to take into account (as usually happens) the existence of similar Confraternities of the Sacred Heart established in the immediate vicinity. The Spiritual Director of each newly-affiliated Confraternity (after the reception of his diploma of affiliation from Rome), has the right to celebrate a special feast of the Sacred Heart; and, on the day which he selects for this celebration, not only the priest who celebrates the High Mass, but all priests who celebrate in the church of this Confraternity are privileged to say the Mass of the Sacred Heart. Any day can be

selected for this local feast, provided it be not Sunday of the first or second class, or fall within a privileged octave, or on a holiday or privileged vigil. Lastly, priests holding powers from the Archconfraternity, and who are not entrusted with the charge of such a local Confraternity of the Sacred Heart, can admit persons to membership, if there be no similar existing Confraternity in the neighbourhood, or if there be some difficulty which prevents its erection. A priest enjoying this special power should forward the names of the members whom he enrolls to the Secretary of the Archconfraternity at Rome.

This is but a bird's-eye glance over the history of the Archconfraternity. (For further information we direct attention to the able work of Father Nilles, S.J., entitled *De rationibus Fectorum Sanctissimi Cordis Jesu* : Oeniponte, 1885.)

After these explanatory remarks, we will conclude by considering the nature of the relations which exist between this glorious 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart' and the 'Apostleship of Prayer.' From what we have already stated, we may easily gather that the 'Archconfraternity' or its branch affiliations, do not necessarily suppose or require public services or meetings such as we see and know to exist in our Church sodalities. It points only to the divine Object of the devotion, and enriches with multiplied privileges and indulgences those who fervently recite the prayers prescribed in its honour, or approach the sacraments for a similar intention. But, beyond recommending the devout celebration of the annual Feast of the Sacred Heart, the reception of the Holy Communion on the first Friday or Sunday of each month, counselling assistance at some public devotions of the Sacred Heart, and the daily recital of some indulgenced prayers, the Archconfraternity neither imposes nor suggests devotional details.

It is precisely to meet this want that the 'Apostleship' proves an invaluable auxiliary to the 'Archconfraternity' by supplying it with an organization at once simple, strong, elastic, and furnished, as we have seen, with many rich privileges and indulgences by the Holy See; and, thus united, they can embrace not only those who assemble together in public Church sodality services, but also those who, for any

legitimate reason, cannot assist at such sodality or meeting away from their homes.

Nor must we suppose that the scope of their joint operations is confined exclusively to adult sodalities or individuals—for one of the most important functions of the 'Apostleship' relates entirely to *children of both sexes, who are still engaged in their studies*. This branch is styled the 'Apostleship of Study,' and is enriched with special favours and indulgences by the Holy See. Moreover, controlled by its direction, any works affecting the spiritual interests of the faithful—as, for example, *temperance*, &c.—may be efficiently organized and worked. To realize that these are not mere words but concrete facts, we have but to cast a glance over the Church to-day. Europe, Asia, America, South Africa, and still more distant Australia, witness to the unexaggerated truth of the statement.

Having thus sketched in very faint outline—but, we trust, with accuracy—the origin, growth, and spread of these two branches of a parent stem, we should leave incomplete their description, did we not add that we feel that the Heart of our Blessed Master has designed them to be the complement of each other—both separate, yet united in the one object of procuring the greater glory of the Sacred Heart—both, so to speak, leaning on each other for mutual support and mutual advancement—both drawing divine fire and light from the glowing furnace of that Human, yet Divine Heart, from which both have issued! And this view fully explains why the Superior-General of the 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart' in Rome, and for the whole world, with the sanction of our Holy Father Leo XIII., expressed in Pontifical Letters, dated June 7th, 1879, and again in April 11th, 1897, bestowed on all actual Directors of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' and on their successors, the personal faculty of aggregating members of the 'Archconfraternity.'

J. A. CULLEN, S.J.

¹ For the valid canonical erection of the 'Archconfraternity of the Sacred Heart'—as well as of the 'Apostleship of Prayer,' the permission of the Ordinary of the diocese is required to procure the diplomas of affiliation essential to the gaining of the indulgences.

We shall be happy to forward the necessary printed forms of petition to be forwarded to the Right Reverend Ordinaries, and to Rome.

IRISH MONASTERIES IN GERMANY

COLOGNE

COLOGNE was nothing more than a small collection of huts and sheds when Germanicus pitched his tent on the site which the city now occupies in the early years of the Christian era. It was there that his daughter, Agrippina, was born, amidst the noise of arms and the chatter of legions. This princess, who afterwards became so famous and so unfortunate as the mother of Nero, took a life-long interest in the place of her birth. She sent a colony of Roman nobles to found a settlement there; and the place was called Colonia Agrippina, to commemorate the circumstances of its foundation. Only the noblest patricians were allowed to take part in the enterprise; and to this fact the hereditary pride of the modern magnats of Cologne is duly traced. Those noble Romans undoubtedly marked with the impress of their genius and their taste the institutions and the buildings of their city. Colonia soon became the stronghold of the empire in the North of Europe. She was to the barbarians of Germany and Gaul the image and the eye of the mother city. The patricians of Rome and princes of the empire came in crowds to visit the new capital, to enjoy its baths, its palaces, its theatres, and its brilliant society. Vitellius was there when he was called to the throne, and Trajan assumed the royal purple within its walls.

Soon, however, on the break up of the mighty power which had ruled the world for close on a thousand years, a new order succeeded to the old. In Germany, as elsewhere, the change was preceded, accompanied, and followed by revolts, conspiracies, and foul deeds of every kind. When Clovis was crowned at Cologne, in 508, as King of the Franks of Austrasia, turmoil and confusion seemed to reign supreme. Nor did Clovis succeed in suppressing the outbursts of vice and crime that surrounded him on all sides.

For upwards of a hundred years the superstitions of paganism, which had taken so strong a hold of the Teutonic nature, dominated the native tribes, and drove them to the most monstrous excesses of barbarism and cruelty. It was only towards the end of the seventh century that Christianity began to take root and flourish at Cologne.

No doubt Christian blood had been shed in the city as early as the end of the third century, when the martyrs of the Theban legion were, according to tradition, massacred there. It was there, too, that St. Ursula and her companions gained their crown of martyrdom, in the fifth century. No doubt the line of bishops of Cologne extends back as far as St. Maternus, a converted soldier, who preached the Gospel to the Ubii about A.D. 350; but under him and several of his successors the great mass of the population clung on to paganism.

No genuinely organized effort was made to introduce Christianity amongst them till the year 690, when the Irish monk, Tilmo, built a chapel in an Island on the Rhine, close by the city, and began to preach the good tidings of the Gospel to the pagans around him. St. Egbert of England had made some attempt to convert them on the occasion of his mission to the Frisians, but his efforts bore no fruit, and he was compelled to return to Hy. A similar fate was reserved for his countryman, Wigbert,¹ who had spent several years in close retirement in Ireland in preparation for his mission. He too returned, disappointed and disheartened, to make up, by the austerities of his life and the examples of his virtues, for the failure of his missionary career. St. Egbert, however, urged others to attempt the task in which he confessed that he himself had failed; and a full band of twelve monks, with Willibrord and Suidbert at their head, were directed towards the territory of

¹ Unus tamen ex ejus (Egberti) sociis Wigbertus nomine et ipse contemptu saeculi et doctrinae scientia insignis, qui multos annos anachoreticam in Hybernia vitam sectatus fu rat in Frisiam traiecit ac duobus continuis annis genti illi regiique ejus Radbod. verbum salutis praeiicavit. Sed cum nullum tanti labores fructum ex barbaris illis retulisset reversus est, et qui externis prodesse ad fidem non poterat, suarum virtutum exemplis prodesse suis studuit. Mabillon, *Annales Cenod.*, i., an. 690.)

the Frisians and of the pagan tribes that dwelt on their confines. Of these adventurous messengers, Tilmo, an Irishman, was one; and in the division of territory mapped out to the labourers, Cologne and its people fell to his lot.

That Tilmo was a native of Ireland¹ seems quite certain. The constant tradition of Cologne is to that effect. The oldest chronicles of the monastery of St. Martin speak of him as a native of Scotia, and tell us that he was at first a soldier, then a monk, and finally a preacher of the Gospel on the banks of the Rhine. Almost all the missionaries of this region were educated either in Ireland or in Ily; but when they went abroad to preach the Gospel they usually marked the institutions which they founded with the seal of their nationality. Hence it was that the establishment of Tilmo soon attracted other Irishmen, who immediately grouped themselves around him, and took up the work which he had initiated.² The following lines of an old poet simply hand down the tradition of centuries:—

Agrippae dulces salvete Napaeae,
Dique Deaeque omnes quorum sub nomine terras
Liquimus Hyernas, atque has intravimus oras;
Has sedes servate Scotis, hic sistere terris,
Exillique vagos liceat finire labores.

In the course of a few years Tilmo³ was joined by several

¹ 'Tilmon, natione Scotus, vir illustris, de milite factus monachus, ab Egberto Abbate Anglo missus in insula Rheni prope Coloniam, coenobiticam vitam egit, anno Christi nati D.C.X.C. constructo sacello quod infra sacristiae absides visendum perstat.'—(*Antiquitates Monasterii Sancti Martini Majoris Coloniensis*, p. i., II., by J. H.

² St. Egbert, St. Wigbert, the two saints Ewald (the dark and the fair), St. Willibrord and St. Suidbert, had all come to Ireland to prepare for their mission. What is related of St. Willibrord may be said in substance of all the others:—

'Deinde audita sanctorum virorum in Hibernia tum eruditione, tum sanctimonia, eorum religionis incitatus, praecipue Egberti mox laudati, quem sanctum vocabant et Wigberti venerabilis sacerdotis qui ambo ob coelestis patriae amorem, domo, patria, cognatione relictis, in Hiberniam secesserant; cum permisso abbatis et fratrum suorum ad eos contendit ut eorum contubernio et sancta conversatione frueretur; ibique duodecim annos inter eximios 'piae religionis simul ac sacrae lectionis magistros, futurus ipse multorum populorum praedicator, eruditus, informatusque est.'—(Mabillon, *Annales Bened.*, tom i., p. 592.)

³ Sub auspiciis postea Pipini de Heristallo et Pletrudis ejus conjugis coenobium erectum est sub patrocinio divi Martini Turonensis Episcopi circa annum 708, quo tempore Sancti Wiro, Plechelmus et Otgerus Pippini et Plectendis subsidio suffulti, Sctorum contubernium in insula construxerunt.

other Irishmen, whose nationality is universally admitted, amongst them saints Wiro, Plechelmus and Otger. With their assistance a monastery, was established and dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, a saint whose renown was in all the churches in those days, and whose memory was specially venerated in Ireland as well as in France.

The Irish monastery of St. Martin was, therefore, the first Christian establishment regularly founded in the city of Cologne. From this rich granary the seed of Christian faith was distributed and scattered broadcast over the land, taking such deep root that it lasts to-day, and flourishes in one of the fairest gardens of which the Church can boast.

In the course of some years these Irish monks were joined by natives, and one of these, named Wicterp, made such progress under the Scoti, that he one day became Abbot of the monastery, and afterwards Bishop of Ratisbon. To this position his noble origin and powerful connection naturally helped him in a feudal age. The missionaries took advantage of his kinship with Plectrude, the wife of Pepin of Heristal, to secure the favour of princes and people. Wicterp was succeeded in turn as abbot by Alpho, Herbod, Aldegar, Patrick, Blasius, Heynian, Bartholf, Gottfried, Martin, Adolf, Benedict, Dithard, and Berthold. That some of these were native Teutons and some Scoti is quite certain. That some of these bear German names is no proof that they were not Irish, as many of the Irish missionaries modified their names to suit the tongue of the people to whom they ministered. Beatus, Virgilius, Fridolinus do not sound very Irish, yet all admit their nationality. German Protestant historians have no doubt about the Irish nationality of 'Clement the Heretic;' yet Clement does not sound particularly Hibernian.

During the eventful period that intervened between 690 and 975, in which the above-named abbots lived and ruled, their monastery passed through many vicissitudes. Twice it was levelled to the ground by merciless invaders—first, by the Saxons, and then by the Normans. In the year 972, Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, brought Berthold, one of the monks of Lorsch or Lauresham, to govern St. Martin's.

Gero, his successor, conferred many privileges on the monastery; but Warinus, whose curious history is one of the romances of the annals of Cologne, and who succeeded Gero, restored the monastery to Irish monks, and confided its government to the Irish abbot Mimborinus.¹ Warinus also signalized his term of office by building, in the neighbourhood of the monastery, a chapel, in honour of St. Brigid of Kildare,² which afterwards became, and long remained a parish church in the city of Cologne.

On the death of Mimborinus, in 987, one of the monks, named Kilian, was appointed to succeed him. He is described as a very religious man; and, we are told, that the Archbishop, Evergerus, with the consent of the Emperor Otho III., presented to him, for the use of his monastery and pilgrim monks, several farms, with the fishing of the Rhine attached; three churches, several manes, vineyards, and exemption from some of the taxes in the city and in the empire. He also got charge of the monastery of St. Pantaleon, in the city, as well as of St. Martin's. It is evident there must have been Irish monks in the former as well as in the latter of these monasteries.

The most remarkable of the line of abbots of St. Martin's was, however, Helias, whom the ancient annals of Cologne unanimously designate as St. Helias. He had come originally from the monastery of Monaghan in Ireland. He led a most austere life, Trithemius tells, and was on that account an object of hatred to wicked men, who feared his reproof. On the other hand, he was the bosom friend and counsellor of St. Heribert, Archbishop of Cologne, whose biographer, Landberth, tells us that when this illustrious prelate felt his end approach, he sent for his beloved Helias, who prepared him for death, and administered to him the

¹ See *Gross St. Martin in Köln*. By Anton Ditges-Kaplan, pp. 13, 14.

² Warinus qui Geronem vivus sepelivisse dicitur, postea factus Archiepiscopus de crimine penitens Romam ivit et inde reversus monasterium nostrum melioravit et Scotis iterum immolavit anno 975 quibus praecepit venerabilem virum Mimborinum, natione Scotum, qui praefuit annis 12. Inde Marinus factus est hic monachus et tumbam Sancti Eliphii gloriose ornavit. Construxit etiam Sacellum S. Brigidae Virginis Scotiae quod postea factum est ecclesia parochialis. Extract from ancient chronicle of St. Martin, published in Kessel's. — *Antiquitates Monasterii Sancti Martini Majoris Coloniensis*, xi

Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and all the final consolations of the Church.¹

On the death of Heribert, however, the new Archbishop, Pilgrinus, conceived an inveterate dislike for the Irish monks, and for Helias in particular, to such an extent, indeed, that he threatened to expel them from Cologne on his return from his pastoral visits through his diocese. He reckoned, however, without St. Helias, who prayed that if God was for the Irish monks Pilgrinus might never return to Cologne.² Whether this be a legend or a fact, certain it is that Pilgrinus never did return. He died, as Marianus Scotus informs us, at the town of Neomagus, in 1035. Helias was honoured with the confidence of his successor, Herrmann, and ruled his two monasteries, St. Martin and St. Pantaleon's, with the greatest success. He was remarkable, however, for uncommon strictness in the enforcement of discipline. A French monk of St. Pantaleon having written, without permission, a neat copy of the Missal for the use of the community, Helias burned it, lest others should presume to act without previous licence.³ He died in the odour of sanctity, and was buried in the chapel of St. Benedict, with the epitaph:—

Haec tumuli fossa conduntur Praesulis ossa
Heliae miri mirificique viri.

It is stated by many writers that Helias was a skilled musician, and that he was the first to bring the Roman chant to Cologne. Mabillon goes so far even as to suggest

¹ Muniborino successit Kilianus, vir multum religiosus, cujus intuitu Evergerus Archiepiscopus, consentiente Ottone Imperatore III., in usus monachorum peregrinorum, *pro racione amantem sicut* donavit curtes dominicas Rodenkirchhoff et Elthert, cum piscatione Rheni in tractibus et justitia quae dicitur Ban. Insuper quidquid in villis Wiercheim et Ascha habebat funditus nobis mancipavit. Ecclesias quoque tres in Sutteln, aliam in Wische, tertiam in Elthert. Insuper in urbe Colonia macedam omne et areas a porta frumenti usque ad ecclesiam murem civitatis et iterum a porta fori usque ad nusum Rheni dedit. Curtem quoque dominicam in Winningo cum xv. mansibus et quatuor vinearum illa habuit nobis condonavit et alia plura beneficia praestitit in quorum vicem perpetuo ejus memoria apud nos peragitur. — Kessel, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

² Si Deus in nobis est peregrinis, nunquam vivus ad Coloniam veniat Pilgrinus.

³ See Lanigan, *Ecc. Hist.*, vol. iii., p. 442.

that he is the 'Stranger and Pilgrim' to whom Berno of Reichenau dedicated his work on *The Laws of Symphony and Tone*,¹ a work well known in the history of music. If Cologne was thus indebted in the eleventh century for the Roman chant and for musical education to an Irishman from Monaghan,² who had studied in Rome, it must be admitted that she is now paying back the debt, with interest, to Ireland, after a lapse of over eight hundred years.

The learned historian of the diocese of Cologne, J. H. Kessel,³ published, in the year 1863, a most interesting volume containing all the ancient documents bearing on the history of St. Martin's monastery. In the introduction to this work he bears eloquent testimony to the heroic labours of the Irish missionaries not only in Cologne, but all over Europe. He takes good care, in speaking of these Scottish monks, to make it clear that in ancient times 'Scotia' was not the name of modern Scotland. Amongst the earliest apostles of Germany, he says, the Irish hold the first place. He gives a short account of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, of its rapid conquest of the whole people, of its fruitful development, and of the great number of monastic schools that arose all over the country, and became what he truly calls the fountain-heads⁴ of many streams that flowed over this favoured land, and fertilized the soil of regions which the

¹ Berno's letter is addressed . 'Domino, Deoque Dilecto Filio, Grinovero, mundi hujus advenae et peregrino.' On which Mabillon comments:— 'Quis sit iste Grinoverus cui Berno librum suum nuncupat non liquet. Quod cum *mundi hujus advenam et peregrinum* dicit, conjicere licet eum fuisse Scottum, et forte Sancti Pantaleonis aut Seti Martini Majoris Coloniensis praesulem seu Abbatem. Nam abbates nonnunquam praesules appellabantur. Verum Elias eo tempore utriusque monasterii abbas erat. An binominis erat Elias, qui tantum Romanum ex urbe Roma Coloniā primus attulisse dicitur? . . . Aliis divinandum relinquo.'—Mabillon, *Annales Benedictinorum*, tom. iv., p. 297.

² See Colgan, *AA. SS. Hib.*, p. 107.

³ *Antiquitates Monasterii Sancti Martini Majoris Coloniensis*, J. H. Kessel, Presbyter Coloniensis.

⁴ 'Quibus factis quum fontes religionis christianae in Hybernia largissime seaturirent, plurimi inde rivuli decursu temporis in eas Scotiae partes quae adhuc siccitate et vanitate superstitionum paganarum laborabant, feliciter deducti sunt.' (*Op. cit.*, p. 21.)

vanity of superstition had hitherto rendered barren and worthless.

Whilst this noble race of the 'Scoti' [he continues¹] was enjoying the heavenly light of Gospel truth, and was bearing such fruits of virtue and good works as ever reward the labours of those who live according to its standard, Germany lay buried in the darkest and densest of superstitions. She had not even any hope of better fortune, either as to the preparation for a future life or the conception of any duty towards a Supreme Being. Nor can we be surprised at the fact, for traces of the superstition which we find to have existed at Cologne, in the sixth century, prove to us how crass and vile were the pagan ideas and customs that then existed in our city. To rescue the Germans from such darkness the Almighty seems to have chosen the 'Scoti,' who, yielding with joy to His divine will, proceeded to make new conquests for the kingdom of Christ. As Mabillon, in his *Annals of the Benedictines*, remarks, the Scoti conferred four benefits on the German people—1. The faith which gives salvation. 2. The erection of bishoprics. 3. The introduction of arts and letters. 4. The knowledge of agriculture. Those who wish to realize the full extent to which we are indebted to the Scoti for these blessings have only to read the work of the learned Spittler, which is worthy of the closest attention.²

These missionaries feared neither the dangers of sea nor of land. Armed with the cross alone they preached Christ crucified to kings and peoples. They gave their lives for the salvation of our forefathers who had not yet been born anew through the waters of Baptism. What bitter trials they sustained,³ what giant labours they performed, what adversaries they faced and obstacles they overcame, the learned Abbot Martinus Gerbert⁴ and Lumper,⁵ the historian, have fully told us, giving to each of these Scottish missionaries his share in the gifts of preaching or in the advancement of Christian virtue, of civilization, and of letters. It is, therefore, not wonderful that these Scots gained such authority, and won the favour of all good men to such an extent, that the vicissitudes of centuries could neither subvert

¹ 'Interea dum nobilissima Scottorum gens suavi evangelicæ veritatis luce gauderet talesque virtutum bonorumque operum fructus ferret . . . Germania tristissimis denissimisque superstitionum paganarum tenebris obruta jacebat.'

² *Germania's Antiquities*, 2nd ed., *Chapel Hill*, 2nd ser., p. 98.

³ 'Quo in munere perfungendo quot aerumnas et labores, quot adversarios pertulerunt et impedimenta superarint luculenter et prælixè exponunt Martinus Gerbert doctissimus Abbas et Lumper singulis antiquissimæ memoriæ Missionariis Scotticis, qui aut prædicationis munere aut singulari virtutum litterarumque laude præcelluerunt, laudatis.'

⁴ Mart. Gerbert, *Var. Lett. Abbe.*, tom. i., p. 28.

⁵ Lumper, *Inst. Hist.*, p. 226.

nor undermine the veneration in which they were held. All this is mainly to be ascribed to the fact that they not only brought to the Germans the treasure of divine truth, but all the civilizing institutions of the Christian religion—schools, hospitals, asylums, shelters for the poor, and all similar retreats. In the year 844, several of these institutions having been allowed to fall into decay, either by the negligence of the bishops or the vicissitudes of the times, a decree was passed, at the Council of Meaux, held in that year, ordering hospitals and such foundations to be restored, 'such as they had been instituted by the Scots of old.' Every province of Germany proclaims this race as its benefactor. Austria celebrates St. Colman, St. Virgilius, St. Modestus, and others. To whom but to the ancient Scots was due the famous 'Schottenkloster' of Vienna? Salsburg, Ratisbon, and all Bavaria honour St. Virgilius as their apostle. Similar honour is paid, in different regions, to SS. Alto, Marianus, and Macarius. To whom but to these same monks was due the famous monastery of St. James at Ratisbon? Burgundy, Alsace, Helvetia, Suevia, with one voice proclaim the glory of Columbanus, Gall, Fridolin, Arbogast, Florentius, Trudpert, who first preached the true religion amongst them. Who were the founders of the monasteries of St. Thomas at Strasburg, and of St. Nicholas at Memmingen, but these same Scots? Franconia and the Buchonian forest honour as their apostles St. Kilian and St. Pirmin. . . and those Scottish monasteries of St. Aegidius and St. James, which in olden times flourished at Nuremberg and at Wurzburg, to whom are they to be ascribed but to the holy monks of ancient Scotia? The land between the Rhine and the Moselle rejoiced in the labours of Wendelin and Disibod. . . . The old and famous monastery of St. James, at Mayence, was founded, according to the best writers, by these same Scots. The Saxons and the tribes of Northern Germany are indebted to them to an extent which may be judged by the fact that the first ten bishops who occupied the see of Verden belonged to that race.

The immediate successor of St. Helias, as abbot of St. Martin's, was Mariolus or Molanus, who, according to Florence of Worcester, died in 1061. He is described by the poet-chronicler, Oliver Legipont, as—

Vir niveo candore micans et Pallade clarus.

Five other names complete the roll of Irish abbots of St. Martin's—they are: Felan, Wolfhard, Hezelin, Isaac, and Arnold. Of the last-named, who died in 1103, the chronicler tells us—

Ultimus ille fuit praesul de gente Scotorum.

This was the period of decay in Irish monastic life at home owing to the Danish wars and other domestic causes. The monasteries abroad shared in the downfall of the establishments that had given them birth, and soon fell into the hands of the stranger.

The abbey of St. Martin, at Cologne, did not disappear, however, with its Irish monks. On the contrary, it continued to be one of the most important centres of civilization and learning in Germany. Nobles, and even princes became its mitred abbots. Many of its monks were heard in the halls of the University of Cologne by the side of Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. Its library was frequented by scholars from all parts of Europe. But though it survived the storms of a thousand years, it succumbed to the French Revolution. By a decree of the 9th of June, 1802, it was declared national property. The goods of the monastery were seized, and the church was handed over to the pastor of St. Brigid's, to serve henceforth as a parish church. On the 3rd of July, 1803,¹ the last abbot of St. Martin's celebrated his first Mass as parish priest of St. Martin's. The church, however, still remains a splendid memorial of the old foundations of the 'Scoti.' Around it cling the most sacred traditions. To the modern people of Cologne it recalls the most cherished memories of the Christian faith.

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ Am 3 Juli, 1803, feierte der letzte Abt, als erster Pfarrer von St. Martin in der geretteten Kirche der ersten Pargottesdienst. — (Gross St. Martin in Köln. *Anton Drees*, p. 29.)

KILKENNY AND BISHOP ROTHE

THE following very instructive and eloquent lecture was delivered by the Very Rev. M. Kelly, Professor of Ecclesiastical history in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, at the Athenæum, Kilkenny, March 8th, 1857. It is, in my opinion, well worthy of preservation, and nowhere could it be more suitably and more profitably preserved than in the pages of the I. E. RECORD:—

In the subject which I have selected for this evening, if I cannot range with you over the boundless empire of science in earth, and sea, and sky, I can at least dwell with you on the most remarkable objects in that spot which is dearest to you on earth; objects whose very name recalls to the Kilkennyman, wherever his lot may be cast, the fair city on the banks of the crystal Nore, and the cloudless skies under which he first drew breath. It is this interest which I know you feel in the monuments of your city; it is the solemn lessons, and immortal Catholic memories connected with St. Canice's, and the very genius of the place in which, if anywhere, the muse of Irish Catholic history has established shrine, that emboldened me to connect with Kilkenny buildings some remarkable events in your civic history, and indeed I may say in the history of Ireland.

Kilkenny, if we believe accounts, hardly existed until the Cambro-Norman invaders built the castle. They certainly enlarged and beautified the town; and when we consider its name, so called from the patron saint of the surrounding territory (St. Canice), who lived five hundred years before, and that round tower of other days which overtops St. Canice's, we may believe that centuries before the arrival of the Cambro-Normans, or before the conversion of the northern half of Europe, there was a church at Kilkenny, and that the Prince of Ossory, after paying his devotions to the patron saint, often surveyed from this central point the whole extent of his dominions, from Brandon Hill to Kilcooley, and from Slievenamon to Slievebloom—a dominion famous in the annals of Ireland, and specially blessed by St. Columba.

The round tower—a building, I may observe, never found except near a church—often protected the clergy and their books and sacred treasures from the sudden incursions of the Dane, until assistance could be summoned by a signal fire from the top; but the tower was no protection against the Normans—a wonderful race—who, after dwelling two centuries in France, conquered England at Hastings, founded other kingdoms in Europe, and carried off the palm of chivalry in the early crusades. The people were building here a new church, on the magnificent scale then the fashion in Europe, when the invaders came upon them, and after some hard battles, gained the victory. But they, too, continued and completed the church: and thus cemented with the blood of two Catholic nations—one building on the foundations laid by the other, St. Canice's arose, not less spacious or beautiful, and far more famous in the history of the two nations than any other Irish cathedral. About the same time, and nearly in the same circumstances, were erected two other great religious houses, Jerpoint and Kells.

From that day to the present, during seven hundred years, with more than their full share of revolutions in customs, in property, in laws civil and political, and religious, Kilkenny has, in one important respect, admitted little change. Now and then her faith is the same. During nearly four centuries her citizens, all members of the one fold, thronged on the great festivals in the aisles of St. Canice's; during the three following centuries the old faith, driven out from that and the other great churches, still lived among us so fresh, so pure, so vigorous, that the moment the chain was struck off, she began to erect monuments of her power which shall make the times in which we live an epoch in our history. With these memories in his heart, and high aspirations for the future swelling within him, can the young man who has sincerely adopted your rules (the Young Men's Society) look upon your new cathedral, the admiration of every stranger, or on St. Kieran's College, not less admired, and of which the city may be equally proud—can he look upon them, and not ask himself, 'How can I, as a citizen of Kilkenny, contribute to the

stability of religion in her new abodes, and make her throne as secure in Kilkenny of the future as Kilkenny of the past? How was religion preserved? What lessons do our domestic annals teach? In modern times we hear much of progress, and the advance of civilization, with a broad assertion, or sometimes only a hint, that there was nothing of the kind formerly. We cannot now descend to particulars, but even in a general view, it is quite certain, that with all the appliances of modern civilization, Kilkenny of the present has so clear a superiority over the Kilkenny of the past. I do not speak of the secure and Christian provision for the poor, administered by the Church, and all the other beneficent appendages to a cathedral in those days; but just picture to yourselves three great convents in this small city, with their public libraries, and their paintings, and their gardens for the good of the public. Survey the massive pile of the Dominicans, the light and graceful tower of the Franciscans, the famous window of St. John's, the wonder of Ireland. Take a Sunday trip to the ever-open doors of Jerpoint or Kells—Jerpoint of the Cistercians, the men who, to the chaunt of the Church, felled the forests—and reclaimed the deserts of Europe—and tell me, if you can, that you have not an education which refines as well as instructs, an education not only in the useful and religious, but also in the beautiful and the grand.

Some young friend, who has read history, is saying, perhaps, that during these four hundred Catholic years, Kilkenny was an English colony, an English stronghold. She hated the Irish, and when they were growing strong, shut them out of St. Canice's, and never once rose against an English king, until, in truth, there were no English at home, and until Cromwell cast all the citizens out, and for a time planted Puritans in their place. Well, young friend, it is against the first rule in history to judge the past by the present, without taking into account the difference of circumstances. Kilkenny was the great meeting-place of the Parliaments, and National Conventions of the Anglo-Irish nobles and gentry—a colony, if you will, but who loved the land of their adoption, and spent their princely revenues

at home. See their tombs in St. Canice's; even in death, by these beautiful monuments, they employed the artist, adorned the church, and by the expression of Christian hope on their placid and noble countenances raise our thoughts beyond the grave.

Miserable wars and dissensions there were in these times throughout Ireland: but if Kilkenny, or Ireland of that day, is summoned to condemnation, can Ireland of the present be the first to cast the stone? To illustrate the state of society in these days, and the feelings which the citizens must have had to their Irish neighbours, if our worthy mayor, and some aldermen, taking a drive a few miles out of town were carried of by a Murphy or a Kavanagh of St. Mullin's, or Scullogh Gap, or by an O'Carroll, or an O'Moore to the bog of Allen, or Dunamaise, would we not rise against the indignity, and vindicate our rights, and be very cautious about letting such dangerous neighbours have livings in our churches, or property within our walls? But if Kilkenny was at war, she loved the old glories of Ireland. Yes, the nurse of Irish history always loved Kilkenny. Of the two principal volumes in which the lives of Irish saints are preserved, one is known to every scholar as the *Coder Kilkenniensis*. The only two respectable histories of the Anglo-Irish, Clyn's and Grace's, were compiled in the convents of Kilkenny; and the spirit has remained amongst us. For, omitting for the present our Catholic historians, Harris was educated here, and here Archdall prepared the only history of the monasteries; and here Ledwich, too, prepared his *Antiquities*; and from the same quarter we have a history of St. Canice's, which, I believe, the character both of the publishers, and of the authors (Messrs. Prim & Graves,) will guard against the prejudices in some of those I have mentioned. Thus if Kilkenny was in these days always loyal to those whom she regarded as her own kindred and natural allies, she included in her sympathies also the noblest interests of the whole kingdom; and shortly before the Reformation, when the antipathies of race were dying away, the old Irish enjoyed within her walls, not only liberty and property, but the

highest offices in her Church, a gradual preparation for the great contest then approaching, when both races combined for the Catholic faith. For when, at the time of the Reformation, Ireland, emerging from the comparative obscurity of the four last centuries, appeared before Europe as the Catholic nation, when she alone of all the northern nations stood fast by the chair of St. Peter; when in France, and Austria, and Belgium, and Italy, and Spain, her name became a household word for patience and martyrdom, as it had once been for learning, you have devoted examples here of constancy in the faith. At the Reformation it was remarked as extraordinary, and by the English condemned as unnatural (to use the phrase of the day), that the Anglo-Irish sternly refused to conform to the change of religion, and that in many places they were more scrupulous in their adhesion to Catholic observances than the old Irish themselves.

Now, of these Anglo-Irish, many must have imbibed this spirit in Kells and Jerpoint, which were then the great schools for all those who wished to receive an English education. On this very ground, when Henry VIII. was suppressing all monasteries, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, and his counsel petitioned that Kells and Jerpoint should be exempted from the general fate, this mercy being asked only for four others, of which two were in Dublin, and one at Grace Dieu, near Dublin, where all the ladies were educated. But the petition was rejected. What mercy could be expected from him? Kells and Jerpoint were unroofed; they went down to the cry of the Reformation, and of progress and light; they went down to the cry that brought all evil into this world—the serpent hiss that blasted the first glory of paradise, when the woman was told she would be a God. Light! light! the favourite shape into which the angel of darkness has ever since transformed himself when deluding the poor sons of Eve. Yes, Kells and Jerpoint went down, but lived in the young hearts that loved them, who sought no light but what they gave—the light of faith.

It is impossible to overrate the influence for good or evil of a school, and we had another example of it here which we owe to a little courage shown by the clergy and people

of the city. Such an opinion had they of the faith of Kilkenny that they sent their most learned man as Protestant bishop here in the reign of Edward VI. So signal, however, was his failure that there never was such a procession in the city as when he retired in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. All the clergy and canons went in solemn procession around the town with light and incense and song, making the whole place resound with the joyful Litanies of the Blessed Virgin and acclamations of the people; and so exuberant was their enthusiasm that even the venerable canons, forgetting the decorum of their age and station, flung their caps in joy to the battlements of St. Canice's. The spirit shown by them on this occasion warned Queen Elizabeth to proceed with caution in Kilkenny, for although they passed statutes easily enough, they bided their time in enforcing them. If they found the watchman timid, they terrified him; if they found him simple, they deceived him; if they found him corrupt, they threw him a sop and silenced him; if they found him prudent and strong, they respected him apparently, but they watched their opportunity, and when he too was off his guard, the chain was flung around, the bolt was shot, and religion left to mourn great opportunities lost—the slavery of centuries entailed by insensibility to danger, which steady organization might at once have crushed. It was fortunate for Catholic Kilkenny that it had this courage. There is a book written by the son of the Speaker of the House of Commons that passed the laws of Elizabeth against the Catholic Church (Stanhurst). It was printed at Antwerp, in 1584. It gives a full account of a school in which, fortunately for himself, he was educated, just near St. Canice's, founded by Earl Pierse and Margaret Fitzgerald, Countess of Ormonde, so well known by tradition still. Peter White was the master of the school. He was driven from the deanery of Waterford because he would not deny his faith; but he found protection in Kilkenny, immediately after Elizabeth had passed her laws against the Church; and well for Kilkenny he did. So fondly does his pupil dwell on his memory, so minutely does he describe this city, that you might imagine he was writing a guide

book for the Spanish Armada, then about to sail, and that the lazy Scheldt, though laden with the commerce of the vast Spanish Empire and the glorious cathedral itself, and all the arsenals of Antwerp then resounding with the din of the mighty preparation, did not impress him so strongly as his reminiscences of Kilkenny. Oh, the influence of the school on the feelings and opinions of the man. He remembers even the waters of the Nore—so cold, he says, in summer—he was thinking of the Bishop's Meadows on a bright warm day, and of the bound and the splash and the ringing cheer in that water, so cold in summer; and of the gardens along its banks, just as they are now; and the great forests extending the whole way from Troyswood to the Queen's County, so thick that when the Lord Deputy wanted to pay a visit (not a friendly one) to Mountgarret, he was several days cutting a pass through them; and the rich plain at the other side of the city, and the clear air, and the beautiful monuments—alas! where are they now? and, in fine, as he says himself, better than all, citizens most refined, and of most sterling worth. Then come the names of his school-fellows—names, except a few, so familiar to us still—all men of great talent and learning; and, I will add, some of them priests. These were the men, the scholars of Peter White, who preserved religion in Kilkenny during the dreary forty years and upwards of Elizabeth's reign.

From that page, when it appeared, a Kilkenny boy, about ten years of age may have learned his first lesson in Latin, taught, perhaps, by one of the priests whose fame it preserves. On Sunday after hearing their Mass in the crowded private houses or in the store of the wealthy Catholic merchant (for no other places were allowed), when he came out in the fresh autumn air he saw the rank grass growing at the doors of all the churches, and every day's wind and rain making havoc on the windows of St. John's, and the thoughtless boy, perhaps, or the avaricious dealer, stealing or defacing some image of a saint or cross. Again, at his return in the evening, if he stood on the height at Temple Maul little church, he remembered how he had been told by his father that twenty years ago, at that sweet hour of sun-

set, all the towers rising over the city, beyond the river, from the Castle to St. Canice's (now so mournful and silent), used to send forth the soft and pensive note of the Angelus bell, answered from the other bank of St. Maul's, St. Stephen's, and St. John's. When coming into the city at dusk, he summoned courage to look in at the Black Abbey, and saw there, by the moonlight streaming in through the rent roof, the owl sailing noiselessly up the aisle, and hooting on the desecrated altar, what must this boy have felt? Why are these churches closed? Why does not our natural sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, redress this injustice? Do not our city musters march out every day under her banners? Are not her sentinels on our walls?

It was in these influences that a young mind was formed, which I now introduce to your notice. And here, young men of Kilkenny, I say most unaffectedly I wish it had fallen to more able hands to do—what I feel I am utterly unable to do—justice to his memory. Connected with the most respectable families in the city—families who represented her in more than one Parliament—he made for himself a place in her history which no wealth nor family descent could confer; and not only here in this city and in this diocese, but in the surrounding dioceses and in all Ireland, and wherever the name of Ireland was known to the ecclesiastical scholar, the name of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, was known and revered. Forty years before his death he was praised in a book, published in 1611, as a great prelate whom everyone knew that knew Ireland, and one of the most distinguished scholars that had left the University of Douay. His perilous commission, abstracting altogether from its ordinary responsibilities, had terrors at that time which none but souls of chivalrous devotion could face without blenching. There were very few bishops then residing in Ireland, and of those few one, a bishop of Down and Connor, was imprisoned in Dublin on a groundless charge of high treason, for which he was tried and put to death, in 1612. To console this bishop, and to nerve him against the terrors of the scaffold, in a beautiful letter, still preserved, was one of the first duties of Dr. Rothe, himself

remember, being at the time exposed every moment to the same danger.

I cannot recount all his services to Ireland and to religion; but to be brief, what should he do that he has not done? A scholar with a ready and clear pen, he used it to publish the ancient religious glories of Ireland, and attract sympathy for her sufferings, and, though his contributions to this branch of literature may displease modern inquiries, they were gratefully received not only by Catholic writers, but by his contemporaries, the most eminent Protestant scholars that the Established Church of Ireland has ever produced. A diplomatist, with the same pen he exposed to the scorn of Europe the hollow pretence of the time—that there was no persecution in Ireland—and unmasked the policy of James I. so effectually that towards the end of this monarch's reign there was some slight and gradual relaxation of the persecution; and, moreover, he kept the woes of Ireland constantly before the eyes of the Pope, the common father of the faithful. What would we know of the Catholic martyrs during Elizabeth's reign but for his *Analecta*? A patron of learning, and to rear up in this city a school of Catholic learning, he cherished for many years of what he might call comparatively the bad times, the hope of one day seeing the Jesuits established there. Nor was he disappointed, for in his own, or in his brother's house, opposite the court-house, the Jesuits had their first, and, I believe, their only noviciate in Ireland. But, above all, he was the tender and loving pastor, preaching the Gospel to the poor, and consoling them in their afflictions. Disguised as a soldier or a physician, as a pedlar, and sometimes as a beggar, he discharged his episcopal functions not only here and in the neighbouring dioceses, but through all Ireland, for during several years he was invested with the primatial authority.

An eminent author, Dr. Lynch, states that David Rothe was for some few years the only bishop residing in Ireland, and that whether he lay concealed in the forest or went along the by-roads, or enjoyed the secure shelter of the faithful Catholic house, the children were brought in crowds to him to be confirmed. Pre-eminently distinguished for his love of peace and harmony among the

clergy, and having by his great reputation and personal intercourse with them in different parts of Ireland, obtained an influence such as none other could command, he succeeded in 1620, in founding an 'Association of Peace' (the first of the kind in Catholic annals), which by degrees spread throughout all parts of Ireland, and embraced in one bond of love and devotion the clergy of all classes, secular and regular, Irish and Anglo-Irish. Oh, that it had been his lot to know only the 'Association of Peace!' The influence of that association with other causes during twenty years had restored to the Catholics nearly all their rights. They had the numbers and the wealth, landed and commercial, and soon must have had a political power, when they were driven to arm in self-defence, in 1641. I say, driven to arm, for dire compulsion alone could, even at the time, combine the Irish and Anglo-Irish in the same ranks. Dr. Rothe had no connection with the first general rising; but when the Catholics from all quarters came pouring in disorder into Kilkenny, he was generally believed to have organized them into that Catholic Confederation, which, in the first vigour of its prime, brought nearly all Ireland under its sway to swear fidelity to the Catholic religion, and allegiance to Charles I.

Much has been written in ignorance and malice against the Catholic Confederation; but have its critics refuted the assertion of that great statesman, Edmund Burke, that the Confederation would have given to the whole Irish nation what the Irish Parliament of 1782 gave to a party? That, in reality, it wanted nothing but success to have it proclaimed as the glorious and immortal revolution! But I am not discussing the politics of that famous assembly, which are the burden of many a dismal tome; nor are we to criticize the course adopted by our illustrious David in all the distracted discords that soon shattered the vigour of the nation. The wonder is how he outlived them, for the snows of seventy winters were on his head, when, surrounded by all the Catholic nobles and Catholic prelates, and Catholic gentry of Ireland, his venerable form was seen moving in solemn procession up the great aisle of St. Canice; and, there, after the lapse of eighty years, the Mass was

again offered up to the clashing of arms, to the pealing of cannon, and all the imposing ceremony of a Catholic kingdom. When the pomp was over, when the enthusiastic march of that armed generation which had grown up since he came a prelate to Ireland, had died away in the narrow streets, rolling on to the Castle or the Parliament House, and left the patriarch alone in the church, no sound but the echo of his own footfall in the spacious aisle, no object present to his sight but the altar and the lamp, what wonder if he doubted the reality of the scene? When he saw from his cathedral the swelling woods of Freshford and Lisdowney, from which, more than thirty years ago, he had governed the Irish Church, could he suppress anxious emotion at the perilous splendour of her present position? Single-handed he had then encountered her enemies with success. Many councillors now brought destruction. Feeling he had done all that man could do, he soon selected his grave and prepared a sacred bequest for his people. He had lived to see his city placed under the patronage of the Virgin, and her statue enthroned on the Market Cross; he selected his grave in her Chapel of St. Canice's. He lived to celebrate in that church the divine mysteries with which he had so long sanctified every forest and lonely glen in Ossory. He bequeathed to his people as a monument of his gratitude and love, with other treasures, the sacred vessel used at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, the beautiful monstrance, so long preserved in the honoured family of Bryan, and now in the possession of Dr. Rothe's revered successors in this historic diocese.¹

N. MURPHY.

¹ Lynch, in his MS. *Lives of the Irish Bishops*, relates, that after the surrender of Kilkenny to Cromwell, March 28, 1650, Bishop Rothe in his carriage 'accompanied the garrison, who were allowed to march away with all the honours of war, but at the distance of two miles from the town, a troop of the enemy attacked and plundered the rear-guard, and seizing the bishop's carriage carried off one hundred pounds, which was all that he now possessed; wherefore, by Cromwell's permission he was brought back to his friends in the city, among whom he expired on the 20th of the following month of April, being 82 years of age. He was interred in the family tomb which his ancestors had erected in St. Mary's Church, his obsequies being duly performed by his friends according to the Catholic rites, and torches burning around his bier throughout the whole night that preceded his interment.' His monument in St. Canice's Cathedral was left uninjured, although it bore engraven on it figures of the crucifix and the B. Virgin, and other saints.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

EXPOSITION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a recent number of the I. E. RECORD you answer a question asked by ‘Laicus,’ and say:—‘When the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed in the monstrance, the monstrance should, generally speaking, be placed on a throne of some kind, more or less elevated, above the table of the altar. This is prescribed for the solemn Exposition of the Forty Hours in the *Instructio Clementina*, and by nearly all writers for the solemn exposition.’

But the *Instructio Clementina* prescribes that there should not only be a throne, but also a white canopy. ‘Sopra detto altare in sito eminente vi sia un Tabernaculo o Trono con baldachino proporzionato di color bianco.’ I believe the *Instructio* is not binding *extra urbem*. But may I ask is there any other rubric prescribing a canopy on the occasion of the exposition? If not, may I further ask, is it not the custom, in Catholic countries, to use a canopy in the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament? and, if so, are we not bound, in some way, to conform to their custom?

May I further ask, whether it would not be more becoming to open the tabernacle door, and give Benediction with pix, say after twelve o’clock Mass, on Sunday, when there are no special devotions recited before the Blessed Sacrament, and whether a P.P. can do this without consulting the Ordinary?—Yours faithfully,

A DUBLIN P.P.

1. The *Clementine Instruction* does prescribe the use of a white canopy for the exposition of the Forty Hours, as the extract given by our correspondent abundantly proves. But, as he himself remarks, this Instruction binds only in Rome, and, even there, only on the occasion of the Exposition of the Forty Hours. Hence, so far as the *Clementine Instruction* is concerned, the use of the white

canopy is not obligatory in any exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, outside of Rome. And, in reply to our correspondent's inquiry regarding the existence of some other source of obligation, we must reply that there is none, as far as we know. Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, being an extra-liturgical service, is not regulated by any precise or unchangeable code of rules. What the Church expects, and what reverence for this great mystery demands is, that everything about the altar, and especially everything directly connected with the exposition, should be becoming, and as worthy of the place it occupies as the circumstances of the church wherein exposition takes place will permit.

It is, we believe, customary in Catholic countries, to have the throne in which the monstrance is placed crowned with a canopy, from which oftentimes depend folds of the same material behind the monstrance, and to the right and left, thus concealing it from every side unless that one which is turned towards the people. This continental custom is copied from the *Clementine Instruction*, and is, no doubt, very praiseworthy; but, surely, we in this country are not bound to follow a custom which cannot be binding—unless by reason of national or diocesan legislation—in the countries in which it prevails.

2. It is forbidden to take the pyx or ciborium out of the tabernacle for the purpose of blessing the people with it. Private exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is allowed. This consists in merely opening the door of the tabernacle, and in placing the ciborium, covered as usual with the veil, in such a position within the tabernacle that it may be seen by the people kneeling in front of the altar. But the ciborium must not, by any means, be taken out of the tabernacle for the purpose of giving Benediction with it. A parish priest may privately expose the Blessed Sacrament in this manner for a reasonable cause without the permission of his bishop.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE PRIEST IN NATIONALITY

REV. DEAR SIR,—In view of the approaching third annual meeting of the Maynooth Union, I trust you will allow me a little corner of your valuable space for the purpose of bringing under the notice of the members a subject that deserves their united attention, and might very profitably be admitted for discussion at the meeting in June. Though I am myself a member of the Union, it will be impossible for me to take part in the proceedings of the June meeting, and I write this letter in the hope that priests intending to be present at that meeting, who may happen to read it, would bestow in the interval a serious thought on its contents, and try to form for themselves a responsible judgment and elicit the judgment of the Union on the mooted question.

The matter about which I write may turn out to have only a remote connection with the topics arranged as formal items for the programme, but I have reason to believe that it would be in order for discussion under some of the papers announced to be read; and at any rate, on its own merits, it is not beneath the notice of the collective clerical wisdom which the Union aims at drawing forth and directing to practical ends.

The question itself which I wish to have raised is akin to that discussed at last year's meeting by the Bishop of Clonfert, and in the scale of importance it scarcely yields to Dr. Healy's subject. This is asserting a strong claim on my own behalf to a serious hearing, but I am convinced it is a reasonable claim. 'The Priest in Politics' is only the title of a special chapter in the general subject, 'The Priest in Nationality,' and there is pretty much the same necessity for examining and adjusting the priest's relations under the general head as under the special. Politics is only one field in the great domain of nationality, and it will be found that the same reasons, ultimately, which recommend or necessitate political action on the part of the priest hold good to the same extent for interference in other fields of national life and activity. The interests indeed that chiefly concern a priest are, as a rule, more imminently involved in political questions

and their issues; but the same interests are also involved, sometimes just as directly, in other matters of a national character, distinct from politics; while on the grounds of mere patriotism, which is also to be considered, those matters have as true a claim on the priests of Ireland as any political movement can have. It would, therefore, be a very inadequate view of our indirect sphere of work that would include only the arena of politics. As priests and as Irishmen we cannot be indifferent about the progress and development or the decay, as the case may be, of nationality in the higher and wider sense: and no matter how signally praiseworthy our services to political nationality, we should fail to satisfy a notable part of the national claims upon us were we to stand idly by while some of the best qualities and most precious possessions of our traditional nationality are disappearing with alarming rapidity, and a new nationality, unlike the old, is growing up in our midst.

In order to give a more definite purport to these general remarks it will be sufficient to refer to a few leading points.

And to begin with the national language, it has decayed more during the present century than it had done during the six centuries before, during which it was proscribed by a more rigorous ban; nor has any truly national effort been made to check the decay and bring about a revival. Priests and people alike—the great bulk of them—have seemed to be unconscious of suffering any loss; their apathy, in fact, has looked like a voluntary yielding up of their most ancient national heritage. I do not forget the grand exceptions to this attitude of indifference, but what I say is undeniably true of the general state of the case. Nor am I speaking by way of blame—a sufficient explanation may be given of all that has occurred. But it is a matter for reasonable surprise that the apathy still continues. Perhaps it is that the loss of the old tongue is not regarded as an absolute loss at all, but only as a profitable and beneficial exchange. The new language, it may be said, is more useful to our race in the battle of life, and forms in itself a richer possession by reason of its priceless literature, while the direct loss to nationality may be repaired by preserving the ancient spirit which is independent of any tongue.

But waiving the question of utility, this view has little to recommend it. It is all very good to talk of preserving the spirit of nationality, but it cannot be denied that a distinctive

language is the greatest safeguard of distinctive nationality, and no other influences can fully supply its place. And the Irish language was something more than a mere external safeguard of Irish nationality. It was the living embodiment and perpetuating instrument of many of the most beautiful national characteristics. Just to mention one instance, which ought to appeal especially to the priest, nothing could be more worthy of all admiration than the spirit of lively faith and earnest piety which was embedded, so to speak, in the very texture of the language, and spoke in its every sentence. You could not speak Irish as our fathers spoke it without being in frequent contact with God and His Holy Mother and your Angel Guardian and the saints, and you have only to go among those who still speak the old tongue to be convinced that this familiarity with the supernatural was not an unconscious, much less an irreverent, habit, but the earnest expression of the prayerful heart. It may be said, of course, that these and similar characteristics ought to survive the loss of the language, that any language may be applied to such pious uses ; and I admit that our people who have lost the old tongue have retained, in a large degree, the habits of religious thought reflected in it. But this is only a proof that things change slowly, for that a change in this respect is really in progress nobody has a better opportunity of observing than the missionary priest ; and I think it will be borne out by the general experience that where the language of faith has died, the outspoken spirit of faith has declined. The grand old forms of pious salutation, exclamation, purpose, and so on, that were common-places in the old tongue, are now no longer heard, or so seldom as to create surprise, except among the older and more rustic people who still retain the fashion and spirit of a bygone age. Such usages, in fact, are a sign of rusticity ; modern enlightenment laughs them out of court, and they must not appear where its influences prevail. I admit, of course, that such a change is not in the nature of things a necessary consequence of the change of language ; but it is inevitable that such a change should follow, when with the new language, new notions and ideals and principles and standards, which contradict the old, have come in and taken possession of the public mind.

This change, however, it must be remembered, is only one phase of a widely growing tendency in the same direction, and is not to be taken as a full presentation of the case. I am

suggesting merely one particular point of view. And continuing from that same point of view, it is evident that the most potent influence in working the change is the influence of what counts as English literature. I do not speak of what is really good in that literature, but of what is bad and pernicious, openly or insidiously infidel and immoral, to which may be added what is merely natural and purely worldly to the exclusion of everything of a higher order and interest. The increasing quantity of such literature and its circulation among our people is a matter for grave alarm; every priest comes face to face with the evil in some form and degree, and all are of one mind that it is an evil to be fought with every available weapon. It is not an evil of native origin, but has come in from without in consequence of the loss of our language; and it cannot be doubted that whatever is done for the preservation and restoration of the national language is so far a counteracting remedy. Personally, I believe in the feasibility of restoration on an extended scale; the example of the Welsh and Flemish revivals seems to place it beyond a doubt, and priests as a body ought to have made an earnest trial of the movement before they despair of its success. Belgian priests regard the Flemish revival as one of the greatest blessings that has come to their nation, chiefly because of the effective barrier it has set up against the inroad of corrupting French literature. So strong, indeed, is their feeling on the question of their national language that it has actually decided the appointment to at least one episcopal see. When may we expect such a state of feeling here at home?

But even though Irish is never again to become a living national language, it is entitled to national reverence. Some knowledge of it and some appreciation of its literature ought to be a first qualification for an educated Irishman; and were such a national fashion in possession a great deal would have been done to destroy the power of the false-culture fashion that dominates in our day. On this wider ground I would press my appeal on the attention of my fellow-priests.

And this leads up to a still wider portion of the general subject with which I set out. In saying so much about the language I do not mean to imply that it is the sole or even the chief point of importance; but as I have taken up so much space with it, I cannot deal so fully as I would wish with some other leading points. A few brief remarks must suffice.

What I have said of the neglect of the national language is true, I fear, almost in the same degree of other elements in the life of genuine nationality. Irish history, for instance, and kindred subjects get practically no recognition in the existing public systems of education. The primary system, though calling itself national, is notorious for ignoring and excluding everything having the slightest flavour of nationality about it. The Intermediate is very little better in this respect; and we have no university system to supply the deficiencies of the lower systems. The consequence is that our people are thrown on their own resources for whatever national education they receive. Popular national literature is the only school to which they can have recourse. But the national knowledge diffused and national good accomplished in this way is only a token of what could be further done in the same way were there a more widespread appreciation and encouragement of national literary work. Priests have been often accused of remissness in this respect, and the charge is not without foundation. Certain it is that if they would give their own patronage in this matter as extensively and as liberally as in politics, for instance, and exert their influence in securing popular patronage, a vastly greater amount of good could be accomplished, while the evil above referred to of bad and worthless reading would be diminished in a corresponding measure. But there are special lines in which priests would be naturally expected to take the lead, but in which very little, comparatively, is being done by them. There are no popular lives of many of our greatest saints, and what is more, no demand for them; their work, and their names even, are generally unknown, devotion to them unheard of. Similarly, our martyrs are neglected. And as to sacred topography and archæology and such like, their cultivation and promotion are left, strange to say, chiefly to those who have no proper claim to the glory that lingers around the places and monuments associated with the ancient faith. Surely it is not fitting that things should be so.

But I must not prolong the subject. My object in writing will be gained if someone be found to take up what I have aimed at suggesting, and set on foot some movement that may bear fruit. There could be no occasion more suitable than a meeting of the Maynooth Union for considering such subjects as this. I have no doubt that many members of the Union will agree with

all I have said, and more that I should like to have said ; and if any encouraging response to this letter appear at the re-union or elsewhere, it may be practicable to proceed beyond mere words, and establish, for example, a league or association of priests to propagate and carry into effect, by working on definite lines which could easily be specified and arranged, the policy which I have partially outlined. It would be premature now to put forward any definite proposals.

SACERDOS.

DOCUMENTS

DECISION REGARDING THE USE OF GLASS IN THE CRESCENT LUNETTE

DE SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

SS. HOSTIA REPONI POTEST INTRA DUO CRYSTALLA MODO SINT BENE
CLAUSA, NEQUE ILLA TANGAT

DUBIUM

In plurimis Galliae Ecclesiis atque Oratoriis usus invaluit postremis hisce temporibus sacram Hostiam, quae in Ostensorio exponenda est, recondendi intra duo crystallà apte cohaerentia, eamque in Tabernaculo reponendi absque ulla capsà, seu custodia. Hinc à Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione expostulatum fuit : ‘An eiusmodi praxis licita sit?’

Atque eadem Sacra Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis liturgicae, ac re mature perpensa, proposito Dubio respondendum censuit : Affirmative ; dummodo sacra Hostia in dictis crystallis bene sit clausa, atque crystallà non tangat, iuxta alias Decreta.

Atque ita rescripsit die 14 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secr.*

L. ✠ S

THE PRIVILEGE OF SINGING REQUIEM MASSES TWICE A WEEK

PRIVILEGIUM CANTANDI MISSAM DE REQUIE BIS IN HEBDOMADA,
PRAETER DIES LIBEROS, NON EXTENDITUR AD MISSAS LECTAS

In Actis Synodalibus dioeceseos Bugellensis, pag. 3 legitur : ‘Missa etiam in pauperum funeribus, praesente cadavere, si fieri potest, cani debet : legatur autem, si cani nequit, diebus per decreta S. Rituum Congregationis permissis.’

Hinc ab ipsa Sacra Congregatione expetitur : Utrum concessio facta die 4 Aprilis 1878 Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis publicis praedictae dioeceseos celebrandi biduo in qualibet Hebdomada, exclusis duplicibus primae et secundae classis, festis de praecepto servandis, feriis, vigiliis, octavisque privilegiatis, missam cantatam

de Requite, extendatur etiam ad missam de Requite sine cantu, seu lectam?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit: 'Negative, nisi agatur de Missa, die obitus seu depositionis pro paupere defuncto.'

Atque ita rescripsit, die 28 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secr.*

THE BLESSING OF WATER AND CEMENT FOR THE ALTAR
DE BENEDICTIONE AQUAE ET COEMENTI PRO FIRMANDA TABULA
SUPER SEPULCHRUM ALTARIUM

Rmus. Dnus. Salvator Ioannes Baptista Bolognesi, Episcopus Bellunensis et Feltrensis, qui per Rescriptum Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis d. d. 23 Novembris anni elapsi 1897, obtinuit facultatem consecrandi sive per se, sive per Sacerdotem, Apostolicae Sedis nomine a se delegatum, quaedam altaria, adhibendo breviorum ritum ac formulam iuxta instructionem ad ipsum transmissam, ab eadem Sacra Congregatione sequentium Dubiorum solutionem humillime efflagitavit; nimirum:

I. An aqua, cum qua fit malta seu coementum ad firmandam tabulam seu lapidem super sepulchrum reliquiarum, benedici valeat cum formula inserta in Missali Romano?

II. An ipsum coementum benedicendum sit?

III. An supradicta benedictio tum atque tum coementi, necnon facultas consecrandi Altaria, in quibus lapis sepulchri ob omissum coementum movetur, Apostolicae Sedis nomine delegari possit simplici Sacerdoti, vi obtenti Rescripti?

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque accurate perpensa, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Negative, sed in benedictione eiusmodi aquae adhibenda est formula, quae habetur in ipso Pontificali Romano.

Ad II. Affirmative iuxta Pontificale Romanum.

Ad III. Affirmative quoad utramque partem.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 21 Ianuarii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Secr.*

FORM OF ORDINATION CORRUPTED BY INADVERTENCE

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

CIRCA CORRUPTAM EX INADVERTENTIA FORMAM IN S. ORDINATIONE
PRESBYTERALI.

BEATISSIME PATER,

N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter petit quid agendum sit cuidam clerico, in cuius ordinatione presbyterali Episcopus inadvertenter ita corripit formulam ut dixerit: 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum; quorum retinueris peccata, remissa sunt: et quorum retinueris, retenta sunt.'

Feria V, loco IV., 9 Decembris, 1897.

In Cong. Gen. S. et U. I. habita ab Emis et Rmis DD. Card. in rebus fidei et morum Gen. Inquisitoribus, proposito supra-scripto dubio, praehabitisque RR. DD. CC. S. Officii votis, iidem Emi ac Rmi Patres respondendum censuerunt:

'Secreto et sub conditione quovis anni tempore suppleatur ad cautelam a quovis Episcopo cum Sancta Sede communionem habente, induto de more, *tertia manuum impositio* et forma respectiva: *Accipe Spiritum S. etc.*: et quoad praeteritum, acquiescat.'

Insequenti vero feria VI, die 10 dicti mensis et anni in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. D. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, S. S. resolutionem Emorum Patrum, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque, in omnibus adprobavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

FACULTIES GRANTED TO AMERICAN BISHOPS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

DE UNICO VICARIO GENERALI DELEGABILI QUOAD CASUS MATRI-
MONIALES FORMULAE D. ET E.

Pittsburg, 3 Nov., 1896.

EMINENTISSIME PRINCEPS,

Accepi novas Formulas modificatas Facultatum Extraordin. quas mihi, die 9 Iulii huius anni, misisti; at dubium exortum est eo quod in hisce Formulis legitur Episcopo concedi potestatem subdelegandi quasdam Facultates Extraordinarias *suo Vicario*

Generali, dum in Formulis olim datis, Episcopus pollebat potestate subdelegandi easdem Facultates *suis Vicariis Generalibus*.

Quaeritur, ergo, utrum in novis Formulis modificatis, potestas Episcopi limitetur, adeo ut, nunc temporis, valeat tantum subdelegare has Facultates unico Vicario Generali, an pluribus, uti antiquitus?

Omnia qua par est reverentia et benevolentia permaneo,
Addictissimus in Xto,

R. PHELAN, *Episcopus Pittsburgensis*.

Pittsburg, die 12 Nov., 1896.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Infrascriptus Episcopus Pittsburgensis, ad pedes B. V. provolutus, humillime exponit ac petit:

Die 9 Iulii currentis anni B. V. dignata est concedere Episcopo Pittsburgensi—inter alias facultates—potestatem subdelegandi Vicario Generali facultates contentas in Formulis D. et E. ‘quoties absit a residentia vel legitime sit impeditus.’

Iamvero, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis huius Dioecesis, haec potestas parvi valet, quum ex duobus Vicariis Generalibus, unus ad Ecclesiam S. Petri—trans flumen, in civitate Alleghany, alius, ad Ecclesiam S. Mariae, in hac ipsa civitate Pittsburgensi, at tria circiter millia passuum distans a residentia Episcopali domiciliatur—et aditus ad illos, plerumque difficilis, semper inconveniens foret.

Unde humillime supplicatur B. V. ut infrascripto concedere dignetur potestatem subdelegandi Cancellario Episcopali, qui secum in domo residet, easdem facultates, aequae ac Vicario Generali.

Pro qua gratia, &c ,

R. PHELAN, *Episcopus Pittsburgensis*.

Romae, 22 Dec., 1896.

S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide

Protocollo N. 20991-20992.

Oggetto. Circa Subdelegationem facultatum
uni Vicario gen.

ILLME AC RME DOMINE,

Per duas epistolas in mense Novembri nuper elapso mihi datas Amplitudo Tua postulabat ab hac S. Congregatione utrum

illae facultates quae per novas formulas ab Ordinario subdelegari possunt suo Vicario Generali possint etiam omnibus Vicariis Generalibus dari, si hi plures sint, et insuper petebat facultatem subdelegandi easdem facultates etiam Cancellario residenti in Curia, si Vicarius Generalis non ibi resideat. Iamvero cum novae formulae iuxta praescriptiones et decreta Suprema Congregationis Sancti Officii editae sint, hinc illis omnino standum est. Caeterum sufficienter urgentioribus casibus provisum est cum dicitur in una ex his formulis, nempe extr. E, Ordinarium subdelegare posse facultates in ea formula contentas non solum suo Vicario Generali sed etiam duobus vel tribus Presbyteris sibi benevisis in locis remotioribus propriae Diocesis pro aliquo tamen numero casuum urgentiorum, in quibus recursus ad ipsi haberi non possit. Si igitur Amplitudo Tua difficilem putat esse accessum ad Vicarium Generalem, si alibi resideat, et opportunius esse ut facultates habeat aliquis, qui degat in Curia, potest uni alterive sacerdoti in remotioribus Dioecesis partibus degenti facultates delegare ad normam formulae et alium sacerdotem in urbe residenti habitantem Vicarium suum Generalem nominare cui soli inter Vicarios eiusmodi poterunt dictae facultates subdelegari.

Interim Deum precor ut Te diutissime sospitet

A. T. Addictissimus servus.

M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

A. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN., *Secret.*

R. P. D. RICHARDO PHELAN,
Episcopo Pittsburgensi.

ITALIAN PRIESTS IN AMERICA

EPISTOLA CIRCULARIS AD EPISCOPIS ITALOS ET AMERICANOS,
RELATE AD SACERDOTES ITALOS, QUI AD AMERICANUS REGIONES
EMIGRANT

Non sine magno animi moerore Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII. accepit, nonnullos sacerdotes ex Italia, praesertim meridionali, ad Americanas regiones emigratos eam ducere vitam, quae a morum integritate et sanctate quam ecclesiasticus vir praeseferre debet, prorsus abhorret.

Volens itaque Beatissimus Pater tanti mali ulteriori dilata-tioni pro viribus obsistere, eas renovando et ampliando cautelas ac remedia, quae praeteritis annis iam fuerant adhibita; audito voto Cardinalium sacrae Congregationis Concilii, mandavit eidem

Congregationi mittere ad Episcopos et Ordinarios tum Italiae tum Americae sequentes praescriptiones.

I. Quoad Italos sacerdotes emigratos in America commorantes, locales Antistites contra delinquentes summarie procedant ad formam Sacrorum Canonum, etiam tamquam Apostolicae Sedis delegati, si opus sit.

II. Quoad futurum vero, prohibetur absolute Italiae Episcopis et Ordinariis concedere suis presbyteris de clero saeculari litteras discessoriales ad emigrandum in regiones Americae.

III. Exceptio tantummodo admitti poterit, onerata Episcopi conscientia, pro aliquo eius diocesano sacerdote maturae aetatis, sufficienti sacra scientia praedito, et omnino iustam afferente emigrationis causam. Qui tamen bonum testimonium habens intemeratae vitae in operibus sacri ministerii cum laude veri spiritus ecclesiastici et zeli salutis animarum hactenus peractae : idcirco fundatum spem exhibeat aedificandi verbo et exemplo fideles ac populos ad quos transire postulat nec non moralem certitudinem praestet nunquam a se maculatam iri sacerdotalem dignitatem exercitatione quarumcumque vulgarium artium et negotiationum.

IV. Sed in huiusmodi casu idem Italus Episcopus et Ordinarius, omnibus rite perpensis et probatis, rem. absque sacerdotis postulantis intermedio, directe agat cum Ordinario Americano ad cuius dioecesim ille transire cupit, et habita ab ipso Americano Ordinario eiusdem sacerdotis formali acceptatione una cum promissione eum ad aliquod ministerii ecclesiastici munus deputandi, de omnibus et singulis, praefatae Sacrae Congregationi Concilii referat. Quae si tandem consensum dederit, tunc poterit Episcopus discessorias litteras concedere, communicando Americano Antistiti per secretam epistolam, nisi et iam cognitae sint, notas personales emigrantis sacerdotis, ad effectum impediendi fraudes circa subiecti identitatem. Ex ea dioecesi ad aliam in America idem sacerdos emigrare nequeat absque nova sacrae Congregationis licentia.

V. Excluduntur in quacumque hypothesi presbyteri ritus orientalis.

VI. Quod si non agatur de emigratione, sed de aliquo Italiae sacerdote, qui ob personales et honestas temporaneas causas pergere velit ad Americae partes, satis erit ut proprius Ordinarius, his perspectis, ac dummodo de cetero nihil obstat, eum muniat in scriptis sua licentia ad tempus (unius anni limitem non excedens),

in qua praefatae abundi causae declarentur, cum conditione, ut suspensus illico maneat a divinis expirato praefixo termino, nisi eius legitimam prorogationem obtinuerit.

VII. Non comprehenduntur his legibus de emigratione in Americanus ii sacerdotes, qui ad hoc speciali aliquo gaudent apostolico privilegio.

Datum Romae ex S. Congregatione Concilii die 27 Iulii, 1890.

RELICS OF THE SACRED PASSION

DE SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

NON INNOVETUR CIRCA DECRETA RESPICIENTIA CULTUM EXHIBENDUM RELIQUIIS PASSIONIS D. N. I. C.

Rmus P. Commissarius Generalis Fratrum Minorum Observantium de Provincia Calabriae Sacra Rituum Congr. ea quae sequuntur humillime exposuit, nimirum:—In Conventu Fratrum Minorum Franciscanum de Observantia prope Petiliam Policastrum ac de Provincia Calabriae, abhinc tribus saeculis una colitur Spina Coronae D. N. I. C. sanguine conspersa et quondam a Rmo Archiepiscopo S. Severinae, in cuius dioecesi situm est oppidum, iuridice recognita et approbata. Haec autem S. Reliquia cum exponitur fidelium venerationi, super tabernaculum collocari solet in quo SSimum Sacramentum asservatur, et ante ipse trans-euntes utrumque flectunt genu: et ipse Sacerdotes ante eam expositam celebrantes omnia peragunt, quae ante SSimum Sacramentum expositum fieri solent. Idem vero Rmus P. Commissarius Generalis sua canonica visitatione haec omnia nonnisi SSinae Eucharistiae ratus convenire ex ecclesiastica institutione, iussit ab his abstineri et omnia peragii ad tramitem Decretorum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis. Quod aegre ferentibus quibusdam, ut efficacius, in casu, omnis abusus eliminetur, et debitus honor sacrae Spinae D. N. I. C. tribuatur, praedictus Orator ab eadem Sacra Congregatione enixe postulavit:

I. Utrum praefati usus approbari, vel saltem tolerari possint?

II. Et quatenus negative, quis sit legitimus cultus eidem S. Spinae tribuendus?

Et Sacra ipsa Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, attentis expositis, utrique postulato rescribendum censuit: 'Stetur Decretis, praesertim decreto in *Tridentino* d. d. 12 Martii, 1536, aliisque respicientibus cultum exhibendum ac praescriptum pro

Reliquiis vivificae Crucis aliorumque instrumentorum Passionis Dominicae.'

Atque ita rescripit. Die 17 Septembris, 1897.

L. M. CARD. PAROCCHI.

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

DECREE REGARDING PIOUS UNIONS AND SOCIETIES

DE ERECTION ET AGGREGATIONE PIARUM UNIONUM SEU SOCIETATUM, ETC.

Cum hisce temporibus poene innumerae exortae sint in Ecclesia piae Uniones seu Societatis, quae etsi quandoque Confraternitatum nomine decorentur, nihilominus inter veras et proprie dictas Confraternitates minime sint recensenda; merito dubitatum est, an leges, quae a Constitutione Clementis VIII., quae incipit: *Quaecumque*, pro Confraternitatibus et Congregationibus iussae sunt, novis istis piis Unionibus seu Societatibus forent applicandae. Quaestio insuper mota est pro nonnullis Confraternitatibus ad Regulares Ordines pertinentibus, quoad consensum Ordinariorum, cum illae in Ecclesiis eorundem Regularium Ordinum eriguntur. Quare huic Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae sequentia dubia dirimenda sunt exhibita:

I. 'An Piae Uniones seu Societates, quae sub Confraternitatum et Congregationum nomine minime veniunt comprehendantur sub sanctionibus Constitutionis Clementis VIII., quae incipit *Quaecumque*?'

II. 'An ad erectionem Confraternitatum, puta Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Sanctissimi Rosarii, B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, vel a Virgine Perdolente, aliarumve huiusmodi, quae a Religiosis Ordinibus in suis respectivis Ecclesiis oriuntur, necessarius sit Ordinarii consensus?'

Et Eini Patris Vaticanis Aedibus in generali Congregatione coadunati sub die 5 Augusti, 1897, ad proposita dubia responderunt:

Ad I^{um}: Affirmative, 'quoad erectionem seu institutionem, quoad approbationem statutorum, quoad aggregationem et quoad publicationem Indulgentiarum.'

Ad II^{um}: 'Si agatur de Confraternitalibus proprie dictis, id est ad modum organici corporis et cum *sacco* constitutis, *Affirmative*: si de Confraternitatibus late acceptis, satis provisum per

consensum praesentatum ab Ordinario pro erectione Conventus Ordinis in Diocesi.'

De quibus omnibus facta SSmo Dno Nostro Leoni XIII. relatione in Audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 25 Augusti, 1897, Sanctitas Sua resolutiones Emorum Patrum approbavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 25 Augusti, 1897.

FR. HIERONYMUS MARIA, CARD. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. ARCHIPISC. ANTINOEN., *Secretarius*.

INDULGENCE OF A PRIVILEGED ALTAR

DECRETUM SQUILLACENSIS

DE INDULGENTIA ALTARI PRIVILEGIATO ADNEXA

Episcopus Squillacensis huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiarum sequentia dubia enodanda proposuit :

I. 'An Indulgentia Altaris Privilegiati separari possit ab applicatione seu fructu Sacrificii, quando Sacrificium est celebrandum pro defunctis?'

II. 'An eadem Indulgentia Altaris Privilegiati separari possit, quando celebratur Sacrificium pro vivis, ita ut Indulgentia praedicta applicari possit pro defunctis ad libitum Celebrantis?'

III. 'Quomodo intelligenda sit inscriptio, quae reperitur in aliquibus Altaribus, huius tenoris : "Altare Privilegiatum pro vivis atque defunctis?"'

Et in generali Congregatione habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano, die 5 Augusti, 1897, Eiusdem Patres rescripserunt :

Ad Ium et IIum : (Negative.)

Ad IIIum. 'Interpretanda est ita, ut tam pro vivis, si in Altari, de quo agitur, Missae Sacrificium pro vivis applicetur, quam pro defunctis, si pro his S. Sacrificium applicetur, intelligatur concessa Plenaria Indulgentia : pro vivis ad modum iurisdictionis, pro defunctis ad modum suffragii.'

Et facta per me infrascriptum Card. Praefectum SSmo. D. N. Leoni Pp XIII. de his relatione, in Audientia habita die 25 Augusti, 1897, Patrum Cardinalium responsiones Sanctitas Sua ratas habuit et confirmavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 25 Augusti, 1897.

FR. H. M. CARD. GOTTI, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. Archiepisc. ANTINOEN., *Secret.*

THE DECREE OF THE INDEX ON THE PROHIBITION AND
CENSURE OF BOOKS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDICIS. CIRCA INTERPRETATIONEM
VERBORUM 'ABSQUE COMPETENTIS AUCTORITATIS LICENTIA,'
ART. 17 CONST. 'OFFICIORUM'

A Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum, sub die 13 Iulii
1897 huic S. Indicis Congregationi propositum fuit sequens
Dubium :—

Utrum in Decreto N. 17 Decretorum Generalium 'De prohi-
bitione et censura librorum,' nuper a SSmo D. N. Leone PP. XIII
editorum, verba haec 'non publicentur absque competentis auctori-
tatis licentia,' ita sint intelligenda, ut in posterum Indulgentiarum
libri, libelli, folia, etc. omnes ad solos locorum Ordinarios pro
impetranda licentia sint referendi? Ad vero subiiciendi sint
censurae aut Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum, aut Ordinarii
loci secundum normas ante novam Constitutionem '*Officiorum ac
munerum*' stabilitas?

Sacra Indicis Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis
respondit :—

Ad 1^{am} Partem *Negative*.

Ad 1^{am} Partem *Affirmative*.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria, S. Indicis Cong. die 7^a Augusti
1897.

A. CARD. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

FR. M. CICOGNANI, O. P. *Secret.*

ERROR IN 'SUPPLEX LIBELLUS'

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA SUSTINETUR DISPENSATIO, LICET IN SUP-
PLICH LIBELLO ERROR ADFUERIT IN EXPRIMENDO STIPITE, EX
QUO PROVENIEBAT UNUM EX IMPEDIM CONSANGUINITATIS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Sub die 30 Martii, 1897, Joannes B. . . . et Rosalia J. . . N. . . .
diocesis, a Dataria Apostolica rescriptum dispensationis repor-
taverunt 'supra secundo in linea aequali ex uno, ac duplici quarto
ex tertio' stipitibus provenien. consanguinitatis gradibus.

Ita ferebat rescriptum, dum revera dispensatio postulata fuerat
super 'secundo ex uno, quarto ex altero ac demum item quarto
ex tertio' stipitibus provenien. consanguinitatis gradibus.

Iamvero cum tempus urgeret et error rescripti circa quid

accidentale versactur, Ordinarius N. . . . rescriptum executus est, sponsique in facie Ecclesiae rite copulati sunt. Hinc quaerit :—

1. Utrum rescriptum valide et licite executus fuerit ?

Die 4 Februarii, 1895, cum quidam Ordinarius in libello supplicis se originis Ordinarium affirmaverit, dum revera Ordinarius domicilli esset, S. Poenitentiaria sciscitanti respondit dispensationem valide et licite fuisse datum, verum errorem corrigendum esse. Hinc :

2. Utrum ipse Ordinarius N. . . . debeat et in casu actuali errorem rescripti corrigere ?

Et Deus. . . .

Sacra Poenitentiaria Ordinario N. . . . super praemissis respondet : *Facta correctione acquiescat.*

Datum Romae et Sacra Poenitentiaria die 2 Iunii, 1897.

B. POMPILI, S.P., *Corrector.*

V. CANCUS LUCCHETTI, S.P., *Secrius.*

**MARRIAGES OF FREETHINKERS, SECTARIES, AND CATHOLICS
WHO REFUSE TO FULFIL THEIR CHRISTIAN DUTIES**

E. S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE. CIRCA MATRIMONIA LIBERORUM
PENSATORUM, SECTARIORUM ET CATHOLICORUM QUI CHRISTIANA
OFFICIA ADIMPLERE RECUSANT

Feria III., loco IV., die 25 Maii 1897.

In Relatione Status Ecclesiae Tabescensis, exhibita S. Congregationi Concilii die 27 Novembris 1896, sequens legitur sub num. I *Postulatum* :

‘His in Regionibus frequenter occurrit ut viri impii, vulgo *liberi pensatores*, matrimonium inire cupientes cum mulieribus catholicis, praeviam confessionem facere remuant, eo quod, ut explicitè latentur, fidem Sacramenti Poenitentiae corde incredulo reiecerunt et totam fidem negaverunt. Peto an hi, infidelibus deteriores, debeant aut possint admitti ad contrahendum matrimonium, cum magno mulieris catholicae et familiae detrimento et periculo.’

Cum hoc Postulatum transmissum fuerit ad hanc Supremam S. R. et C. Inquisitionem, in Congregatione Generali habita ab EEmis et RRmis DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, fidem EEmi ac. RRmi DDni responderi mandarunt :

‘Supplicandum SSmo, ut in Decreto Ferie IV., die 30 Ianuarii 1867.’

Feria vero IV die 26 eiusdem mensis SSmus, per facultates Emo Cardinali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis Secretario concessas, benigne annuit pro gratia.

Porro citatum Decretum fer. IV. diei 30 Ianuarii 1867 sic se habet :

I. ‘Quid agendum quando vir baptizatus, sed apostasium a fide verbis et corde profitens, asserensque nominatim se non credere Sacramentis Ecclesiae, petit matrimonium coram eiusdem Ecclesiae facie, unice ut desiderio sponsae satisfaciat?’

II. ‘Quid si idem vir petit sectae condemnatae muratorum vel simili addictus, qui licet fidem non omnino amiserit, sectae tamen debite renunciare recusat?’

III. ‘Quid si idem postulat vir, qui fidem non abiecit, sed eam profiteri, officiaque christiana adimplere abnuat.’

Responsum fuit : Ad I. ‘Quoties agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram quae a fide ita defecit, ut alicui falsae religioni vel sectae sese adscripserit, requirendam esse consuetam et necessariam dispensationem cum solitis ac notis praescriptionibus et clausulis. Quod si agatur de matrimonio inter unam partem catholicam et alteram quae fidem abiecit, at nulli falsae religioni vel haereticae sectae sese adscripsit, quando parochus nullo modo potest huiusmodi matrimonium impedire (ad quod totis viribus incumbere tenetur) et prudenter timet ne ex denegata matrimonio adsistentia grave scandalum vel damnum oriatur, rem deferendam esse ad R. P. D. Episcopum, qui, sicut ei opportuna nunc facultas tribuitur, inspectis omnibus casus adiunctis, permittere poterit ut parochus matrimonio passive inter sit tamquam testis ‘authorizalibis,’ dummodo cautum omnino sit catholicae educationi universae, prolis aliisque similibus conditionibus.’

Ad II. ‘Dandum esse Decretum diei 28 Iunii, 1865, quod est huiusmodi : “Quoad matrimonia, in quibus una contrahentium pars clandestinis aggregationibus per Pontificias Constitutiones damnatas adhaeret, dummodo absit scandalum, Ordinarius, habita circumstantiarum ratione pro casibus particularibus, ea decernat quae magis expedire iudicaverit.”’

Ad III. ‘Consultet probatos Auctores, et praesertim Benedictum XIV *De Synodo Dioecesis*. L. VIII, Cap. XIV, n. 5.’

I. C. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

THE BURIAL OF AMPUTATED MEMBERS

DE MEMBRIS HUMANIS AMPUTATIS SEPELIENDIS

BEATISSIMI PATER,

Superiorissa Generalis 'Sororum a Matre Dolorosa,' quarum Domus matrix Romae extat, devotissime exponit, in Hospitalibus Congregationis, quae in America Septentrionali extant, singulis hebdomadibus evenire ut unius vel alterius aegroti brachium seu cruris amputetur. Sorores adhuc bona fide eiusmodi membra recisa sive in terra profana sepelierunt, sive, suadente medico, igne combusserunt. Quum vero humilis Oratrix anxia haereat, num Sorores in hac parte recte egerint, devotissime quaerit, utrum eiusmodi agendi ratio etiam in futuro prosequi possit vel non : sive agatur de aegrotis catholicis, sive de acatholicis seu infidelibus. Iuvat forsitan adnotare eiusmodi membrorum sepulturam in aliquo coemeterio saepissime moraliter et haud semel physice impossibilem evadere.

Et Deus, etc.

Feria III, loco IV, die 3 Augusti 1897.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EEmis et RR. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, idem EE. ac RR. Patres rescribendum mandarunt:

'Quoad membra amputata acatholicorum, Sorores praxim suam tuto servare possunt. Quoad membra amputata fidelium baptizatorum, pro viribus curent ut in loco sacro sepeliantur. Sin vero graves obstant difficultates quominus in loco sacro condi possint, circa praxim hucusque servatam non sunt inquietandae. Quoad membrorum combustionem praecipientibus medicis, prudenter dissimulent et obediant. Et ad menem.' 'Mens est quod, si fieri potest, in proprio horto domui adnexio, deputetur aliquod parvum terrae spatium, ad sepelienda membra catholicorum amputata, postquam fuerit benedictum.'

Feria vero VI. die 6 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SSino D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, SSinus resolutionem EEmorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. C. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

WHAT IS MEANT BY 'PER MODUM POTUS' IN DISPENSATIONS IN THE LAW OF FASTING

QUID VENIAT SUB DICTIONE 'PER MODUM POTUS,' ADHIBITA
INDISPENSATIONIBUS CIRCA IEIUNIUM NATURALE

BEATISSIMO PADRE,¹

N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V. umilmente espone che egli ottenne a causa di cronica malattia la facoltà di prendere qualche ristoro 'per modum potus' prima della Comunione. Aggravato viepiù il suo male, e non bastandogli solo delle bevande, supplica la V. S. che degni permettergli anche qualche cosa di solido per sostentarsi. Che ecc.

Feria III, loco IV, die 7 Sept. 1897.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EEmis et RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EEmi ac RRmi Patres rescribendum mandarunt:

'Respondeatur ad mentem, ut in Abellinen. 4 Iunii 1893.'² 'La mente è che quando si dice *per modum potus*, s'intende bensicché si possa prendere brodo, caffè, od altro cibo liquido, in cui sia mescolata qualche sostanza, come p. e. semmolino, pangrattato ecc., purchè l'insieme non venga a perdere la natura di cibo liquido.'

Feria vero VI, die 10 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori S. O. impertita, facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII relatione, SSmus resolutionem Emorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. C. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.*

¹ *Latina Versio.*

N. N. ad pedes S. V. provolutus humiliter exponit quod ob chronicum morbum iam obtinuit facultatem sumendi aliquid *per modum potus* ante Communionem. Quum autem notabiliter fuerit aggravatus morbus, nec satis ei sint potiones consuetae, S. V. deprecatur ut concedatur facultas sumendi etiam ad sustentationem aliquid solidi cibi.

² Mens est ut quando dicitur *per modum potus*, significatur etiam quod permittitur usus iuseculi, caffee, aliorumque ciborum liquidorum, cum quibus misceri potest aliqua substantia, uti v. g. c. ndita farina, friatus panis, dummodo dicta mixtio non amittat naturam cibi liquidi.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CANONICAL PROCEDURE IN DISCIPLINARY AND CRIMINAL CASES OF CLERICS. A Systematic Commentary on the 'Instructio S. C. Epp. et Reg., 1880.' By the Rev. Francis Droste. Edited by the Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, D.D., Professor of Theology. Benziger Brothers.

WE shall leave to the Editor the task of introducing himself, the author, and the work :—

When in the year 1880 the S. Congregation of Bishops and Regulars sent to the bishops of Italy the now famous *Instruction on the Summary Procedure in Disciplinary and Criminal Causes of Clerics*, it soon became evident that the reform thus initiated would not remain confined to Italy, but would gradually find its way to other countries. Anticipating this, the Rev. Francis Droste, a priest of the diocese of Paderborn, wrote a short and simple commentary on the new procedure, which he designed more for practical use than legal speculation. . . . The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, complying with the request of the S. C. de Prop. Fide, adopted the same *Instruction*, with a few slight modifications. It is a mere question of time when these same provisions shall be extended to all English-speaking missionary countries; and as an English commentary on the *Instruction* was desired, a German priest of the diocese of Covington, Ky., translated Fr. Droste's little book. To be of greater service, however, the work needed adaption to conditions for which it was not originally intended. This labour was intrusted to the present writer, who confesses to having taken very great liberty with the translation, as well as with the original work. . . . In a word, the original has been so radically changed that the author will hardly recognise his German offspring in this "naturalized American edition."

We shall, therefore, consider ourselves justified in regarding Dr. Messmer not merely as editor, but as author, for purposes of criticism.

The work may be divided generally into two parts, the preliminary portion and the Commentary proper. Under the former section, among other matters, are treated the relation between Canon and Civil Law, Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in general and

its application to contentious cases ; and lastly, the general organization of Ecclesiastical courts. Then follows the Commentary which forms the body of the work. After this come a number of appendices containing the text of the *Instruction* and other important documents bearing on the subject. Finally comes that valuable appendage known as an Index, which is fairly complete in the present instance.

We are not sure that the preliminary portion of the work enhances the value of the whole ; indeed, any devil's advocate of ordinary ability would, we fancy, find plenty of matter here to work upon. In the first place, the different questions are treated far too meagrely. This fault, perhaps, would not be such a bar to effective treatment, were it compensated for by clearness or accuracy ; but both these qualities are, at least to a notable extent, wanting. Thus, the arrangement of paragraphs seems to be a purely arbitrary proceeding ; as we find subjects dove-tailed into one another which of their nature stand apart, while matters are sundered which call for closer union. This is a fault which, to a greater or less degree, permeates the book from beginning to end. Moreover, there is a want of clearness within narrower limits, namely, inaccuracy of expression and seemingly of thought. Let us give an example or two of this latter dual defect :—

‘ The truth is, that whenever the Church sat in judgment over *purely temporal matters* (the italics are ours), this right had been conceded to her by the State . . . ; or the people, unable to get any justice from the . . . secular authority . . . turned to the Catholic Church who had a nicely wrought system of *criminal procedure* even in the time when in the secular courts the proof of a *crime* committed, &c.’

Surely, this is to take a very innocent view of the nature of crime. Again, in dealing with the question of quasi-ordinary jurisdiction as distinguished from delegated, the author seems to be more or less at sea ; for, in page 29, we find a definition, or description, of quasi-ordinary jurisdiction—not very accurate indeed, but passable as far as it goes—which is pretty effectually contradicted by an example of purely delegated jurisdiction mentioned in the very next page. Either that, or else his conception of quasi-ordinary jurisdiction, is rather peculiar.

The editor, or author, states in the preface that, with regard to legal phraseology, he ‘ has tried to use English rather than Latin,

notwithstanding his very imperfect knowledge of the former language.' As soon as we had read this statement we naturally concluded that it was merely a sample of that commodity yecept '*h. militas cum hamo*,' and were inclined to cry out 'don't please!' but now that we have had a wider experience of the editor's capabilities as an English scholar, we beg to state that the aforesaid confession is—especially in relation to the preliminary part of the work—a sample of the most refreshing candour imaginable. In fact, not merely in the matter of legal phraseology, but also in the case of ordinary work-a-day English, it is very often a question of 'trying,' and trying without any signal success. A few illustrations may prove interesting. On page 16 we come across the following sentence :—

'Whether a person have actually committed a delict, and, if so, what be its disciplinary or criminal nature; in other words, what be the real matter of fact, can only be determined by inquiry and information.'

Quaint; is it not? Again, on page 22, we find this statement :—

'But more especially is to be borne in mind that crimianl procedure is but a means to an end.'

Were it not that 'more especially' has never been known to have laid claim to the distinction of being a substantive, whether proper or common, we should be inclined to think that the said 'more especially' occupied the position of nominative in the first part of the sentence. The following is plainer English—that is supposing it to be English at all :—

'We shall occupy ourself with explaining only the ecclesiastical disciplinary and criminal procedure as now in use. . . . Still we do not confine ourself to strictly judicial proceedings, &c.'

But here is a nut for anyone who is able to crack it :—

'In the course of centuries several kinds of canonical criminal procedure were contemporaneously and successively in use, but are no longer at present.'

By way of climax, we would offer the following piece of English :—

'Judge in the third and last instance in disciplinary and criminal causes of clerics is the Pope, &c.'

Of course on reading this bit of information we naturally put ourselves the question : Who is Judge? And when did he become accredited with this supreme authority claimed for him here? We were searching hopelessly for light when some good fairy whispered in our ear that the said Mr. Judge rejoiced in the somewhat unpoetic Christian name of 'The'; thus the veil was lifted.

The Commentary proper is a decided improvement on the introductory portion, an improvement we would say in every respect. We confess, indeed, that we experienced a mild species of electric shock when on page 165 we came across a chapter whose sub-heading was in this wise : 'The Auditor's Inquest.' So far we had not stumbled on any murder or death of any sort, and we anxiously awaited developments. Behold the development, or *dénouement*, or whatever you wish to call it :—

'When the fiscal procurator has a well-founded suspicion . . . that a crime has been committed, he must first inquire, extra-judicially . . . This extra-judicial and preliminary inquest, &c.'

A poor look-out for the suspected culprit, we should say. Shocks of this kind, however, are few and far between in this portion of the book. Accordingly, since this is the body of the work, and since, in a canonical work, the canonical principle '*accessorium sequitur principale*' is specially applicable, we are justified in saying that the book, as a whole, is a fairly presentable one, and we beg to recommend it. It may not be so practical for us here in Ireland at present, but it is not too much to say that its use may become apparent in the near future; for the signs of the times seem to whisper a '*transitus ab informitate ad speciem*' with regard to the question of canonical procedure here in Ireland.

The editor says in the preface that he hopes (with the publishers' permission) that the book may remain on the shelf. Seeing that the publishers have consented to give permanent expression to this wish of the editor, we are led to infer that the shelf in question belongs, not to the publisher, but to the purchaser. With this reservation we beg to echo this hope of the editor.

At any rate, it is not the publishers' fault if the book is not found on many purchasers' shelves. In fact, the manner in which

they have catered for the reader's interest would satisfy Mr. Ruskin even in his most fastidious moods. Commendation in this respect can go no further.

D. D.

LIFE OF SISTER ANNE KATHARINE EMMERICH. Translated from the French by Rev. Francis X. McGowan, O.S.A. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

From the dawn of Christianity suffering and persecutions have ever been the lot of the chosen servants of Christ. That the ways of Divine Providence are the same in this regard in the nineteenth century is clear from the life we have before us. Katharine Emmerich appeared in the midst of a corrupt age to make atonement by her trials and sufferings for the sins of a wicked world. Gifted from her infancy with a clear insight into the supernatural, she followed through the course of her life faithfully in the footsteps of her Divine Master. Bearing after Him a cross, which seemed, and indeed to unaided human nature would be, insupportable, she was supernaturally strengthened and consoled, being favoured, not merely with frequent interior consolations, but also for many years of her life with the rare privilege of bearing visibly on her body the sacred signs of our redemption. The present Life of this saintly Augustinian nun, for whose beatification steps have been undertaken within recent years, is a translation from the French of a work originally written in German. In many parts of the book there appears a want of unity and dignity of expression which would be unpardonable if literary perfection were the aim of the author. But as we are told in the Preface that the 'only ambition of the author in giving this work to the Catholic public has been to increase the veneration for this saintly servant of God,' we are of opinion that notwithstanding the few imperfections of style, the book is eminently calculated to effect this purpose. Though the Life is dedicated 'to fervent young souls who aspire to the privileges and joys of the religious state,' we think that all classes might find in it much interesting and useful matter for spiritual reading and pious meditation.

J. C.

LIFE OF BLESSED JOHN OF AVILA. By Father Longaro Deglia Oddi, S.J. Edited by J. G. Macleod, S.J. London: Burns and Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS work is a translation from the Italian of the Life of John of Avila, published on the occasion of his beatification, November, 1893. The book is divided into two parts. The first is devoted to the early life of this great servant of God, his apostolic spirit and labours, and the wonderful effects produced throughout almost the entire Church of Spain by his zealous preaching, advice, and example. The second part treats of his heroic virtues, his precious death and the miraculous graces obtained through his intercession. The work of translation has been done, as we might expect, by a member of that Society, which at its beginning received such signal services from Blessed John. Between him and St. Ignatius there existed the closest ties of mutual veneration and friendship, and in his letters and other writings he pays many tributes to the excellence and utility of the then infant Society of Jesus. The book is one which we can safely say will be found by all to be instructive and edifying, but we can recommend it specially to secular priests and ecclesiastics in general, for it presents to them a truly noble model of the perfection of their state, and an inspiring example of the rich harvest of souls that may be reaped by the zealous priest.

J. C.

MISSA MATER SALVATORIS. Ad IV voces inaequales cum Organo composuit H. P. Allen. Opus 10. Laudy & Co., 139, Oxford-street, London, W.

THE composer of this Mass evinces considerable talent. From a mere musical point of view the playing over of the score has given us much pleasure. The modulations are here and there not quite convincing, and the fugal writing is a little primitive; but there is, on the whole, a delightful flow and cohesiveness in the composition which proves real inventive power. We cannot, however, unreservedly approve of the style of the Mass. There are a great many things in it that we should take exception to, but it is a great improvement on what is usually produced in England, and from this point of view we give it a hearty recom-

mentation. The *Kyrie* appears to us disproportionately long. It will probably have to undergo considerable 'cuts' in actual performances. The winding up of this movement, which recurs in the *Agnus Dei*, is disappointing after the very reverent beginning. The *Credo* seems to have given the composer most trouble. Changes of time, complicated modulations, virtuoso tricks in the accompaniment, all are had recourse to in order to keep up the interest. This is a proof of the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of producing a long movement without thematic counterpoint. The *Agnus Dei* is rather poor. The figuration in the bass under the plain harmonies of the upper voices is particularly dry, and the sentimental ending already referred to does not leave the pleasantest impressions behind. All the same we welcome the Mass as a musicianly work and a marked sign of improvement.

H. B.

LIFE OF THE VERY REV. FATHER DOMINIC OF THE MOTHER OF GOD (BARBERI), PASSIONIST, FOUNDER OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE PASSION, OR PASSIONISTS, IN BELGIUM AND ENGLAND. By the Rev. Pius, Passionist. London: R. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster-row. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THE present volume is both appropriate and opportune. It was fitting, indeed, that the memory should be perpetuated of the humble Passionist father who introduced into England, about half a century ago, the illustrious Order of St. Paul of the Cross, and who, during the Oxford Movement, laboured in that country with conspicuous success for the conversion of souls to the true faith. Then the publication at this moment of the facts of his life will have a noteworthy interest, in view of the processes which are being initiated to have his name placed in the Calendar of the Saints. When the friends and admirers of Father Dominic selected Father Pius to write his life-history, the choice was exceedingly happy. No one could be found with better qualifications for the task. He wields a facile pen, he is possessed of many scholarly attainments, and he has already won an enviable reputation in many literary fields. The result is that those who, some time ago, were charmed with the *Life of Father Ignatius Spencer*, by the same author, are now presented with an equally agreeable and interesting biography in the *Life of Father Dominic*.

Born in Viterbo, in Italy, the subject of this biography was, after various vicissitudes, received into the Congregation of the Passion at Paliano. Here he made such progress in the sacred sciences—though on his entrance to the order he had no literary training of any kind—that he wrote books of some repute on theological and philosophical subjects; while, at the same time, he gave such proofs of solid piety and sound judgment, that he was, at a comparatively early age, made ruler of several houses of the congregation. Throughout his conventual life his heart burned with a feverish desire to convert England; and great was his joy when, in 1841, in company with two others, he landed on her shores, and planted on her soil an offshoot of the great order to which he belonged. How, too, must he have rejoiced when Newman and other distinguished Oxonians came to be received at his hands into the Catholic Church! The record of the few years of Father Dominic's life in England will be found very interesting reading; and here we may remark that the two last chapters of the book on the Perversion and Conversion of England respectively, are very readable, and contain within the compass of a few pages some of the most thoughtful reflections we have yet seen on the difficulties that must be overcome before the consummation is brought about of her return to the fold. With the exception of some few printer's errors, the volume is excellently brought out, and we are sure it will attract large circle of readers.

P. M.



AUSTIN FRIARS, LONDON

'The Austin Friar was just such an ecclesiastic as an artist would have loved to sketch. He wore a long black gown, with broad sleeves, with a fine cloth hood or cowl when he went abroad or in the choir, and under this, when he was in the house, a white habit and scapular, and was girded about the waist with a black leathern strap, fastened with a buckle of ivory. He was rather, it appears, fond of elegancies, and did not recognise one or two days of mortification which the more austere Carmelites most rigidly and carefully observed. He was, however, a hard student wherever he lived, whether among the shades of academic bowers or in localities less favourably situated for mental development. In remarkable times he was a remarkable man.'

THE words with which I have prefaced this article were written by the Rev. T. Hugo, an Anglican clergyman, and an archaeologist of distinction and repute in his day. Even a casual visitor to London must needs be struck by the frequency with which the titles of most of the Church's religious orders arrest his attention. There is Whitefriars-street and Blackfriars-bridge, Charterhouse-square, Crutched Friars, and Austin Friars. It is with the history of the last-mentioned institution that I am now more particularly concerned; and I cannot imagine any subject of more general interest to the student of English ecclesiastical history.

In the very heart of the greatest and wealthiest city in the world, surrounded on all sides by palatial edifices, wherein labour, day by day, the leaders and directors of the world's trade and commerce, is to be found the site of that venerable institution known as 'Austin Friars.' What we designate, *par excellence*, 'the Bank,' is near at hand, and the Stock Exchange, that scene of so much misery and exultation, is

removed but a few paces from what was formerly the entrance to the monastic grounds. The site of what was once the friars' garden is now covered with buildings, the yearly rental of which would suffice to build and endow a hundred churches. The extent of ground embraced by the London house of the Austin Friars may be easily gauged from a map made by a certain Ralph Agas, in 1560, and re-drawn by William Newton in 1855. The property extended from Throgmorton-street, on the south, to London Wall, on the north, and was bounded by Broad-street on the east. Here it was that the Augustinians settled shortly after their arrival in England, in 1250.

In so far as I have been able to collect the records of the forty houses of the Order which went to make up the English Augustinian province of pre-Reformation times, I have found, in almost every instance, that the founding of our convents was due to the charity of some generous benefactor or benefactors. Especially was this the case with our foundation in London. The pioneer hermit-friars were fortunate enough to enlist the interest and the generosity of Humphrey Bohun, founder of the earldom of Hereford and Essex, in their undertakings. To this nobleman the London house of the Order owed its inception. We read that he founded it 'to the honour of God and His Blessed Mother, ever Virgin, and for the health of the souls of himself, his ancestors, and descendants.' This was but the beginning of a close connection with our Order of one of the oldest and noblest families in England. In 1354, a century subsequent to the starting of the London house, another Humphrey Bohun, great-grandson to the one mentioned above, and his successor in his title of Hereford and Essex, built for the fathers a magnificent church, of well-nigh cathedral dimensions, a fragment of which is still fortunately in existence. This church was in the late perpendicular style, and was about 220 feet in length. The great windows are filled with tracery, evidently of the decorative period. At the present moment the choir and transepts of the original church are no longer in existence. The nave, however, is still standing, with its nine vast bays, divided by piers, and

is 153 feet long by 83 feet broad. The shallow mullions and chamfers, the seats within the sills of the windows, and especially in the piers, are all characteristic of the period to which the building belonged. The cloister, communicating with the conventual building, adjoined, so far as we can judge, the north wall of the nave. Just two years ago a seventeenth-century house in Austin Friars was pulled down, when certain conjectures as to the exact position of the conventual buildings received ample and unexpected confirmation.

A stranger coming to London, any time during the fifteenth century, could not fail to have been struck by what was one of the sights of the city—that was the steeple of the magnificent Church of the Austin Friars. Honest old Stow has left us a fairly accurate description of it in his famous *Survey of London*,¹ when, after noticing the Church of St. Peter the Poor, in Broad-street, he proceeds to say:—

Then next have ye the Augustin Friars Church and church-yard, the entring thereunto by a south gate to the west porch; a large church, having a most fine spired steeple, small [*i.e.*, tapering], high, and straight. I have not seen the like. Founded by Humphrey Bohun, Earle of Hereford and Essex, in the year 1253. Reginald Cobham gave his messuage in London to the enlarging thereof, in the year 1344. Humphrey Bohun, Earle of Hereford and Essex, re-edified this church in the year 1354, whose body was there buried in the choir. The small spired steeple of the church was overthrown by tempest of wind in the year 1362, but was raised up new, as now it standeth, to the beautifying of the citie.

If we accept the number of noble English families that longed to make the Church of the Austin Friars in London their place of sepulture as an indication of the repute in which the fathers were universally held—and I discover no fairer test of the popularity of a religious order—then the Augustinians must certainly have been greatly beloved. In the Harleian MS., 6,033 ff, 31, 31B, and 32, and in No. 544 of the same collection, there is to be found a long list of the

¹ Ed. 1603, p. 78.

names and titles of those buried in this church of our order:—

The Bodyes buried in the ffryers Augustyn of London, founded by the Earl of Hereford.

In the Quayre: Edmund, first son of Joan, mother of King Richard II. It'm, in the wall lyeth Sir Gwydon de Meyrick, Earl of St. Paule's. Dame Ida, wife of Sir Thomas West.

In the middest lyeth Sir Humfrey Bohun, Earle of Hereford and Essex, Lord of Pembroke. It'm, the Lord Richard, great Earl of Arundell, Surrey and Warren. It'm, Sir Edward Arundell, and Dame Elizabeth his wife.

And so on for several others, including Dame Lucy, Countess of Kent; Edward, Duke of Buckyngham; and Aubred, son and heir of the Earl of Oxenford. Sir Francis Courteney and the Earl of Pembroke were interred immediately under the sanctuary lamps. In what is styled the 'walking-place' of the choir, as well as in the Chapels of St. John and St. Thomas, in the chapter-house, the body of the church, and in the east and west wings, we find the graves of representatives of some of the noblest English families, and those of the wealthy London merchants, including such well-known names as Knowles, Vere, Warren, Norrys, Wells, Maynell, Manners, Wingfield, Spencer, Lacye, Courteney, Beaumont, Talmache, Blundell, Gifford, Tyrrell, Lee, Scroope, Clifford, and Rede.

As might reasonably be conjectured, the fathers of Austin Friars were fortunate enough to receive substantial evidence of the good-will of their numerous admirers. The records of these good deeds are, in many instances, still extant. Thus, Dugdale tells us that William, Marquis of Berkeley, who was interred in the east wing of the church, bequeathed the sum of £100 in money for the purpose of having two Masses celebrated 'henceforth for ever at the altar of our Lady and St. James,' where the body of his second wife lay buried, for his eternal weal. Again, a certain gentleman, named William Scott, of Stapleford Tawney, in Essex, several of whose relatives were buried in the church, ordered

his executors in his last will, bearing date 1490, to provide—

As sone as they goodly may, to be seyð and songe for his sowle, and the sowles of his Fadyr and Modyr, Benefactors, and all christian Sowles, in the convent church of the Freers Austyns of London, by the freers of the seyð place xxx Masses, which bene callyd a Trental of St. Gregory. Also in the seyð place a *Dirige* and Mass of *Requiem* by note, if it happen him there to decease.

Then follows a long list of the different sums of money to be paid for each priest and lay brother taking part in the above-mentioned functions.

The London house was always regarded as the leading establishment of the English province. The Provincial resided there as a general rule; and some of the most learned fathers the province ever produced lived and laboured within its walls. It was here, for instance, that the famous controversialist, Bakin, a preacher and theologian of the highest order, and a most determined foe of Wickliffe and his followers, lived and wrote after his removal from Oxford. John Lowe, another Oxford professor, made the London house his place of residence from the date of his appointment as provincial. This father won for himself wide repute as a preacher. He was a lover of books, and delighted in collecting ancient manuscripts. The library at Austin Friars, which contained a wonderful collection of MSS., was greatly indebted to his efforts on its behalf. Father Lowe was an especial favourite of King Henry VI., to whom he filled the rôle of spiritual director. Henry made him a member of his Privy Council, and finally had him appointed bishop of the ancient see of Rochester. Bishop Lowe went to his reward in 1436. Father Thomas Pemkett, too, lived for many years in the London house. Leland tells us that he was famous for his sharpness in disputation, and that he was so closely formed upon the model of Scotus, that 'one egg could not be more like to another, or milk to milk.' His power of memory was so remarkable, that it was said, in his day, that if the ponderous volumes of Scotus had been lost, Pemkett could

replace them almost without the loss of a word. He died in 1487. Another father of the English province who was closely connected for many years with the fortunes of the London house, was the famous prior, John Tonny, one of the greatest philologists ever produced in this country. No man of his time had a profounder insight into the niceties of language and the properties of words than he. He left behind him several erudite tomes on the quantities of syllables, as well as the manner of making verses; others dealing with such questions as wit and rhymes, and not a few on the elements of grammar. With such a scholar as a member of the community, we are not surprised to learn that during his lifetime the library of the house in London was enriched with many priceless treasures:—

Thus [writes the Rev. T. Hugo] for several centuries the house of the Austin Friars continued to flourish in rest and peace, one of those great humanizers which prevented mediæval society from becoming one unvarying scene of riot and misrule. It was from such walls as these that the mighty leaven emanated which gave the times all that they possessed of learning, refinement, and moral excellence. It was here, and here alone, that the various and discordant elements could and did unite, and where men could meet on one common ground—the ground of Christian brotherhood. Within these walls, century after century, was one or more of the recognised masters in the sciences then known. Either the prior or one of the brethren was a man of celebrity, a professor at Oxford, a renowned controversialist, an admired preacher. Austin Friars was thus the centre of artistic, intellectual, and pious effort, and the very name of this beautiful house was synonymous with influences that largely contributed to illuminate and dignify the age.

Unfortunately a day came, one of the saddest days in the whole history of England, when this noble institution was destined to disappear, with so many hundreds of others of a like character and of similar beneficence. For years the community of Austin Friars refused to entertain the new-fangled doctrine of the royal supremacy. Rather than acknowledge this unheard-of claim, the fathers decided to quit their convent for ever, and to tread the path of sorrow and affliction in a cold, unfeeling world. On the 12th November, 1539, the prior and his community surrendered

their church and convent to their rapacious and lustful king. They were thirteen in all. Their names are as follows:—

Thomas Hammond, Prior;
Robert Howman,
Wm. Skott,
Wm. Daube,
Wm. Ballard,
Thomas Symson,
William Malyn,
Robert Myddylton,
Thomas Dyceson,
John Grome,
David Coop,
Richard Butte,
John Stokes, D.D.

The deed of surrender is still preserved in the Augmentation Office, and bears an impression of the seal of the London house of the Order.

We have now merely to describe the division of the plunder, and the shameless manner in which the noble church and the conventual buildings were desecrated. Two years after the date the fathers were ejected rather than acknowledge the royal supremacy in matters spiritual, on July 16th, 1540, King Henry VIII., in the thirty-second year of his reign, granted to Sir Thomas Wriothesly the large house and messuage standing within the precincts of Austin Friars, to be held by him and his heirs for ever. In the following year, on May 13th, 1541, another portion of the friars' property was conveyed to Sir Wm. Paulett, and still another lot was made over to Sir Richard Riche. Lastly, King Edward VI., on July 22nd, 1550, granted to William, Lord St. John, and to his heirs in soccage, all the upper portion of the venerable church, including the choir, transept ('le crosse ile'), and chapels. This Lord St. John afterwards became Lord Treasurer of England, Earl of Wiltshire, and Marquis of Winchester. He died in 1571. With pain must it be recorded that this nobleman converted the transept and side chapels into a corn-store, and, sadder still, the choir into a coal-house. His son and heir equalled,

if he did not surpass, the achievements of his sire in the matter of wanton desecration. When hard pressed for money he tore down the numerous valuable monuments which had been erected over the last resting-place of those who had been interred in the church, rooted up the pavement of the nave, and sold the lot for the sum of £100. He also stripped the heavy lead from the roof of the church, and used a large portion of the sacred building itself as a stable for his horses. On the site of the conventual buildings, garden, and cloister the first marquis erected a large mansion, which he called Winchester House. The memory of this building is still preserved by Winchester-street, off Broad-street, as well as by several offices in the neighbourhood of Austin Friars.

The fate of the beautiful steeple that rose like a tapering mass of lace-work above the church, presumably at the junction of the nave and transepts, and for which, in the matter of pure gracefulness and richness of tracery, we can only find an equal in the *flèche* of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris, or in that of the glorious Cathedral at Amiens, must ever be profoundly regretted. Stow is very forcible when he comes to refer to it.¹ He writes as follows:—

And still it might have stood had not private benefit, the only devourer of antiquity, pulled it down. Both that goodly steeple, and all the east part of the church, have lately been taken down, and houses, for one man's commodity, raised in their place: whereby London hath lost so goodly an ornament, and times hereafter may more talk of it.

So far as I can gather the steeple was still standing in the year 1603, having thus far survived the many barbarous changes and injuries inflicted on the church itself and the adjoining buildings. It must, however, have been in a very dangerous condition at the commencement of the seventeenth century, for in the year 1600 I find the chief inhabitants of the parish of St. Peter the Poor, in Broad-street, presenting a petition to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, in which they besought the City

¹ Stow. London. Ed. 1754. Vol. i., pp. 441, 442.

Fathers to take such steps as might be necessary to save an object of such exquisite beauty from utter destruction. The Mayor and Aldermen took the matter up with some show of warmth, and addressed a letter to the then Marquis of Winchester, to whom the property legally belonged. In this epistle they say:—

There hath been offered of late unto this Court a most just and earnest petition, by divers of the chiefest of the Parish of St. Peter the Poor, to move us to be humble suitors unto your Lordship, in a cause which is sufficient to speak for itself, without the mediation of any other, viz.:—for the repairing of the ruinous steeple of the church sometime called the Augustin Friars, the fall thereof, which without speedy prevention is near at hand, must needs bring with it not only a great deformity of the whole city, it being for architecture one of the beautifullest and rarest spectacles thereof, but also a fearful imminent danger to all the inhabitants next adjoining.

They then mention that only a year previous his Lordship had given his word of honour to repair the steeple, which promise he had never kept. They also pointed out that a small expenditure of money would be sufficient to save it from ruin; and that by making such trivial outlay he would be doing a work ‘helpful to many, and most grateful to all—as well English as strangers.’ Otherwise they will feel constrained to have recourse to the last remedy—the law of the land—*de reparatione facienda*. This document was signed by Nicholas Mosley, Lord Mayor of London, and by several others, the date being August 4th, 1600.

This worthless aristocrat, however, was alike regardless of his promise and deaf to importunity, with the result that one of the finest specimens of architecture in London shared the same fate as the choir and transepts. Previous to this sad event the nave of the church had been made over to the Dutch by King Edward VI. to be their preaching place. The young King recorded this event in his diary, on June 29th, 1550. Letters patent were issued on 24th July, 1551, in which it was decreed that John a Lasco, and his congregation of Walloons, should have the nave of

the church of Austin Friars, to be called by them '*Jesu's Temple*,' 'to have their services in, for avoiding all sects of Anabaptists and such like.'

This nave is still standing after the lapse of so many centuries; and in it, even until now, the Dutch Calvinists resident in London have their weekly services. It is difficult for an antiquarian to visit the spot without being moved profoundly. A Protestant writer, after visiting the church, penned the following description of his feelings:—

The interior of the vast nave still presents, amidst all its desolation, a most affecting and magnificent spectacle. The clustered piers, and exquisite windows, and the noble air and grand proportions of the whole still possess inspiration for all who can appreciate the beautiful and the true in architectural science, while not only can art discourse to us of her marvels, but Religion herself can whisper to us of much—much to be learned, much to be loved, much to be prayed for, much to be deprecated—on the time-worn pavement, beneath the lofty arches, and amidst the venerable walls of *Austin Friars*.

Certainly we, the Austin Friars of to-day, have much to learn from the example of those our brethren who have gone before us; and much, very much, to pray for in our struggle to build up the old order of the Hermit Friars once again here in England.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN, O.S.A.

THE JUDICIAL OFFICE OF THE PRIEST

THE confessor as judge in the tribunal of penance inquires into the case of the penitent, and decides on the merits of the case to absolve the penitent, or to delay or refuse absolution. The Sacrament of Penance was instituted for the remission of actual sin. Since sin is remitted through this sacrament by absolution alone, we may easily infer that the office of the minister of penance obliges him to absolve whenever the conditions requisite for a valid sacrament are judged to be present. Hence the duty of the sacramental judge may be summarized as follows:—(1) He must decide whether the necessary conditions are present. (2) If he can judge them to be present he is bound, at least *per se*, to absolve. (3) If he cannot prudently determine their presence he is bound either to postpone or else refuse absolution. It may be asked, what are the conditions necessary for the validity of the Sacrament of Penance? Generally speaking, they are three, viz. (1) sin: (2) a confessor: (3) a penitent. Sin as such offers no impediment to the sacrament. Christ instituted penance to remit all sin. The confessor must be validly ordained, and possess jurisdiction and approbation, and confer absolution according to the prescribed form. But the conditions necessary *ex parte confessarii* need not perplex the sacramental judge in his examination of the essentials of the Sacrament of Penance. The penitent must place certain acts which some theologians claim to belong to the essence of the sacrament, and which other theologians with perhaps equal probability hold not to be intrinsic to the sacrament, but only conditions more or less necessary for the validity of the sacrament. These acts are confession, satisfaction, and contrition. With regard to confession, the confessor can take for granted that the penitent, who comes forward as a voluntary witness against himself, has confessed all necessary matter, *i.e.*, all mortal sins not already confessed. In reference to satisfaction, theologians lay down

the principle that the confessor need not disquiet himself, if the penitent freely accepts the penance and contingent obligations imposed upon him.

Next we come to contrition which is a sorrow and detestation of past sin with a resolution of sinning no more. Now, if there is speculative doubt as to the exact relation which the acts of the penitent hold towards the Sacrament of Penance, there is absolute certainty that the presence of contrition *cum proposito non peccandi* is needful for a valid sacrament. Contrition, in so far as it means sorrow for past sins, may be judged to be present from the confession, and expression of sorrow manifested by the penitent. We may here quote the opinion of Suarez :—

Observandum hanc dispositionem (scil. contritionem poenitentis) ex duobus consurgere (scil. displicentia) praeteritorum et proposito in futurum. Et quidem quoad displicentiam attinet, facile potest sibi satisfacere confessor quia si poenitens in ipso modo confessionis et accusationis suae praebet signa doloris, vel certe si est homo non valde rudus et apparet moratus nullam in hoc diligentiam tenetur confessor adhibere.¹

Theologians hold that contrition, in so far as it means a *propositum non peccandi*, must be firm, efficacious and universal. To be firm, the *propositum* must proceed from a sincere will not to sin again on any account whatsoever. That the *propositum* be efficacious, the penitent must go a step further, and must have a sincere will, not only not to sin again, but also to use all the means necessary to avoid sin in future, *v.g.*, to shun the necessary occasions of sin, &c. Theologians here point out that it is sufficient if the *propositum* be *effectively* efficacious, *i.e.*, if the penitent be *here and now* prepared to give effect to the necessary means. Lastly, the *propositum* must extend to the avoiding of every mortal sin without exception. Now here arises the difficulty :—A man is living in the proximate occasion of sin which *ex rei natura* he is bound to avoid. Such a one had been to confession on several occasions, and had proposed on each occasion to avoid the proximate occasion, but

¹ *De Poenit.*, disp. 32, sect. 2, n. 2.

has always failed in his *propositum*. Here a doubt arises in the confessor's mind concerning the validity of the penitent's contrition in his former confessions. Since he has not used the means necessary to avoid mortal sin, was the previous *propositum* efficacious? and, inferentially, is his present *propositum* efficacious? Again, the penitent has been living for a length of time in the habit of sin without any apparent improvement in his spiritual condition—is his present *propositum* sufficiently firm? If from all the signs that manifest themselves to the confessor, serious doubts arise concerning the validity of a former *propositum*, there straightway springs up a presumption against the present *propositum*. Often a confessor finds himself in a state of perplexity in such circumstances.

Now, it should be remembered that the confessor is not bound to have moral certainty of the dispositions of his penitent. *Nemo ad impossibile tenetur*. If he can form a prudent judgment, *i.e.*, a solidly probable judgment, it is sufficient. The presumption is in favour of the penitent. The Roman Catechism says: 'Si audita confessione judicaverit (sacerdos) neque in enumerandis peccatis diligentiam neque in detestandis dolorem poenitenti omnino defuisse absolvi potest.'¹ Here it is implied that the presumption in favour of the penitent is so strong that his utter want of dispositions must be reasonably manifest before the confessor is forbidden to confer the sacrament. We all remember the maxim: 'Poenitenti credendum est vel pro se vel contra se.' St. Thomas writes: 'Non possumus majorem certitudinem accipere quam ut subdito credamus . . . unde in foro confessionis creditur homini vel pro se vel contra se.'² Theologians, therefore, not only hold that the presumption is in favour of the penitent, but they require a strong case to be made against him before they refuse absolution. The acts of the penitent must clearly contradict his words. We may say that the acts of the penitent appear to contradict his words when his acts cast grave doubts on the validity of his former *propositum*. If the penitent has persevered in

¹ *Dec Sacr. Poenit.*, n. 60.

² 4 Dist. 17, q. 3, art. 3.

the proximate occasion of sin, his former *propositum* would seem not to be efficacious; if in the habit of sin, it would seem not to be firm.

The proximate occasion of sin is something extrinsic to the sinner, which at least frequently—the word frequently being used not in relation to time in general, but in relation to the number of times the occasion occurs—entices one to fall into grave sin. Thus, if a man falls seven times or even five times for every ten times the occasion presents itself, such an occasion is proximate for him. The proximate occasion is something relative—what is the proximate occasion for one is not the proximate occasion for another. The proximate occasion depends upon the extrinsic influence which allures, and the native fragility of the person allured. If the occasion is not proximate it is said to be remote, *i.e.*, removed to a distance from sin. Theologians distinguish between the *voluntary* proximate occasion which can be abandoned at will, and the *necessary* proximate occasion which cannot be abandoned without considerable difficulty. Again, they speak of the occasion being *in esse* when a man is *hic et nunc*, under its influence, and *non in esse* when one is *hic et nunc*, outside the sphere of its influence. Theologians draw a very marked distinction between the method of avoiding the voluntary occasion, and that of avoiding the necessary occasion. Both occasions must be avoided at whatsoever cost, but the former must be avoided by altogether abandoning it. All theologians agree that refusal to abandon the voluntary proximate occasion *in esse*, or to shun the voluntary proximate occasion *non in esse*, renders the penitent unfit for absolution.¹ The proximate occasion implies a moral necessity of sinning, and the desire or intention of voluntarily exposing oneself to such a danger is a mortal sin.

Two grave questions are here discussed by theologians:—
(1) Whether the confessor is bound to defer absolution until the penitent *de facto* abandons the *voluntary* proxi-

¹ Ballerini, *de Pœnit.*, sect. v, n. 171.

mate occasion *in esse*, even though he may be judged to be *hic et nunc* contrite? (2) How far is one, living in the necessary proximate occasion of sin, obliged to *actually* abandon it, before one can be judged to be disposed for absolution? The first question may be put thus:—May a penitent who *hic et nunc* exhibits sufficient signs of contrition be absolved if he promises to abandon the voluntary occasion *in esse*, or must absolution be deferred until he *de facto* abandons the occasion? In reply, it may be stated, that theologians are divided in their opinions. There appears to be two leading opinions in the matter:—(1) That of St. Liguori, who holds that at least *per se*, the penitent must have abandoned the occasion before his confessor can give him absolution.¹ We say *per se*, because in two cases he permits the confessor to rest satisfied with the promise:—(a) When the penitent exhibits extraordinary signs of sorrow, and (b) when the penitent cannot return for a considerable time to the same confessor. The chief reasons on which this opinion is based are two in number:—(1) St. Liguori² says that in such a case the penitent cannot seek absolution, for to seek absolution is a proof of indisposition; in other words, to seek absolution would mean to expose oneself to the probable danger of breaking one's *propositum*. Now, to voluntarily expose oneself to such a danger is a sin, and so a proof of the indisposition of the penitent. (2) In the next place, even though the confessor *qua iudex* may absolve, *qua medicus* he cannot expose his penitent to so great a danger, when he remembers his past frailty, and proneness to remain in the occasion.

On the other hand, many theologians hold it is not necessary to actually abandon the occasion, but the promise suffices for absolution. Suarez lays down the general principle:—‘Non semper debet confessor cogere poenitentem priusquam illum absolvat ut id exequatur quod facere tenetur quia haec obligatio non semper urget pro statim;’ and he gives the reason: ‘quia satis est ut poenitens

¹ *In Poenit.*, n. 663.

² *De Poenit.*, n. 454.

credatur habere firmum propositum suam obligationem implendi, cui credendum est praesertim si tunc primum incidat in eam occasionem.’¹ Connick speaking of those living in the voluntary proximate occasion of sin, says they are not to be absolved—‘nisi promittant eam omnino deserere.’ Then he adds that if the confessor have grave reasons for suspecting the *bona fides* of their promise, ‘ut si bis vel ter in re fefellissent fidem debet (confessor) eos non absolvere donec de facto eam deseruissent, nisi necessitas aliud facere cogat.’² This opinion holds that *per se* the *occasionarius* may be absolved, if he promise to abandon the occasion, but *per accidens* absolution must be deferred until he has abandoned the occasion, if he has so violated faith in the past that the confessor must entertain grave doubts of the *bona fides* of his present promise. The chief reason for this opinion is that all the conditions of a valid sacrament are present; and since the penitent desires absolution, he has a right to be absolved.

In reply to the arguments of St. Liguori, briefly, it is denied that the penitent proves himself to be indisposed when he seeks absolution before *de facto* abandoning the occasion. *Ex hypothesi*, he has a firm *propositum* of abandoning the occasion. Such being the case, the sacramental grace may make it easy for the penitent to forsake the occasion, and consequently may remove the probable danger of his breaking his *propositum*. And even though the probable danger *pervevere*, the penitent has a sufficient reason for exposing himself to it, viz., that he may obtain the remission of his sins and the divine friendship. St. Liguori himself holds it is a grave *incommodum* to remain for even one day in a state of mortal sin. Consequently, if in the circumstances it is lawful for the penitent to seek absolution, the confessor may licitly absolve.

The following principles may guide the confessor:—
(1) No penitent can be absolved who refuses to abandon the voluntary proximate occasion, however loud-spoken he be in his expression of sorrow and purpose of amendment.

¹ *De Poenit.*, disp. 32, sect. 2, n. 4.

² Disp. 8, n. 133.

(2) *Per se* all penitents can be absolved, provided they promise to abandon the occasion. (3) *Per accidens* absolution must be deferred until the occasion is abandoned, whenever the confessor has grave reasons of doubting the sincerity of the penitent. (4) When the occasion is public, and the element of grave public scandal is introduced into the case, theologians are practically unanimous for withholding absolution unless the gravest reasons urge in favour of it, and in no case should the Blessed Eucharist be administered until the occasion is actually abandoned.

The necessary occasion may be physically or morally necessary. Physical necessity presents no difficulty. An occasion is said to be morally necessary, when the abandonment of it entails a serious temporal or spiritual loss. It is by no means an easy thing to measure the exact loss, whether spiritual or temporal, which stamps the occasion as a necessary one. The following rule is laid down by Father Segneri, and approved by all succeeding theologians, viz.—‘If after viewing all the circumstances of the case, it is judged easier to make the occasion remote than to abandon it, the occasion may be presumed to be necessary.’ In applying this rule theologians warn us that great prudence and caution must be observed. Theologians say that the formal guilt of the proximate occasion arises from one voluntarily exposing oneself to it; consequently, he who voluntarily exposes himself to such an occasion must abandon it. But when the occasion is necessary, the remaining in it, and the seeking it, cease to be voluntary. In the former case the man must be presumed to love the danger; in the latter case, the danger rather forces itself upon him. In the latter case, there always exist a legitimate end to be attained, and a sufficient reason for seeking it, despite the presence of the proximate occasion. Theologians insist upon the *occasionarius* making the occasion remote, before they allow him to expose himself to its influence. It should be remembered that the remote occasion may *positis ponendis* become a proximate occasion of sin, and *vice versa*, the proximate occasion *mutatis mutandis* may become remote. The

occasion still existing, some one circumstance may be removed, and the occasion ceases to be proximate. The serpent is still there, but its sting has been extracted. By the removal of the dangerous circumstance the occasion becomes remote. For instance, the owner of a public-house may find his proximity to drink a proximate occasion. But if he take the pledge, *i. e.*, remove the circumstance of freedom to drink when he pleases, the proximate occasion may disappear. Again, two people who dwell under the same roof find their nearness to each other a proximate occasion. If such remove the circumstance of meeting together alone, they may make the occasion remote. In reply to the question already set forth:—How far is one living in the necessary proximate occasion of sin bound to *actually* abandon the occasion, before one can be judged to be disposed for absolution? theologians maintain that the person who is placed in the necessary occasion can at least *per se* be absolved, provided he promises to use the means of making the occasion remote. *Per accidens*, it may be useful and sometimes even necessary, when the penitent returns without any signs of amendment, to delay absolution for some days in order the better to test his *propositum*. But, it may safely be held that the confessor is not bound to force the penitent to altogether abandon the necessary occasion under pain of absolute refusal of absolution.¹ If the penitent voluntarily consents to abandon the occasion, he can do so by all means, but coercion in such a case is unnecessary and very inexpedient. The *occasionarius* is bound by the law of nature to avoid the proximate occasion, but he can do so in two ways—(a) by making it remote; (b) by actually abandoning it. Since, *ex hypothesi* it is easier to make the occasion remote than to altogether abandon it, it would be a grave hardship to the penitent, to force him to choose the more difficult means of avoiding the proximate occasion. The confessor instead of removing the proximate occasion, would only place the penitent in great danger of sinning, by imposing upon him a new obligation which in

¹ Ballerini, *De Pœnit.*, sect. v., n. 202, and n. 185.

the circumstances is so difficult of fulfilment.¹ It is better to defer the absolution until the penitent employs the means of making the occasion remote and shows signs of amendment, not entire amendment, but such² as can warrant the confessor to regard the occasion as remote.

Here some theologians, amongst others St. Liguori,³ discuss a question first raised by Lacroix, viz., what is to be done with a penitent who, time and again has failed to make the occasion remote? in other words, how is an *occasionarius* to be treated when there is no hope of his making the occasion remote? Before replying, it might be observed that such an occasion would seem to be voluntary rather than necessary, since it is supposed to be impossible to make it remote. In reply, it may be said, that if there is no other hope, such a one is clearly bound to actually abandon the occasion. But who can say that the actual abandonment of the necessary proximate occasion is in even a single case the only means of escaping relapse. From the definition of a necessary occasion we learn it is easier to make the occasion remote than to abandon it. But, urge those theologians, such an *occasionarius* comes again and again in the same disposition without any sign of improvement. What is the confessor to do with him? He ought to examine whether the means prescribed are the ones proper to the man's spiritual malady.⁴ It may be they are not. We should remember that the medicine which heals is only that which is proper to the disease. If the means are not suited to the case, the confessor should impose others which are; if there is doubt, he ought to imitate those physicians who, finding their medicine does not produce the desired effect, prescribe afresh for their patients. If after examining all the circumstances of the particular case, the confessor has grave doubts of the *bona fides* of the penitent, he is bound to defer the absolution until the penitent has *de facto* made the occasion remote.

¹ Ballerini, sect. v., n. 211.

² Ballerini, *De Poenit.*, sect. v., n. 196.

³ Ballerini, *De Poenit.*, sect. iv., n. 193.

⁴ *De Poenit.*, n. 457.

If a man comes to confession again and again, and confesses that he has frequently fallen into the same sin without any apparent sign of amendment, we say that man is living in a habit of sin. Lugo defines a habit of sin to be 'frequens reincidentia in eadem peccata post multas confessiones sine ulla emendatione.'¹ Wherefore three things are required for a habit: (1) frequent relapse after many confessions; (2) relapse into the same sin; (3) absence of any, even incipient amendment. A habit of sin is not an occasion of sin, for it is not extrinsic to the sinner. Neither is the habit of sin an habitual affection for sin. The latter implies a deliberate love and desire of sin. Neither is the habit of sin a sin in itself: it is merely a facility of sinning begotten of a repetition of sinful acts. This facility of sinning does not necessarily imply a moral inclination to sin, because the habit or facility of sinning may synchronize with a strong moral aversion from the act of sin. A man may have contracted a habit of cursing or drunkenness, and thoroughly hate such sins; nay, even be prepared to die rather than offend God thus. In the Confession of St. Augustine, we learn how evil habits enchained one who held them in loathing. Habit is more correctly designated a physical than a moral inclination to sin.

It may be asked—when a man who has fallen into a habit of sin comes to confession, why does the habit cast a doubt upon his present dispositions? In reply, it may be said that the habit does not bear direct testimony against the present dispositions of the penitent. It bears direct evidence against the dispositions of the penitent in former confessions. Since he has fallen again and again into the same sin, there is a presumption that he had not a firm or efficacious *propositum* of abandoning this sin; or, as Suarez says, there is a presumption that he had not sufficiently proposed to himself to use the means necessary to combat the sinful acts. But it should be remembered that, though the presence of a habit may directly testify to the probable existence of want of *propositum* in former confessions, such testimony cannot

¹ *De Pœnit.*, Disp. 14, n. 166.

per se prove the invalidity of these confessions. That a man has fallen into sin is no proof that he had not previously had a firm and efficacious resolution of avoiding sin. St. Thomas lays down this truth :—

Quod aliquis postea peccat vel actu vel proposito non excludit quin prima poenitentia vera fuerit. Nunquam enim veritas prioris actus excluditur per actum contrarium sequentem. Sicut enim vere cucurrit qui postea sedet, ita vere poenituit qui postea peccat.¹

Now, if the habit in relation to past confessions creates only a presumption in favour of absence of *propositum*, the presumption is still weakened in relation to the present confession. In the case of present confession, when the penitent declares he is sorry, and resolved to avoid the sin in future, and prepared to use whatever means are suggested to him, the confessor has not before him the fact of the penitent's relapse after these protestations of amendment, but only the inference derived from his past relapses. Lehmkühl says: 'Relapsus creat prejudicium non directe sed indirecte contra praesentem dispositionem poenitentis.' Here it might be remarked that such an inference unsupported by collateral evidence, will seldom justify the refusal of absolution. De Lugo lays down the admitted principle that the confessor who cannot prudently decide that the penitent has necessary sorrow and *propositum* is bound to defer absolution, however loud the penitent may be in the expression of his sorrow. But in the same place he tells us the motives which move the confessor to doubt: 'Quando sacerdos attenta consuetudine praeterita et propensione aliisque circumstantiis judicat poenitentem non sufficienter averti a peccatis,'² &c. Here the *aliae circumstantiae* which accompany the habit carry with them positive signs of indisposition. St. Liguori says that the mere *habituatus* is not on that account to be considered indisposed, but can be considered disposed: 'nisi obstet aliqua positiva presumptio in contrarium.' This presumption does not arise from the habit alone, but chiefly from certain extrinsic signs. Such

¹ 3 Q. 8, art. 10, ad. 14.

² Disp. 11, n. 166

signs are manifold—(1) refusal to forsake the proximate occasion; (2) refusal to employ the means necessary to overcome the evil habit; (3) long continuance of the habit; (4) danger of scandal; (5) motives which urge the penitent to seek absolution, whether routine or outside pressure; especially if he regards his present state with indifference, &c.

De Lugo lays down the following rules for the direction of the confessor in his treatment of *recidivi*:—

(1) *Doctrina communis et vera est si sacerdos hic et nunc non obstante consuetudine praeterita judicet poenitentem habere verum dolorem et propositum non peccandi posse eum absolvere: quia dispositio sufficiens est dolor et propositum praesens, non emendatio futura, atque ita poterit absolvi, licet judicetur relapsurus.* (2) *Certum est quando sacerdos attenta consuetudine praeterita et propensione aliisque circumstantiis judicet poenitentem non averti sufficienter ab illo peccato, non posse eum absolvere quantumcunque poenitens dicat se dolere.* (3) *Denique aliquando utile est differre absolutionem per aliquot dies ut appareat correctio et observatio propositi.*¹

In the same context he clearly points out in what circumstances it is useful to postpone absolution. (1) It may be useful if the penitent consents to the delay, *volenti non fit injuria*. (2) Delay is permissible, if necessary to test the *propositum* of the penitent. (3) Delay ought not to be imposed except for a just and reasonable cause. (4) Postponement is not lawful should any consequent spiritual loss ensue to the penitent.

Ballerini earnestly contends against the utility of deferring absolution except in very rare cases, whenever the penitent *hic et nunc* declares that he is really sorry for his sins, and that he is resolved to avoid them in future and to follow the directions of his confessor.² Dicastillo thus expresses his views:—

*Raro enim en mera dilatione absolutionis potest sperari correctio. Talis dilatio non raro nocet nisi fiat interim dum melius poenitens instruitur . . . De cetero praecise dilatio raro prodest et saepe nocet . . . sic enim multi confessarium mutant, ut jam nova series remedium incipiat et pro primis vicibus beneficium absolutionis cepiant.*³

¹ Disp. 14, n. 166.

² *De Poenit.*, sect. v., n. 227, et seq.

³ *De Poenit.*, disp. 6, n. 573.

Fr. Salvatori declares that a confessor, once 'he has begun to hear a confession is bound under pain of mortal sin, even according to the laws of justice, to finish it, when it is in his power to do so, and to finish it by putting into execution all the means which Christ has bound him to employ.' This learned and experienced guide of souls counsels the confessor to instruct his penitents with the view of moving them to a heartfelt contrition.

Let him [he writes] begin by acting the part of instructor, teaching his penitent the heinousness of his sins. . . . Let him next act the part of a good physician, by impressing upon his penitent the great risk he runs of being lost, and of the great folly of wishing to damn his soul when he might save it did he but choose to do so. . . . Let him represent to the penitent that sacramental absolution produces its effects according to the dispositions of the person who receives it, and so it only serves to bind more firmly in the bonds of sin the person who is not truly penitent, becoming in his case a terrible malediction.

If the penitent has not yet manifested sufficient signs of repentance, the writer advises the confessor to ask him:—

What do you say to all this? Are you prepared to draw down on your head a solemn curse? If you are not telling the truth, my absolution will be simply a malediction. Therefore if you do not feel that you have the proper dispositions at present, tell me so, and I will defer absolution to some other day, when you will be in a position to assure me that you really are well disposed.

Then Fr. Salvatori concludes thus:—

Should the penitent after this caution answer boldly, 'Father, absolve me, because I am telling you the truth, and I promise to perform all you have enjoined on me,' let the confessor absolve him without hesitation, even though he should give no other sensible sign of repentance.¹

The confessor should remember the maxim—*Sacramenta sunt propter homines*. The sacraments are not for angels, but for men, not for model men alone, but for every-day men. The Sacrament of Penance was instituted for sinners, not alone for those sinners who approach the tribunal with tears and breast beatings, but for all sinners—the stolid, the

¹ Fr. Salvatori, *Practical Instruction*, translated by Dr. Hutch, pp 205-207.

perverse, the hardened, for those most of all. This Sacrament of reconciliation given to man by the great High Priest, Who by taking unto Himself our nature had an experimental knowledge of human infirmity, is the practical expression of His predominant desire to 'seek and to save that which is lost.' The blood of the 'Lamb who was slain to take away the sins of the world' is a divine trust confided to the priest that he may have 'compassion on those who are ignorant and err.'

M. J. QUIN, C.C.

VICTOR VITENSIS ON THE VANDAL PERSECUTION

PART II.

WE have seen that there was some abatement of the persecution during Genseric's last years. This was due to various causes, but probably most of all to the fact that nothing was left for his rapacity. Salvian² tells us³ that each of these barbarian races had its own distinctive vice and virtue, and repeats over and over again that the Vandals were chaste but rapacious. Now, it is universally admitted that Genseric's dominant passion was rapacity, and that when booty was not in view he was like other men. He put down at once, at Carthage and other large cities, the shameless licentiousness he found there on his arrival.⁴

Huneric succeeded to his father in 477, and left things as he found them for about three years. He connived at the opening of the churches, and even went so far as to allow a bishop to be elected for Carthage, in 481, at the

¹ I. E. RECORD, June, 1898.

² His work, *De Gubernatione Dei*, Paris, 1669, is always meant; the *book* in Roman numerals, the *page* in ordinary figures.

³ viii. 169.

⁴ Salvian vii., p. 178-183.

request of his sister-in-law,¹ Placidia, and the Emperor Zeno.

Victor's work is a sort of diary, and the first book must have been completed after the death of Genseric, for he says² that in the home province, Proconsularis, only three bishops survived out of one hundred and sixty-four, whereas in his *Notitia* he sets down fifty-four bishops for Proconsularis in 484. It is clear that about fifty sees must have been filled up during this respite, and, of course, after the election of the primate. Victor and some of the clergy suspected Huneric's clemency; and their suspicions were strengthened by two cruel deeds of his at the time. To smooth the way for the succession of his own sons he put to death his own nephew and his own Arian primate, Jocundus. Their suspicions were still more confirmed by a proclamation issued with the permission to elect a bishop. In this proclamation he pretends that Arians were under persecution in the East, and says that 'unless they get the same liberty, which Catholics now enjoy in all Africa, to celebrate Mass, &c., in their churches, the bishop now to be elected, and all the other bishops of Africa, with their clergy, shall be sent among the Moors.' The clergy of Carthage were now fully convinced that a snare was being laid, for there were few Arians then in the East, and the laws enacted by Theodosius against them, in 380, had become long since obsolete. Zeno's troubles at this time were entirely from the Nestorians and the Eutychians. Gibbon's attempt to excuse this proclamation is, therefore, an anachronism and a fraud upon the credulity of his readers.

The prudent hesitation of the clergy was overborne by the clamours of the people, who were determined to have a bishop at last, after a vacancy of twenty-four years. The choice fell on Eugenius, of whom Ruinart, in his elaborate Commentary on Victor, says: ³ 'Such was the fame of this

¹ Among the captives brought from Rome by Genseric, in 455, were the Empress Eudoxia and her two daughters, Placidia and Eudoxia. Eudoxia he gave as wife to Huneric. Placidia and her mother he sent to Constantinople.

² i. 9.

³ viii. 1.

holy confessor that few contemporary writers can be found who have not celebrated his praises.' Victor¹ thus describes him :—

Eugenius, a holy man, pleasing to God, having been ordained bishop, there was an extraordinary outburst of joy, and the Church of God was overpowered with gladness. The Catholic multitude, subject to the barbarians, exulted at this restoration ; and numberless youths and maidens, when congratulating each other, exclaimed aloud that they had never before seen a bishop on his throne. The man of God himself so abounded in good works, that he began to be venerated even by those without, and so beloved by all, that each one was ready, if necessary, to lay down his life for him. God vouchsafed to distribute such abundant alms through his hands, that people were amazed, seeing that everything had been seized by the barbarians, and that the Church did not possess even a single coin. Words would fail me were I to attempt a description of his humility, charity, and piety. It is well known that money never remained in his hands, unless it happened to be given to him at nightfall. He kept only what was required for the day, our God sending him daily more and more. His reputation having spread far and near, the Arian bishops, especially Cyrilla (their primate), grew terribly jealous, and pursued him daily with their calumnies. They urged the king to forbid him to sit on the episcopal throne or to preach, as usual, to the people, and also to order him to exclude from the church all, male or female, who came in Vandal dress. The bishop, as became him, answered that the Church of God was open to all, and that he could exclude none ; for he knew that there was a great multitude of our Catholics employed about the court, and obliged to wear Vandal dress.

This incident furnished the desired pretence for commencing the persecution. The king at once ordered his executioners to stand at the doors of the church, and with their instruments of torture to tear the hair and skin off the heads of all, male or female, who might be seen to enter in Vandal dress. Some lost their sight under this torture, others their lives, and the women were paraded through the street in this terrible state, preceded by heralds. 'But,' says Victor, 'we never knew any of them to have swerved from the right path under these tortures.'

Huneric, seeing this, tried another plan. He stopped

the salaries of his Catholic officials and servants, imposed upon them rustic labours, and sent delicate men, of gentle blood, to labour under the broiling sun on the plains of Utica; for Genseric had reserved whole provinces as crown lands. But these showed the same constancy, and even rejoiced in their sufferings. He then issued a general order that everyone engaged in the public service should profess Arianism; 'and then,' says Victor, 'an immense number, with invincible constancy, left his service to preserve their faith, and being stripped of everything, and driven from house and home, were sent into exile.'

With true Vandal rapacity he next ordered that the goods of every deceased bishop in Africa should be seized for the crown, and a fine of 500 *solidi* exacted for permission to elect a successor. This system of fines, though not enforced by Huneric, was soon adopted by the other barbarian races, mostly Arians. It passed from them to the Catholic emperors, and survives to this day over the Greek Church. 'He was determined,' as Victor says,¹ 'to find some means to disgrace the Catholic Church, as a pretext for his intended persecution. But his next plan was so atrocious and indecent that it cannot be fully detailed. He ordered the consecrated virgins to be seized, collected, and tortured, to extort from them confessions against their bishops and clergy; and when this failed delivered them up to be examined by Vandal midwives. Many of them expired under the tortures; 'but,' says Victor, 'he could find nothing against the Church.'

Failing thus to make apostates, his rage knew no bounds; he resolved to strike a blow that should terrify all into compliance at last. Owing to the pretended toleration, the clergy were off their guard, and there was not the slightest hint that Arians were being persecuted in the East; but all on a sudden Huneric let loose his satellites, and in a very short time they brought together, at Sicca and Lara² 'four thousand nine hundred and seventy-six bishops, priests, deacons, and other members of the Church.' Under

¹ ii. 7.

² ii. 8.

these last words he includes not only those in minor orders, but also the boys, 'infantes,' of the cathedral schools. All these were marched, or rather driven like cattle, night and day, under a Vandal escort, to the rendezvous where they were to be handed over to the Moors, and brought off to the desert. It would be impossible to epitomize Victor's account—he accompanied them all through, though not a prisoner—of the hardships of the journey, or the horrors of the prison in which they were huddled together 'like locusts,' while awaiting the arrival of the Moors. At this critical moment two royal officers left nothing undone to tempt the confessors by honeyed words and great promises; but they cried out: 'We are Catholics, we are Christians.' Victor relates how some of the boys, 'infantuli,' were followed by their mothers; 'but not one yielded either to blandishments or carnal affection.' Victor's narrative is full of incident; but we can make room for only this one:—

What multitudes, from the cities and hamlets, ran to see the martyrs as we passed, the very roads can testify, which were too narrow to contain them. They came with lighted tapers, over hill and dale, and, laying their infants at the feet of the martyrs, exclaimed aloud: 'You are going to your crowns, but to whom do you leave us, miserable creatures? Who will baptize these children? Who will give us penance? Who will reconcile us? Is it not to you it was said, 'Whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven'? Who is to bury us with solemn prayers? Who is to celebrate the usual rite of the Divine Sacrifice? Let us go with you, if permitted; let not the children be separated from the fathers.

In this terrible raid Huneric had cleared out many a cathedral establishment in his eastern provinces; he had made thousands of confessors, and many martyrs; for several had died of hardship and barbarous usage, and the wayside was studded with rude mounds, to mark their humble graves. But his ferocity was not yet sated, and Victor tells us that he meditated nothing less than the total destruction of the Church. For this purpose he laid a plot to get all the bishops of Africa into his power. On Ascension-day, 483, he issued a decree ordering all the Catholic bishops of his dominions to assemble at Carthage,

in the following February, to discuss the question of faith with the Arian bishops. Eugenius, the primate, acknowledged the receipt of the decree, and said he was quite ready; but, as the question of faith was not a local but a general matter, he should require the presence of the other bishops of his communion, 'and especially the Roman Church, the head of all the Churches.' Huneric spurned this suggestion, and insisted that the conference should meet at the appointed time. Meanwhile he was not idle; he procured the names of the most learned of the Catholic bishops, and under various pretexts got rid of them, by exile or otherwise. But the following miracle upset his calculations:—¹

There was at Carthage a blind man named Felix, well known to all the citizens. He had this vision on the eve of the Epiphany: 'Arise; go to my servant Eugenius. Tell him I sent you; and when he is blessing the font, to baptize those coming to the faith, he shall touch your eyes, and you shall see.' After a second and a third order he arose at last, called his little boy, was led to the Church of Faustus, prays awhile, and then asks a subdeacon, named Perigrinus, to bring him to the bishop. The bishop received him just as the people were singing aloud the nocturnal hymns suited to the feast. Felix told his story, and said he would not leave until he had received his sight, as the Lord had ordered; but the bishop said: 'Depart from me, brother, for I am but an unworthy sinner, reserved for these times.' Felix clung to his knees, repeating, 'Give me my sight, as you have been ordered.' Time pressed, and the bishop, seeing his unhesitating faith, led him, with his clergy, to the font, prostrated himself in prayer, then blessed the font, and said to Felix, while making the sign of the cross on his eyes: 'Brother, I am only a sinful man; but may the Lord, who has deigned to visit you, open your eyes.' And immediately the man received his sight.

This miracle produced an extraordinary impression, for it was a public condemnation of the whole Vandal position. They, like the Donatists, pretended that the Catholics were not Christians at all, but had to be all re-baptized. The news soon reached Huneric. He ordered Felix into his presence, and was only still more confounded by the

answers he received. However, the bishops relieved his perplexity by assuring him it was all magic.¹

The Calends of February were near; expectation ran high; an ominous silence brooded over the city; but Huneric was not idle. He continued to get rid of the ablest men, even by death if necessary. Lotus, Bishop of Neptis, was burned alive. Still the Catholic bishops arrived at the appointed time, to the number of four hundred and sixty-six, whose names Victor has preserved in his invaluable *Notitia*. On the day of conference Cyrilla, the Arian Primate, seated himself on a high throne to preside. The Catholics asked that, in common fairness, some neutral president should be chosen. After some disputation about this everything seemed ready for discussion, when Cyrilla, after much shuffling, announced that he could not go on, as he did not speak Latin. They knew this to be a barefaced falsehood, and now saw clearly that Huneric's pretence of wanting to know the Catholic faith was a pure mockery. From their experience at the conference of Carthage, in 411, they were prepared for this, and had drawn up an exposition of faith, with proofs from Scripture, to be presented to the king. It is a solid and learned document, and takes up the whole of Victor's third book. Victor adds that this sudden conclusion of the conference arose from Cyrilla's disappointment at seeing the Catholics so well prepared for the discussion, after all Huneric's efforts to the contrary.

The bishops were all seized at their lodgings, deprived of everything except the clothes they wore, and driven outside the city walls; and a proclamation was issued forbidding anyone, under a terrible penalty, to offer them food or shelter: the penalty was, to be burned alive with his house, goods, and family. The vacant space outside the walls was the

¹ Victor adds that they tried to kill Felix, but says nothing about a circumstance related by Gregory of Tours, and quoted in the same tome of the Latin fathers, p. 771. He says that Cyrilla gave a man fifty pieces of gold to feign blindness, sit at a place where he was to pass in state, call on him to lay his hands on his eyes, and then rise up cured. The farce was gone through; but the man lost his sight in great torture the moment he was touched, and in his rage told the whole plot. Ruinart (ch. xviii.) says that Gregory had many African documents beside Victor's work.

receptacle for all the ordure and refuse of the city, and there these venerable bishops lay under the canopy of heaven during that February night. For they knew that if they attempted to move farther, the satellites of the tyrant were ready to follow them, and bring them back manacled, to be paraded through the city as cowards who had fled from the conference. Next day Huneric rode out to his baths, attended by a mounted escort; the bishops seeing him, rushed towards him by a common impulse, to ask what he meant by all this; but he ordered his horsemen to ride in among them, and many were ridden down, especially the old and infirm. They were then ordered to a large public building; messengers arrived from the king to offer them liberty, and the restoration of their goods and churches, if they consented to swear allegiance to his son Hilderic, between whom and the throne there were still two of his nephews. They had no objection to Hilderic; quite the contrary, for he was the son of Eudoxia, and suspected of Catholic sympathies. But they feared some new snare; however, the majority took the oath, lest their refusal should be blamed by the people for their calamities; while the others refused, excusing themselves by the Arian sense of the words, *thou shalt not swear at all*.¹ During this process notaries registered the name, residence, and answer of each bishop, and it is from this register Victor transcribed his invaluable *Notitia*. The ink was scarcely dry when an order arrived banishing the minority, as disloyal, to Corsica, to fell timber for the royal navy; while the majority, 'for having violated an evangelical precept,' were banished to remote districts to cultivate little farms under the Crown.² It is remarkable that Huneric, with all his despotic power, never did any of these terrible deeds without assigning some flimsy pretext.

¹ Matt. v.

² Victor gives the number of bishops present as 466. Of these 46 were sent to Corsica; 302, including the primate, to these small farms; 28 escaped by flight; 88 died of hardship. Of their sufferings an idea can be formed from the Life of St. Eugenius, July 13. Of these 466 bishops, 54 belonged to Proconsularis, and 177 to Byzacene, and we have seen that the full number of sees in the former was 164. This will give an idea of the population of these two provinces which formed the ancient territory of Carthage, and the present Tunisia. Modern writers have estimated it at eighteen millions at the time of its greatest prosperity under the Romans.

While all this was going on at Carthage, Huneric's messengers were on all the great Roman roads, bearing a most elaborate edict which had been long prepared.¹ For Irishmen it can be described in a few words; it might be taken for the original of our own penal code. The churches were closed, all church property confiscated, priests outlawed, Catholics excluded from all public situations and professions, their wills and contracts made void, &c., &c. But this was not enough. The bearers of this edict were closely followed by armed bands, each band accompanied by an Arian priest; they had power to seize everyone they met, and compel him to receive Arian baptism; they entered every house and re-baptized, by main force, every man, woman, and child, not excepting even those who were sound asleep.² They left a billet or written attestation for everyone thus baptized, which would secure him from the violence of other bands. These bands had full power to club, scourge, burn, torture everyone that refused or resisted; hence the immense number of martyrs in this sacrilegious raid. Victor's fifth book is entirely taken up with individual instances, among them the celebrated one at Tipasa, a great maritime city in Mauritania, whose ruins can still be seen about sixty miles west of Algiers. When Arianism was thus forced upon them the citizens, *omnis simul civitas*, fled in a body to Spain, while those who were unable to escape had their tongues cut out from the roots, but still continued to speak in various countries to the end of their lives. Even Gibbon, unable to question the overwhelming evidence for this fact, can only console himself by saying³ that no sound Arian, Socinian, or infidel will be moved by it. He excuses Huneric's atrocious edict on the ground that it only reenacted obsolete laws of Catholic emperors. It would be useless to ask him whether truth and error have equal rights, for to him all Christian dogmas are but equal errors; but he ought to have told us, at least, how he can excuse the infliction on millions of most peaceable subjects, of laws enacted against turbulent and rapacious sectaries—Arians

¹ iv. 1.² V. 13.³ Ch. xxxvii.

and Donatists—who had made the lives of peaceable citizens intolerable.

‘God is faithful who will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength.’¹ At the end of this year the arch-persecutor was called to his account,² and his nephew Guntamund reigned for twelve years. He was in no mood to carry out the wishes of an uncle who had intended to murder him; for three years he merely abstained from executing the penal laws, and during this time many bishops and priests must have returned to their flocks, although the Arian clergy, always more ferocious than the kings, made full use of the existing laws. A synod being still impossible in Africa, one met in Rome, in 487, under Pope Felix III., at which four African bishops assisted, probably as a deputation; it was almost entirely occupied about a question arising out of the late persecution, exactly like that of the *libellatici* in St. Cyprian’s time. In the same volume of the Latin fathers, with Victor’s work, we find the letters of Pope Felix, and among them³ the one written after this synod to the African bishops, giving minute directions about the application of the penitential canons to those who had fallen in this persecution; for great doubts had arisen as to the various degrees of culpability in those who had received the *billets*. This year, 487, Eugenius got permission to return, but it was not extended to the other bishops until 494; it was quite clear that the King had to proceed very cautiously, but the general result was, that during his reign all the surviving exiles had returned secretly or openly, and the churches not occupied by the Arians had been reopened. Victor mentions⁴ only two formal and explicit apostasies of any note in the late persecution.⁵

¹ 1 Cor. x.

² Victor ends here, and for all the rest we are indebted to his great commentator Ruinart.

³ Ep. 7.

⁴ v. 9, 10.

⁵ ‘As gold in the furnace He hath proved them’ (Sap. iii.). In this case, Huneric was the agent for completing the process, and we can now try to estimate the dross. Genseric had swept away the theatres, the amphitheatres, the circuses, the open licentiousness, the Roman ease and effeminacy, the

Guntamund died in 496, and his brother Trasamund reigned twenty-seven years. He was by inclination a persecutor, but also an educated gentleman, unwilling to disgrace himself by the rude methods of his predecessors. He relied on a method of thinly-veiled bribery for the laity, and silent extinction for the clergy. He strictly forbade any new ordinations of bishops, and the clergy took care not to provoke him, until at last, about the year 507, finding a great number of sees vacant, and having to provide for the people, they ventured to fill up a certain number of these sees. The King was enraged, the vandal burst through the gentleman, sixty Byacene bishops, with their primate, were banished to Sardinia, and gradually to various places, about one hundred and sixty from the other provinces; all the churches were closed; and now the King, having got rid of the pastors, thought he could do as he pleased with the flock. He took to theology, and argued with his ministers, officials, courtiers, and others who were summoned to his presence; his clergy, though very ignorant, as Gibbon admits, followed his example; and thus respectable Catholics were obliged to listen to objections—it is easy to object—which they were not prepared to answer. But letters were sent to the exiles, and answers came in the shape of controversial treatises, which enabled the Catholics to hold their own. We still possess several treatises written by St. Fulgentius during this crisis; the King was so struck by them, that he brought him to Carthage, and used to hold disputations with him, until at last his bishops induced him to send him back to Sardinia. The arguments of the King were aided by other measures; the penal laws were in force, and every Arian, lay and clerical, knew that the King did not want them to rust; situations, exemptions, and favours

Roman pride and wealth (Salvian vii. 168-183); but it was Huneric that separated the gold from the dross. That the amount of dross was considerable, we learn from the letter of Pope Felix, and also from Victor (v. 17), who tells us that in a terrible famine which occurred at this time (484), the *rebaptizati* were left by the King to die like flies, without any attempt to save their lives. He describes (v. 13) the extraordinary efforts of the good to repel the violence of the *rebaptizers*, and keep themselves clear of all complicity. But as every merchant or traveller had to produce his *billet* when asked, the number of *libellatici* was considerable, and they were found in every class.

were ready for the 'deserving.' We have no diary¹ like Victor's for this period ; but, from what we do know, the only inference is, that the royal theologian was hardly more successful than the royal butcher.

This crisis lasted to the death of Trasamund, in 523, when Hilderic at last came to the throne. He at once gave complete religious liberty ; the churches were reopened, the bishops returned, and Boniface was elected Bishop of Carthage. The enthusiasm of the people of Carthage, on the arrival of the bishops from Sardinia, revealed a depth of faith and devotion beyond description, although for nearly a whole century they had only the secret ministrations of concealed priests. A General Synod, the first under the Vandals, was held in 525, at which sixty bishops assisted. The vacant sees were filled up, and general discipline restored. Gelimer came to the throne in 531 ; but he had not time to do much harm to the Church, for, in 534, he and his Vandals were expelled by Belisarius.

The new primate, Reparatus, held a general synod at Carthage, in 535, at which two hundred and seventeen bishops assisted. There was no discussion about the *lapsi* or the *libellatici*, but there was one about the manner of receiving converts from the Arian clergy. The unanimous opinion was for receiving them as mere laymen ; but it was agreed to suspend all action in the matter until an answer came from the Apostolic See. A synodal letter was sent on to Rome, in charge of two bishops and the deacon, Reparatus, who had been to Rome under the late primate. The primate sent by the same deputies a letter of congratulation to the new Pope, Agapitus, whose rescripts are given by Baronius *ad. an.* 535. In that to the council he confirms their decision about the Arian clergy, but grants them maintenance from the restored property of the Church. In that to the primate we find these words : ' Restoring, moreover, all the metropolitical rights invaded by the perversity of your enemies, we exhort you to communicate our rescripts

¹ Some details occur in the Lives of St. Eugenius, July 13, and St. Fulgentius January 1.

to all.' To understand these words we must call to mind that the Bishop of Carthage was Primate of All Africa, although each of the six provincial primates had the power of metropolitan in his own province. The authority of the Bishop of Carthage had fallen into abeyance through the long vacancies of the see, until Boniface endeavoured to reassert it at the synod of 525, with the general assent of the bishops, except the Primate of Byzacene, who refused to submit. It is to this opposition the Pope alludes, and it is quite clear that the Bishop of Carthage had asked for a renewal of his privileges. It is also clear that he could have got this by a vote of the synod, had he or the bishops thought themselves competent to confer it.¹

Struck by the great number of learned bishops and writers during this Vandal period, and unable to sneer at their learning, Gibbon entered on a course of biblical and theological study² to convict them of fraud; he proved to his own satisfaction that they interpolated the celebrated text of the three heavenly witnesses,³ for the exposition presented to Huneric. What can we think of the man who could narrate, as he has done, the suffering of these bishops for the truth, and then with a light heart and still lighter reason, accuse them of a sacrilegious forgery? The reader can see this matter well examined by Perronè.⁴ A writer in the *Dublin Review*⁵ has something new on it. The fact is that the presence of this text in the oldest African Bibles is an unanswerable proof of its authenticity. In addition to the reasons given for St. Augustine's omission of this text in his disputation with the Arian, Maximinus, I would mention the fact⁶ that Maximinus was not an African, but a Goth who had not this text in his Bible. St. Augustine never urged against an adversary any text to which he could object.

This accusation was made against the whole body of these illustrious martyrs and confessors; as a sort of com-

¹ Hefele, vol. i.; Hohnbacher, vol. ix.

² Ch. xxxvii.

³ 1 John, v.

⁴ *De Trinitate*, ch. ii., Prop. 2.

⁵ April, 1882.

⁶ *Life of St. Augustine*, ch. xxii.

pensation, only one of them, Vigilus, is accused of having forged the Athanasian Creed. It would be just as reasonable to accuse St. Augustine, whose summary at the end of his discussion with Maximinus is as like the Athanasian Creed as anything to be found in the works of Vigilus; he wrote much in dialogue, using the name of St. Athanasius, as he tells us himself in some of his other works. Next to St. Fulgentius he was the best controversialist of this troubled period.¹

What became of the two great African sects, the Manicheans and the Donatists, during the Vandal period? They saved themselves by conforming externally. This came out clearly in the case of the Manicheans, when Huneric discovered them even among his clergy, and persecuted them to the death.² Gibbon, always so lenient to heretics, is obliged to admit that the Vandals derived their rebaptizing mania from this mixture of Donatists; he could not avoid this admission, for the Vandals had not this habit in Spain, nor had any of the Arian races then dominant in Europe. Victor never mentions the Donatists, but they reappear as soon as the Vandals are expelled.

‘For whom the Lord loveth, He chastiseth.’³ We can now contemplate the great African Church emerging from her long trial, purer, stronger, more illustrious than ever; with thousands of her own martyrs and confessors as advocates and protectors in heaven; and with the happy consciousness of having proved to all future generations what a united clergy and people blessed by God can do under the greatest persecution that human malice could invent.

Had Henry VIII. encountered such a clergy and such a people, English history would be very different from what it has been for the last three centuries.

P. BURTON, C.M.

¹Rohrbacher, vol. viii.

²Victor, ii.

³Heb. xii.

THE 'PEMBROKE TOMBS'—TEMPLE CHURCH LONDON

THE Temple Church, London, with the exception of the great Minster itself, may be said to be the most interesting ecclesiastical memorial of the Middle Ages the vast metropolis possesses. It was one of the few, the triad we may say, of the mediæval churches that escaped destruction in the great fire of 1666, when thirteen conventual buildings and no less than eighty-nine parish churches, including the cathedral of old St. Paul's:—

Slipt into ashes and were seen no more.

The Temple is indeed a connecting link, a bond of thickly-woven memories, between our material nineteenth-century day and the age of chivalry. In no other spot within these realms may the poet or historian find more vivid materials or a greater wealth of impressions wherewith to weave the broidered picture of romance, or to fill the framework of history with the memories of an age whose thoughts and pursuits have no counterpart in the thoughts or aspirations of our every-day life. Here within this strange building, half-fortress, half-church, as we may call it, our thoughts are borne irresistibly back to the times of the Crusades.

The Templars were famous for the beauty of their churches, and this, being the metropolitan church of their order in England, was the noblest in the kingdom. It is to-day, practically speaking, in the same condition in which it stood when they left it. To the travelled visitor its peculiar form at once reveals the fact that it was built, in the religious enthusiasm of its founders, to resemble the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. On its floor lie the effigies of warriors, barons, and statesmen, all members of that strange fraternity, the Order of the Knights of the Temple, in whose fealty to the sacred

cause they espoused—valour, religion, and romance were so strangely blended. These memorials are admitted to be the finest examples of 'Crusaders' tombs in existence. Modelled with the highest contemporary art, figures probably taken from life, in whose features we may almost read the characters of the men they represent, these silent forms seem to recline not in sleep or death, but as if ready to rise, stand before us in life, and unsheath their swords once more.

In one of those groups of effigies we are for the moment interested. They represent the members of the Marshall family, and are usually styled 'the Pembroke tombs.' Passing along, the vergor, with the usual stereotyped accuracy of his profession, doles out the name of each crusader in a way, no doubt, meant to be complimentary to his audience, since in giving the name, and the name only, he assumes they know all the rest about the occupants of each couch of stone. Consequently many Irishmen who visit the Temple Church never carry away with them the fact or remembrance that they have seen monuments which are invested with an ecclesiastical and civil interest, as far as Irish history is concerned, which exceeds that of any like associations centered in the tombs of Westminster Abbey.

Sometimes when, on those literary and antiquarian excursions now so popular amongst us, we visit some ruined cathedral or abbey church, and are shown the vacant spot where history or tradition asserts the tomb of the founder to have once stood, we regret that vandalism or time has so wholly blotted away those memorials or tributes of royal and generous deeds. A desire to preserve vestiges of the past finds a more widespread expression every other day, and with such effect that the State, which, a few centuries ago, clasped hands with the spoiler in the obliteration of memorials of the nation's history, is now taking over the fragments that remain, and protecting them with almost cherished care.

For those whose ideas are in harmony with ours in this respect there is a deep and fascinating interest in this group of effigies to which we refer in the Temple Church.

As we pass through the beautifully wrought western door, and enter the famous Round, with its circle of clustered pillars, whose arches support the triforium and dome above, the Pembroke Tombs rest on the pavement to the right. The group represents William Marshall, the great Earl of Pembroke, the Protector of England in the days of Henry III., and his sons. With the tomb of the Great Earl and his son, known in history as William Marshall the Younger, we are concerned only in this sketch. These monuments bear highest evidence of the skill of the sculptor's art, which reached such unrivalled perfection in the early period of the reign of Henry III.

The famous Earl of Pembroke, who occupied so prominent a position on the canvas of Irish as well as of English history in his time, was laid to rest in the Temple Church on Ascension-day, 1219. The figure on his tomb is executed in Purbeck or Sussex marble. Every detail is worthy of examination. The face is exposed; the head is enveloped in a hood of finely-wrought chain-mail, which defends the whole body, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet. Over the coat of mail flows a long tunic, open in front, showing the hauberk underneath, and looped to a belt at the left side. The fillet that clasps the hood, and the girdle round the waist, are decorated with bars and quatrefoils. In his right hand the warrior grasps a drawn sword, the point of which is thrust through the head and under jaw of an animal—a lion—on which his feet rest. On the left arm a long-pointed shield is buckled, which bears in high relief the crest or insignia of the house of Marshall. The expression of the face is intensely striking, the handsome countenance deriving a look of intelligence and sad thoughtfulness from the lines of care that mark the forehead and cheeks. An oblong cushion soothingly supports the head of the mail-clad knight. His legs are crossed, in evidence of his vow as a crusader. In the pose of this martial figure, and in every delineament with which sympathetic art has invested it, we read the traits of nobility, power, intelligence, and of pride—the Christian pride—of a Christian soldier.

But why, we may be asked, do we find, in this form of voiceless marble, in this tomb of quaint mediæval fancy, a subject of such enthusiasm or appreciative thought? What exceptional interest should an Irish visitor to the Temple Church find in William Marshall's tomb? Well, it is safe to say, in the light of history, there is no name coupled with the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland which, in a political or religious sense, has graven itself more deeply on the annals of that event.

A moment ago we regretted that the tombs of the founders were so often found missing in the verdure-clad sanctuaries of our ancient fanes. The original of this recumbent warrior in the Temple Church was no other than the founder of the once beautiful Abbey of 'the Vow,'¹ as it is called, on the shores of Wexford. He laid its foundation in the year 1200, and munificently endowed the community of Cistercian monks, who peopled it from the Monastery of Tintern, on the opposite shores of Wales, and conferred upon it the name of their parent house. Again, to him the Order of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem owed the foundation, in 1211, of their once splendid priory, St. John's, Kilkenny City. The Cistercian Abbey of Graiguenamanagh (1212), the beautiful church of which is still used, was again the result of his munificence: whilst six years later he became the founder of the Dominican Priory of Dublin, which occupied the ground on which the Four Courts now stand.

The Templars in Ireland too had their share of this Earl Marshall's patronage and generosity. The Grand Commandery of the Order at Wexford City, the Preceptories of Kerlogue, and of Templetown and Kilclogan, in Wexford County, were among the institutions which were indebted to his religious enthusiasm for their existence.

These facts, of themselves, are sufficient to invest the personality of the first William Marshall with considerable interest. But, above and beyond his energy in promoting the interests of the Norman Church in this country, his connection, and that of his family, with Ireland, if we

¹ Tintern Abbey, Bannow, Co. Wexford.

examine it closely, would seem to alter, in some measure, the views that prevail on the question of the English occupation of Ireland. Study of the subject from this point would seemingly lead us wide of the accepted opinion that Ireland's independence was primarily wrested from its people at the point of the sword, and suggests that it was rather by the alliance of the two successive heiresses of the crown of Leinster with the trusted representatives of an alien power, the initial conquest was effected. In this phase of the question interest deepens more and more in the identity of the soldier-statesman who sleeps in the Temple Church. We have said these monuments in the Temple are of greater interest to the Irish student than any tomb in Westminster Abbey. This is practically true. Not one of the Henrys or the Edwards, or of the statesmen or soldiers who sleep around them in death, ever wielded, in the destinies of Ireland, so effective or so strange an influence as did the Pembrokes, from the rise to the setting of their fame.

In support of this assertion our subject involves the necessity of touching briefly on the family history of the Marshalls, in so far as their connection with Ireland is concerned. This remarkable man, the great Earl of Pembroke, as he is styled, espoused, at the behest of Henry II. Isabella, the grand-daughter of Dermot M'Murrough. She was lineal descendant of the kings of Leinster, sole heiress by right of her mother, Eva, the wife of Strongbow, to the south-eastern kingdom or province of Ireland. Through her father, Richard de Clare, she inherited large possessions in Wales, together with the fiefs and titular dignities of the earldom of Pembroke. On his death, when she was but five years old, Isabella became the ward of the King of England, at whose court she was brought up with all the attention and honour due to her doubly noble rank. At this time William Marshall, son and heir of the Earl of Strigul, was the most honoured courtier of the Plantagenet king. Between Henry and his rebellious sons Marshall played a difficult and many-sided part; and while enjoying the confidence of the King, he was, we are told, mixed up with many of the intrigues instigated by the Queen, which embroiled the reign of Henry II.

The foothold of English power, at the close of Henry's reign, was very insecure in this country. His sovereignty had been acknowledged only to a very limited extent by the Irish chieftains. The troubled state of England's dominions in France so much engrossed the attention of the King that he had neither time nor means at readiness to further his projects with regard to Ireland. One move in the game of conquest was, however, at the disposal of the wily Plantagenet. It proved a very successful one, although it needed at the moment neither the service of the sword, nor the expenditure of treasure. This move, on the result of which so much was at stake, was the marriage of Isabella de Clare. Through the influence of her Royal Guardian the Irish princess was affianced to the Earl Marshall, Henry's trusted friend. With her hand the Earl was to attain to all the titles and dignities enjoyed by her father, and to be further invested with full powers with regard to the future procedure of Irish affairs.

Henry II. did not live to see this eventful marriage take place. His successor, Richard I., however, immediately after his coronation, saw his father's dying wishes carried out and his schemes fulfilled. Richard Cœur de Lion, on his departure for Palestine in June, 1190, constituted the Earl, Governor of the Kingdom and Lord Justice of Ireland.

William Marshall and his bride arrived in Ireland in 1191. During the thirty years of his life that followed he was virtually King of Leinster. Not, be it remembered, as an usurper, or by such rights of patent only as he derived from the English Crown, but by a more real and legal claim as consort of the hereditary representative of Leinster's kings. The active policy of Pembroke's administration in Ireland, and the evidences he has left to tell his fame, go to show in all his bearings and actions the spirit and independence of a ruler possessed of real personal power, and who was but in little way subject to the English Crown.

One of his first works was to build in a manner of feudal splendour the Castle of Ferns, on the site of the rude palace of his wife's ancestors. At Kilkenny also he raised that

other fortress-palace, which in its impressiveness still arrests our admiration. His religious foundations and those of his successor dotted the whole land over which they ruled; and whether we regard the founders of these buildings in the classic light of *dona ferentes* or not, we must admit them to have been at least men of enthusiastic and splendid ideas. Prolonged reference to the career of William Marshall the Elder, which extended over the reigns of four sovereigns, would extend beyond our present task: it belongs to the domain of the historian.

We cannot, however, conclude our notice of one so intimately connected with mediæval Ireland without reminding some of our literary readers that the tomb in the Temple Church, around which we have tried to awaken so many memories, represents the Pembroke of Shakespeare. He is the same who pleads for

The enfranchisement of Arthur, whose restraint
Doth move the murmuring lips of discontent.

And again as the play proceeds, bewailing the fate of the murdered prince, 'tis Pembroke who exclaims:—

O, death made proud with pure and princely beauty,
The earth hath not a hole to hide this deed.

All the historians of the period bestow on this Earl of Pembroke the highest tributes of renown as a warrior and a statesman. Shakespeare, consequently, has wreathed him with literary immortality as one of his finest characters in *King John*.

William Marshall died at Caversham, in 1219. His body was conveyed to Reading Abbey, where the first ceremonies of his obsequies took place. Thence they were conveyed to Westminster Abbey, where a funeral service was performed with regal pomp. They were then borne to the Temple, and there interred on Ascension Day.

Mathew Paris relates a strange incident with regard to his end. He tells us the Elder Marshall, Protector of the Kingdom, having infringed on some of the rights of the Bishop of Ferns, in Ireland, incurred at the hands of the latter the extremest penalty of the Church.

After the death of the Earl, this circumstance was made known to the King, who became so troubled that he summoned the Irish prelate¹ to London, and besought him to pronounce absolution at the tomb of the deceased. Then, we are told, in compliance with the royal desire, the Bishop, in company with the King, proceeded to the Temple Church, and in solemn words, which the historian records, revoked the sentence he had imposed, with the conditions, however, that the King or the Earl's heirs would see restitution made for the injuries and injustices sustained by the Church of Ferns. The conditions were, we are informed, not fulfilled.

The incident lives in history. But the possibility of the event in the light the chronicler puts it can hardly be accepted. The study of the constitution of the Knights Templars throw a gleam of light on the affair. The Earl Marshall was a Templar, at least an associate of the Temple, and as such shared all the privileges and immunities of the Order. In their houses and in their domains throughout Europe, the Templars were independent of all ecclesiastical authority, except that of the Pope. No bishop, anywhere, was allowed to interfere with them. Even when whole countries were put under the ban of interdict, we read how the persons and the manors of the Templars were exempt.

Furthermore, these privileges naturally became a cause of jealousy amongst princes, prelates, and nobles, and were among the circumstances that eventually hastened the fall of this military and religious Order.

However, this strange story of Mathew Paris finds place in the history and traditions of the time, which point to the occurrence as being the cause of the malediction to which the melancholy extinction of the Marshall family is attributed.

We now pass to the memorial of William Marshall the Younger, who succeeded to the title and dominions of his father both in Ireland and Wales. His career was comparatively a short one. He enjoyed the lordship of Leinster and

¹ Albinus O'Molloy, the last Celtic Bishop of Ferns, 1185-1222.

earldom of Pembroke but for twelve years. The Younger Marshall, by his prowess in arms and wisdom in administration, was no less remarkable than his father. His fidelity to the service of Henry III. secured for him many marks of royal favour. In command of the campaign undertaken by the latter against Llewellyn of Wales, he defeated that prince with a loss, we are told, of eight thousand men. In reward for this victory, Marshall was appointed governor of the castles of Cardigan and Carmarthen, and he further received the scutage of twenty counties in England.

In the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry III. he was appointed general of the King's forces in Normandy, and was thus the recipient of an amount of royal favours such as no minister of the English Crown ever before or since attained. The prestige which those dignities added to his name was still more heightened when the King conferred on him in marriage the hand of his sister, Eleanor, the daughter of King John, by the beautiful Isabella of Angoulême.

In Ireland, William Marshall the Younger confirmed all the charters of the religious foundations of his father. The palatial fortresses of Ferns and Kilkenny were, we are told, enlarged and re-edified by him. He extended many of the charters and civic privileges of the seaports and towns of his hereditary Palatinate of Leinster.

The most lasting monument Ireland possesses of William Marshall the Younger, is the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, founded by him for the Order of Friar Preachers in 1225. It is still in possession of the Dominicans, who in later years have beautifully restored the church. No religious building in Ireland possesses recollections of greater interest. Its scene is a favourite trysting-place for antiquarians. Many who know the Abbey will be interested in learning that the tomb of its noble founder of six and a-half centuries ago still exists in all the perfection of its mediæval beauty in the quaint church by the Thames.

The recumbent effigy of William Marshall the Younger rests beside that of his father in the Temple Church. It is carved in firestone, not marble. The warrior is represented clothed from head to foot in ring-armour, in the act of

sheathing a sword, of which the scabbard hangs at his left side. The legs are crossed, while the feet, armed with spurs, rest on a lion couchant. Over the armour is the loose tunic of the Templars, confined to the waist by a girdle. From the left arm hangs suspended a shield having the armorial bearings of the house of Marshall, and the families with whom the wearer was allied. The shield is shorter than those of the other figures, and is supported at the upper end by a squirrel; an oblong cushion, under an embattled tower, supports the head. The attitude of the figure is bold and spirited, and the expression of the face youthful, yet noble and haughty. The features bear a striking resemblance to those of the effigy of the Earl's younger brother, which rests beside his. This tomb was probably executed in the lifetime of its owner, in accordance with a not uncommon custom of the time.

William Marshall the Younger died suddenly on the 13th of April, 1231, during the festivities which were being held on the occasion of the marriage of his sister, Isabella, with Richard, Duke of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. The latter event supplies another instance of the maze of matrimonial alliances which at this early period of the conquest had already served to knit very closely the Crown of Leinster and the Throne of England.

The Duke of Cornwall at the time was heir apparent to his brother's crown. It was thus within the range of human possibilities that a princess of Irish blood and a lineal descendant of the Celtic race of Cathair Mor might have become Queen of England.

Although the Younger Marshall's tomb exists in the Temple Church, he was not interred there. He was laid to rest in the choir of the Black Abbey, Kilkenny. All our Irish chroniclers agree on this point, and local tradition for centuries unchangeably pointed to the site of his grave. English writers, however, tell us he was laid in the Round of the Temple, beside his father, where Henry III. attended his obsequies and shed tears upon his funeral pall. The version of the Irish annalists seems, however, to be correct,

An incident has recently thrown light on this question and set controversy at rest. Some five years since, on the 28th of July, 1894, while some improvements were being carried out at the Black Abbey, the spot to which local tradition unswervingly pointed as the grave of the founder was opened. Within a stone-built grave the remains were found. The grave was photographed, and the bones re-interred, but the skull was removed to the library of the Priory, where it is preserved in a crystal casket. Strange theme of reflection! The skull of the great grandson of Dermot M'Murrough, the brother-in-law of Henry III. of England, the conqueror of Wales, the hero of many a foreign battlefield, resting on the table of a silent library in an Irish city! Surely there is history here—a fund of memories more emotional—aye, a hundred times—than even swayed the heaving breast of Hamlet in the tragedy. The fleshless brow, the eyeless sockets, the close-set teeth are there; but where is the crested pride, the martial ambition that thrilled his life and which we still may read in the features of the mail-clad warrior of the Temple Church?

Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
versatur urna serius ocus
sors exitura et nos in aeternum
exilium impositura cumbae.

.

Pulvis et umbra sumus
Mors ultima linea rerum.

Yet—where more fitly should this relic of the Younger Marshall rest than beneath the gaze of those from whose white-robed predecessors he asked a suffrage for his soul when he raised the embattled towers of his abbey just seven hundred years ago!

A word regarding the consort of the Founder of the Black Abbey may not be irrelevant to this sketch. She was, as we have told, the daughter of King John. So intense was her grief for the loss of her husband that she determined to spend her remaining days within the cloister.

She never, however, took the veil, and subsequently retired to the Castle of Odiham, in Hampshire, which was conferred on her by the King. After seven years of widowhood, she married Simon De Montford, the whilome favourite of Henry III.

As the Countess of Leicester, Eleanor, became a prominent figure in the long struggle, known as the Barons' Wars. The last stirring event of her life was her defence of Dover Castle in 1265. Here she learned the result of the battle of Evesham, where De Montford and his son fell. Afterwards the Countess fled to France, where after nine years of retirement in the Dominican Convent of Montargis, she died, 1274.

Perhaps the memories we have tried to weave together in these brief pages will induce some Irish holiday-maker to visit the mediæval London church. Close to Charing-Cross, between the busy thoroughfare of Fleet-street and the stately Thames Embankment, this quaint memorial of the Crusaders is easily found. Within a tiny park where aged trees cast their shadows across green patches of sward, sometimes bright with flowers, the Temple stands—bathed in solitude and calm. So still and so unexpected, it seems like some soothing thought of long ago, in the depths of an anxious troubled heart—the beating heart of the world's greatest civic centre—Modern London.

There is another memorial besides those we have touched upon, which links the Temple church and its memories with Ireland. Within its shadow by the gravelled path, north of the vestry, is the grave of Oliver Goldsmith. Irish-Americans in their flights of hurried travel seldom fail to pay their tribute at the grave of the Bard of the 'Deserted Village.' One autumn day last year we saw the simple wayside slab plentifully strewn with garlands fresh and green, laid reverently there by Irish exiles' hands.

JOHN B. CULLEN.

DOCTRINE OF INDULGENCES

‘Juxta mentem Divi Thomae Aquinatis’

THERE is, perhaps, no subject so practical concerning which so little is known, and about which so many erroneous opinions are formed, as that of ‘Indulgences.’ An extensive knowledge of the subtler questions cannot be expected from the generality of persons; but no one will deny the necessity of accuracy concerning the fundamental truths, especially in our days. In our explanation we shall take the ‘Angel of the Schools’ as our guide. One of the many characteristics of St. Thomas Aquinas is that he lays down the principle on which the subject he may be treating rests with wonderful clearness, and then, with the intuition of genius, draws the consequences which flow from them. These principles throughout are never lost sight of, especially the more fundamental ones; they are frequently repeated, and continual reference is made to them. Moreover, the development of the resulting truths is expressed in such perspicuous language, with such ingenuity and simplicity, that one is reminded of the gradual unfolding of some great phenomenon in nature. This being so, it must follow that a patient consideration of the principles on which the Angelic Doctor rests his teaching on indulgences will give us a key which, if we but know its use, will put us in possession of that amount of knowledge which may be justly expected from us. In following St. Thomas, too, we shall have the advantage of accuracy of expression. Accuracy is especially necessary here, that we may be able, with no uncertain sound, to give a reason for the faith that is in us; and accuracy in thought is materially helped by the accuracy of expression of the author with whom we hold mental communion. The scholastic doctors excelled in the art of pithy, profound, and clear theological expression. Sometimes it is necessary to have been trained after their school to understand fully their expressions, but this is

mostly in the more profound and less practical questions. In this paper, then, we will follow in somewhat their method. Let us begin with the definition of an 'Indulgence' put together from St. Thomas by a keen commentator, Billuart: 'Indulgentia definitur: Remissio poenae temporalis debita peccato actuali remisso quoad culpam et poenam aeternam, facta extra sacramentum ab eo qui jurisdictionem spiritualem habet dispensandi thesaurum Ecclesiae.' In this definition, it may be said, is contained all we need know theoretically of the theology of indulgences.

It is a law established by Divine Justice that the sinner who has gone into disorder by sin should return into the way of order by pain. Love has not held his heart attached to his Heavenly Father; chastisement must make it bend under the authority of his Judge. But if divine grace, which in this life mercifully pursues the sinner, penetrates his heart; if he recognises that God is justly irritated, and humbly avows his fault; if acts of reparation are performed with love; and if from all this God derives as much honour as sin has taken away, there is 'satisfaction,' and the debt is paid.¹

But how can man ever acquit himself of a debt of eternal pain? Can he perform any penance which may be an equivalent satisfaction? Can all the evils which afflict humanity accumulated on one devoted head be compared to the infinite chastisement reserved for one mortal sin? No! Every possibility of making reparation for mortal sin is beyond us if we are obliged to proportionately compensate for the frightful chastisement which it merits.² Once fallen into this misfortune our situation was desperate did God treat us

¹ 'Unde non potest homo Deo satisfacere, si ly *satis* aequalitatem quantitatis importet: continget autem si importet aequalitatem proportionis, ut dictum est, et hoc sicut sufficit ad rationem justitiae, ita sufficit ad rationem satisfactionis.'—(Supp. Qu. xiii., art. 1, corp.)

² 'Ad primum ergo, dicendum, quod, sicut offensa habuit quandam infinitatem ex infinitate divinae Majestatis, ita etiam satisfactio accipit quandam infinitatem ex infinitate divinae misericordiae prout est gratia informata, per quam acceptum redditur quod homo reddere potest. . . . Alii vero dicunt quod etiam quantum ad aversionem pro peccato satisfieri potest virtute meriti Christi, quod quodammodo infinitum est. Et hoc in idem redit quod prius dictum est quia per fidem Mediatoris gratia data credentibus est. Si tamen alio modo gratiam daret sufficeret satisfactio per modum dictum,'—(*Ib. ad primum.*)

rigorously ; if His mercy did not supply us with that which His justice reclaimed. This he has provided for in anticipation by the infinite satisfaction, of the Man-God, of which we shall speak further on. This satisfaction, if the soul is penetrated with repentance which grace seeks to inspire, has been made ours. True, it has been offered *primarily* for the universal sin of human nature, which, coming from our vitiated origin, has infected all, but our personal sins, being its natural and lamentable fruits, the satisfaction of the Man-God has been extended to them by anticipation.¹ This satisfaction has been imputed to us—applied to us ! we can make it our own, because we have been incorporated by Baptism in our Saviour, and we can offer it to our Judge as if it were ours. He accepts it, and we are liberated for eternity. *Quantum ad paenam aeternam.*

The penalty which remains compared to that which has been abolished is nothing ; yet, in itself it is something, and if mercy preponderates so far as to be nearly everything, still justice has its share, and the principle of *satisfaction* is saved. This holds good likewise when God remits venial sin detested that is extirpated from the soul. There is here also a reparation due. The diminished glory of God must be re-established, specific acts of submission and humility must efface the acts of pride and insubordination, and we must again ascend by good works the path from which we glided to sin.

This is so necessary, that if penitential and satisfactory works have not had a place in our lives, we will be detained in a place specially prepared for expiation, and for the acquittal of temporal penalty. There, in purgatory, the soul is not only purified from the faults brought with it from this world, and which have not destroyed, but only diminished sanctifying grace, but it suffers a penalty likewise for the faults which had been pardoned but not sufficiently expiated. This penalty is variable in duration and intensity, and always exactly proportioned to the debt, the payment of which was hindered or interrupted by death. Yet, it some-

¹ Pars. tertia, Qua. i., art. 4, corp. and 1, 2, Qua. lxxx., art. 1.

times happens that God acts so powerfully on the soul of the sinner, and inclines it so strongly and sweetly to follow His impression that, inundated with the light of grace, by which it sees the nothingness of the goods which it has criminally sought after to find its contentment in them; seeing also the sovereign amiability of the infinite good which it has forsaken; penetrated with sorrow for the evil committed; and filled with pure love, lifts itself up to God with such strength and ardour, that it becomes more united to Him than it was before its falling off. Not only its contrition is perfect, being animated by pure love, but that love, elevated to intensity hitherto, perhaps, unknown to it, purifies that soul to such a degree that God, listening only to His love, forgets in a manner His justice and the penalty it exacts; or, rather, justice is indemnified, and has nothing to exact. Pain is not the reparation which is most agreeable to the heart of our God. The abundance of love may produce in the soul that strong impulse towards God which elevates it instantaneously to a degree of supernatural life, that is, of intimate union with Him higher than the degree from which sin may have cast it down; thus compensating for the honour which would come to God from a laborious satisfaction. The debt may in this way be blotted out with more glory to God and advantage to the soul.

We read an example of this in the Life of St. Vincent Ferrer. A great sinner, after confessing his sins to the saint, felt so much loving sorrow for his offences, that he expired before the saint had pronounced the words of absolution. Yet, St. Vincent saw the soul of that penitent received, without passing through purgatory, into the choirs of the Blessed. This is not the rule, and will ever be a merciful exception. The law is that every sin will be punished, *even after pardon and reconciliation*. The pain when made temporal will be mitigated if the Church, the mother of souls, so determines after having purified the sinner in the sacrament which Jesus Christ has confided to her; or if the sinner is moved by a holy anger against himself. That pain will be more severe if it is left to the Judge to determine on our departure from this life—

‘ remissio poenae temporalis debitae peccato actuali remisso, quoad culpam et poenam aeternam.’

Here we must observe that certain penalties were imposed in the primitive Church on those who were guilty of the graver sins, lasting five, seven, ten years, and sometimes the whole lifetime ; one or many, or even forty days fasting on bread and water.

When an indulgence of one or many, or forty days, or of many years is granted, the meaning is not that the obligation relating to the ancient canons of discipline is relaxed, so that the indulgence is valid as far as regards the Church, but not before God : ‘ sicque verum esset illud Lutheri, indulgentias, esse fidelium fraudes.’ Nor is the meaning this, that as many years of purgatory are condoned as are mentioned in the ancient canons as if, *e. g.*, an indulgence of seven years would liberate from seven years of purgatory. The sharpness of the pains of purgatory for one day may equal those of many years in this life, and it is uncertain what duration of suffering in purgatory the receiver of the indulgence may be obnoxious to.¹ But the meaning is that so much of the penalty due to sin before God, and to be expiated in purgatory is remitted as would be remitted by a penance of one or more days, or years, or Lents, accustomed to be imposed according to the ancient canons, or which would be imposed according to the prudent judgment of a confessor. How much *would be remitted* God only knows.

Now, we have to examine by what title and by what means is this remission of temporal punishment made. St. Paul explains to us in one word the source from which flows the precious favour of ‘Indulgence.’ After having reminded us that in the Old Dispensation the priest renewed every day the sacrifice which was the figure of that by which we were to be delivered, the Apostle adds, ‘ for by

¹ ‘ . . . Sed sensus est quod remittatur tanta poena peccatis debita coram Deo et in purgatorio luenda, quanta remitteretur per poenitentiam unius vel plurium dierum vel annorum, vel quadregenarum, secundum antiquos canones imponi solitam, ant. que secundum prudens confessorii iudicium esset pro peccatis commissis imponenda,’ — (Billuart, art. i, dico 3.)

one oblation He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' Therefore, we have been completely redeemed by Him, and His satisfaction, if made ours, will be more than sufficient to cancel all our debts, however great they may be.

Our humanity had in our first father a head, gifted with sanctity and justice, which were to be transmitted with his nature to all his descendants. Unfortunately, all have sinned in him, and from him have derived the principle of spiritual death, of which the death of the body is but the sad consequence. Human nature was in a manner decapitated spiritually, and if Adam still remained a head, he was only the head with regard to nature, and a nature deteriorated and enfeebled. If, then, a Saviour is promised to us who is to re-establish all things in heaven and on earth,¹ it is, above all, that a new head should be substituted to the human race.² In Him we have been regenerated, and walk in the newness of life.³

When we consider the person of Jesus Christ, making abstraction from His quality of head, He who was holy, innocent, undefiled, separated from sinners⁴ could have nothing to suffer, because he had merited no chastisement, and had nothing to expiate. But because he was primarily our Redeemer, and, consequently, our head, the Lord 'hath laid upon Him the iniquity of us all;'⁵ and He became for us not only one of the accursed, but was made a curse for us.'⁶ He summed up, then, in His life and in His death all humanity, as in the beginning it was summed up in Adam. Pilate spoke with deeper significance than he knew when he presented Christ to the Jews, already wounded for our iniquities, and said to them: 'Behold the man.' In this circumstance Jesus Christ was the Man of Sorrows,

¹ Eph. i. 10.

² 'Quoniam non eodem modo, omnium tamen hominum Christus caput est,' Pars. 3a Qua. viii, art. 3, corp.

Concerning the different ways Christ is 'caput Ecclesiae,' see this very interesting article, 'Ad prenum,' St. Thomas says . . . 'illi qui sunt infideles, et ei actu non sint in Ecclesia, sunt tamen in Ecclesia in potentia.'

³ Rom. vi. 4.

⁴ Heb. vii. 26.

⁵ Is. liii. 6,

⁶ Gal. iii. 13.

because He made Himself judicially, not being able to be in reality, the man of sin, in order to make us just.

Before going any further, it will be well for us first to establish the essential difference between merit and satisfaction, which we must be careful not to confound. There is a double value in every good work—one meritorious, by reason of the grace and charity from which it proceeds, and has a necessary relation to the reward to be obtained; the other a satisfactory value by reason of the difficulty, labour, and penitence in the work, and has a necessary relation to the rights of another to be repaired; and thus directly regards the good of the injured party, and only indirectly him making satisfaction, 'inasmuch as it liberates him' from his debt. The treasury of the Church is made up of the good works of Christ and the saints, 'inasmuch as they are satisfactory,' which, in accordance with God's way of dealing out punishment, the saints do not require to satisfy for their own sins.¹ With regard to their good works, inasmuch as they are merits, the saints have an adequate reward in the Beatific Vision. Now, Jesus Christ, living and dying for us, firstly satisfied for us, working our reconciliation,² and also merited for His sacred humanity.³

In the Man-God every act belonged to His Person. When Christ acted He did nothing which was not divine, nothing the value of which was not infinite. Of itself, as we affirmed, merit is personal, therefore exclusive and incommunicable to another. But Jesus Christ is not simply man, but, being a Divine Person, it belongs to Him to give grace and the Holy Spirit, *auctoritative* inasmuch as He is God, *instrumentaliter* inasmuch as He is man; *i.e.*, inasmuch as His humanity was the instrument of His divinity; and thus His actions by the power of the divinity

¹ 'Christus est mediator Dei et hominum.'

'Quia secundum quod est homo distat et a Deo in natura et ab hominibus in dignitate et gratiae et gloriae.'—(3^a Quae. xxvi., art. 2 corp.)

² 2 Cor. v. 19

³ 'Christus est caput Ecclesiae primo secundum propinquitatem ad Deum gratia ejus est altior et prior . . . Secundo vero habet perfectionem quantum ad plenitudinem omnium gratiarum. Tertio virtutem habet influendi gratiam in omnia membra Ecclesiae.'—(Par. iii quae. viii., art. 1.)

were salutary to us, as causing grace in us, both by merit and a certain efficacy (*per efficaciam quamdam*).¹ He is the head of the new humanity renewed in Him, and which was to proceed from Him; and He willed that the merit of His life and sufferings should be the common good of His mystical body, should be participated in by all its members. The merits and satisfaction of Jesus Christ, then, are ours, because we are His mystical body. Yet we have each an independent existence. All the merit we gain is ours exclusively, and cannot, except as we have explained, be communicated to another.²

We have now advanced a considerable part of the way in our explanation of the definition of an indulgence, which we have placed at the beginning of this paper: 'Remisso poenae temporalis debitae peccato actuali remisso quoad culpam et poenam aeternam.' We can now conclude: 'Facta extra Sacramentum ab eo qui jurisdictionem spirituales habet dispensandi thesaurum Ecclesiae.'

We have seen that an indulgence is a partial or entire remission of the public penances regulated by the ancient penitentiary canons, and that God in His justice judges to what purifying penance the indulgence or remitted canonical penance corresponds. We have also seen that Jesus Christ not only merited by every act of His mortal life, but also made atonement for us, inasmuch as we are incorporated His members, but could have no atonement to make for Himself, having nothing to expiate. He has made Himself the pledge, the victim of humanity, having become judicially before His Father, because He willed it, the universal sinner. He has thereby constituted Himself—always in quality of head—the universal Penitent.

The sufferings of the Word Incarnate are as ineffable as

¹ Pars 3^a, quae. viii., art. 1 ad primum.

² 'Dicendum quod poena satisfactoria est ad duo ordinata, scilicet, ad solutionem debiti et ad medicinam pro peccato vitando. Inquantum ergo est ad medicinam sequentis peccati, sic satisfactio unius non prodest alteri, quia ex jejuniis, unius caro alterius non domatur; nec ex actibus unius alius bene agere consuevit, nisi, secundum accitens inquantum, scilicet, aliquis per bona opera potest alteri mereri augmentum gratiae quae efficacissimum remedium est ad vitandum peccatum. Sed hoc est per modum meriti magis quam per modum satisfactionis.'—(Supp., ques. xiii., art. 2, corp.)

His Eternal Generation. All that we know is, that His sufferings occupied an immense place in the life of the Divine Penitent, which was terminated by the most cruel and ignominious death. Moreover, that which was not a material sorrow in His life was sought after and submitted to in the same spirit of reparation, and was in reality, for the Eternal Son of God, a humiliation. Behold the expiation. It was not only superabundant, having regard to the strict rights of justice, but infinitely in excess, being the sufferings of a Divine Person. Shall this superabundant expiation inactively weigh the scales of the Divine Justice? No,¹ it will form the treasury of the Church. We ask ourselves the same question regarding the most holy Mother of our Saviour and His saints. What had the most pure of creatures to expiate? She who, associated by an eternal decree to the Trinity in the divine work of our redemption, and preserved from the universal anathema, was named by the Holy Spirit in prophesy *tota pulchra*. And yet, what life was so conversant with sorrow as was her's, if we except that of her Divine Son?

It is true that God thereby was pleased to augment incessantly the glory of her whom He wished to exalt above every creature, and who was to be the Queen of angels. But we must not lose sight of this principle, that suffering is of itself a penalty, and if supported worthily, has an expiatory value. Not having to offer expiation for herself, to what purpose then was the long penance of the Mother of God appropriated?

If we descend to the ranks of the human multitude we enter, it is true, the domain of sin; all are debtors to the

¹ 'Ratio autem quare indulgentiae valere possint, est unitas corporis mystici in qua multi in operibus poenitentiae supererogaverunt ad mensuram debitorum suorum; et multi etiam tribulationes injustas sustinuerunt patienter, per quas multitudo poenarum poterat expiari si eis deberetur; quorum meritum tanta est copia quod omnem poenam debitam nunc viventibus excedunt et praecipue propter meritum Christi, quod etsi in sacramentis operatur, non tamen efficacia ejus in sacramentis includitur, sed sua infinitate excedit efficaciam sacramentorum. Supplem. Quaest. xxv., Corp. Remissio quae per indulgentias fit, non tollit quantitatem poenae ad culpam, quia pro culpa unius alios sponte poenam sustinuit, ut dictum est (in corp. Art.)' *Ib. ad prim.*

Eternal Justice, and have contracted the obligation of penance. The expiation of many has not equalled their debt, but that of many has exceeded. These latter ever continued during their life to offer to God fresh and more rigorous expiation. Would the Almighty wish that this superabundant expiation should fall void? At the risk of repetition we will elucidate this truth, all important in the matter of indulgences. 'You are,' the Apostle says, 'the body of Christ and members of member.' The Son of God, who came to save the human race, has willed that all the sons of Adam be made participators in the benefits of the Incarnation, by which human nature has been not only restored, but rendered divine in His Person. He was the man *par excellence*—the Man, supernatural and divine; all men were to be united to Him to find in Him the restoration of their own nature, and participation through Him in the Divine Nature. He, therefore, created for Himself in forming His Church—sprung from His side, a companion who has become the true mother of the living; and, by baptism, this noble spouse of Christ brings us forth, and incorporates us to her Spouse, who is our head—unique and necessary principle of our new life which is His. Therefore, as the head does not continue to exist without the body, as the body cannot without the head, and as the body and head have but one life, all that Jesus Christ has is ours, as He Himself affirmed. If, considering His own Person, His expiations were superfluous; if, too, considering His quality of head of a fallen nature, and as the universal Penitent they exceeded infinitely the debt, this superabundance necessarily has its use. The whole became a community good, belonging to Christ and His members; that is to say, to the whole mystic body; and it is from this unfailing fountain of expiation that all the members who will to the end be incorporated to Him will draw. In virtue of the same principle, the superabundance of the sufferings of the most holy Mother of God, and that of the saints and martyrs belongs to our Divine Head, by whose grace, under whose influence, and as whose members the saints carried the expiation of their faults beyond what He

exacted.¹ And if we really are the members of these holy members according to the doctrine of St. Paul, we enter into a common right. Thus is established the Communion of Saints, by which life and spiritual riches circulate through the body, bringing strength to those members that are feeble, and abundance to those that are in need. Thus to the other spiritual goods, of which we have spoken, are joined these; all are to be held in reserve, and dispensed according to the adorable will of Jesus Christ, to whom they belong. We are now brought to inquire upon what principles, and by what rules the distribution of this spiritual treasure is made.

We can obtain directly from God by prayer the gifts of His grace, but we are not free to draw at our own disposal on the 'Treasury of the Church,' which must be distributed according to the will of Him Who is the Author of its riches. It belongs to right order that the administration of these riches should be reserved to the Supreme Head of the Christian family; because he is eminently a father; to him is allotted the dispensation of those graces which are the most touching manifestations of mercy; and, therefore, the treasury composed of the expiations of Christ and His saints have been placed entirely in his hands. This reason alone suffices to explain the exclusive right of the Sovereign Pontiff. We will give one of another order, taken from the plenitude of his jurisdiction. It will be well first to recall to mind some facts regarding sin, which is a correlative of 'indulgence.' By sin the sinner is doubly bound. Whether deprived of the life of the soul by mortal sin, or unfitted for Paradise by venial sin until after an

¹ 'Respondeo dicendum quod actus noster ad duo valere potest; ad aliquem statum acquirendum vel ad aliquid consequens statum—opus unius potest valere alteri, non solum per viam orationis, sed etiam per viam meriti. Quod quidem dupliciter contingit; vel propter communicantiam in radice operis, quae est charitas in operibus meritoriis; et ideo omnes qui sibi invicem connectuntur, aliquod emolumentum ex mutuis operibus reportant; tamen secundum mensuram status unusquisque, quia etiam in patria unusquisque gaudebit de bonis aliterius; et inde est quod articulus fidei ponitur, Sanctorum Communio. Alio modo ex intentione facientis, qui aliqua opera specialiter ad hoc facit ut talibus prosint. Unde ista opera quodammodo efficiuntur eorum pro quibus fiunt, quasi eis a faciente collata; unde possunt eis valere ad impletionem satisfactionis, vel ad aliquid huiusmodi quod statum non mutat, i.e., statum ex damnatione ad salutem.' (Suppl. Quaest. lxxi, Corp.)

entire purification, in both cases there is the bond of guilt or sin. Whosoever sincerely repents God mercifully forgives, and consents to cancel the injury He has received, restoring the sinner to His friendship. Yet a reparation is necessary. Divine Mercy has triumphed in the pardon, Divine Justice will find satisfaction in the expiation of the sinner. Hence the debt or bond of *temporal* penalty. Now, Jesus Christ, our Divine Liberator, has established in His Church the faculty of breaking this double bond, *i.e.*, of guilt and penalty. 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth will be loosed in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven.'¹ *The guilt and penalty close the entrance to Heaven.*²

Here Jesus Christ has given the Sovereign Pontiff two keys by which he can prevent entrance into heaven by allowing this double obstacle of guilt and penalty to subsist, and can admit by taking it away. The act by which Peter unbinds we call, from its etymology, *absolution*. Even the *form* of the Sacrament instituted for the remission of sins committed after baptism is a sentence of *absolution*. 'Ego te absolvo,' says the minister of the sacrament who is associated to the power of Peter. On what falls this absolving sentence:—'a peccatis tuis.' It is from sin that he absolves, sin which is the essential bond which subjects to Satan. Here a sentence is pronounced because there is a complete process, a real judgment; the sinner becoming his own accuser, and the Supreme Judge pronouncing sentence by the mouth of his substitute. This judgment is the exercise of *jurisdiction*, that is, of an established right to apply the law to subordinates. And all jurisdiction, *i.e.*,

¹ Matt. xvi. 19.

² Respondio dicendum quod Papa habet plenitudinem pontificalis potestatis, quasi rex in regno. Sed Episcopi assumuntur in partem sollicitudinis, quasi iudices singulis civitatibus prepositi. propter quod eos solos in suis litteris Papa "fratres" vocat; reliquos autem omnes vocat "filios." Et ideo potestas faciendi indulgentias plenaresidet in Papa, quia potest facere, prout vult, causa tamen existente legitima. Sed in episcopis est taxata secundum ordinationem Papae. Et ideo possunt facere secundum quod eis est taxatum; et non amplius.' (Ib. Q. xxvi. c.—ideo possunt indulgentias facere etiam non sacerdotes. I. C. A. 2.)

all authority of governing and exercising justice, is in Peter, on whom rests the whole Church, and who has been made the Universal Pastor; thence it is derived to the other pastors who in this respect do not exist but through him. But when sacramental absolution is pronounced every bond is not broken. There is the debt of temporal punishment; other bond proceeding from the first and surviving it. If this bond does not disappear, as it were, of itself in the acquittal of the debt it requires another absolution (though of a different sort); and for this again Peter, in virtue of the words of Jesus Christ, 'whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,' must proclaim that he grants this favour. The merciful sentence in the Sacrament of Penance frees the sinner from his guilt. From being a criminal he is now only a debtor. In dealing with a debtor one can either maintain one's rights—and this without ceasing to be just—or one can generously remit the debt. Now, thus to relinquish one's right is really to take away a bond—to bring about a liberation. Here the debt of punishment is a consequence of the sin; therefore its remittal must proceed from the same authority which has pardoned the sin in the name of God; and this act, though different from the other, is generically an absolution.¹ It is Peter likewise who unbinds from the sin; it is Peter who will unbind from the penalty, always in the character of Vicar of Christ the Redeemer.

In both cases there is absolution, sacramental in the one, extra-sacramental in the other. Hence the words of the definition 'extra sacramentum.' When we say that it is Peter who absolves from sin we do not forget that the bishops who govern a flock, and the priests to whom, under their authority, a portion of that flock is confided, likewise absolve. But it is in virtue of a participated jurisdiction, the principle and plenitude of which resides in Peter, who communicates it largely for the good of souls. Likewise

¹ 'Dicendum quod ille qui indulgentias suscipit, non absolvitur, simpliciter loquendo, a debito poenae; sed datur ei unde debitum solvat. S.Q. xxv. A.I. ad sec.—dicendum quod effectus sacramentalis absolutionis est diminutio reatus; et hic effectus non inducitur per indulgentias; sed faciens indulgentias poenam pro eo, quam debuit, solvit de bonis Ecclesia communibus,' Ib, ad ter,

Peter can communicate to bishops and priests the prerogative which has been conferred on him to free from the bond of penalty outside the sacrament, *extra sacramentum*; and, in fact, the bishops to whom the charge of a flock is added to their episcopacy are associated to that power in a determined measure. But Peter remains the unique depositary of the treasury of indulgences; and for wise reasons the Sovereign Pontiff not only continues to be the supreme administrator—a title and function which he cannot lay aside—but also the principal dispenser. We are now at the end of the definition: ‘. . . facta . . . ab eo qui jurisdictionem spiritualem habet dispensandi thesaurum Ecclesiae.’

Indulgences can reach beyond the grave those souls who are being purified from venial sins not pardoned when they departed this life, and, likewise, those that have a debt of penalty for sin already forgiven which they are now discharging.¹ Death does not rend asunder the mystical body of Jesus Christ. The Church triumphant, militant, and suffering, are not three Churches, but *one*, traversing successive phases unto the consummation of the saints. The *Communion of Saints* establishes intimate relations between these members of Christ. The Church which combats, stretches a helping hand to the Church suffering, and seizes with the other the Church triumphant. St. Peter, having been instituted Pastor by Jesus Christ to guide souls across the desert of this life only to the borders of the next, does not extend his jurisdiction beyond this world which we inhabit, because the power of *binding and loosing* divinely conferred upon him is but a necessary consequence of his spiritual and sovereign pastorship.² If then the Sovereign Pontiff can open the

¹ Dicendum quod opus quod pro aliquo fit, efficitur ejus pro quo fit: et similiter opus quod est ejus qui mecum est unum, quodammodo est et meum. Unde non est contra divinam justitiam, si unus fructum percipit de operibus factis ab eo qui est unum secum in charitate, vel ab operibus pro se factis. Hoc etiam secundum humanam justitiam contingit ut satisfactio unius pro alio accipiatur. (S. Q. LXXI. ad sec.)

² . . . Tamen quantum ad aliquid adhuc sunt in via, in quantum, scilicet, earum progressus adhuc retardatur ab ultima retributione . . . Sed quantum ad hoc earum via non est circumscripta, quin quantum ad hoc quod detinentur ab ultima retributione, possint ab aliis juvari, quia secundum hoc adhuc sunt in via. (Ib. A. 2. ad ter.)

treasury of indulgences for those souls who are no longer in this life, he does it in a different manner. It is a principle that our supernatural works and the graces which we have obtained for ourselves through the Eucharistic Sacrifice cannot be transmitted to the souls in purgatory by a direct and personal appropriation, constituting a right for them before Divine Justice. We cannot pay their debts but with the goods which we possess *as members of the Church militant*, of which we are at once both children and subjects.¹ Now, since the souls no longer on earth are not members of the Church on earth, what is to reach them must be by a more indirect way. If, therefore, the Church militant gratifies her children by giving them the faculty of relinquishing their good works in favour of the souls in Purgatory, it is that we place them in the hands of God, whose justice is there exercised, supplicating Him graciously to apply them to the souls in whom we are interested. This act of fraternal communion, inspired by charity, cannot be but agreeable to Him since it is an exercise of the love of our neighbour, which proceeds from our love for Him. He reserves to Himself (in *merit* of our charitable intervention) to make the distribution of the *satisfactions* we place in His hands. Although His independence cannot be constrained by any limits we know that He does nothing arbitrarily; His good pleasure does not resemble our caprices and all His determinations are dictated by Infinite Wisdom. It is plain that we have not here an absolution of the penalty conceded by the Church; but with her permission we offer to God for our suffering brethren a

¹ 'Dicendum quod opus suffragii quod pro altero fit, potest considerari dupliciter: uno modo ut est expiativum poenae per modum ejusdam recompensationis, quae in satisfactione attenditur: et hoc modo opus suffragii, quod computatur quasi ejus pro quo fit, ita absolvit eum a debito poenae quod non absolvit facientem a debito poenae propriae, qui in tali recompensatione consideratur aequalitas justitiae:—alio modo potest considerari in quantum procedit a radice charitatis; et secundum hoc non solum prodest ei pro quo fit, sed facienti magis.' (S. Q. LXXI. A. 4. corp.) (Here we have the doctrine of the 'heroic act'.)

² 'Dicendum quod purgatio animae per poenas purgatorii non est aliud quam expiatio reatus impediens a perceptione gloriae. Et quia per poenam quam unus sustinet pro alio, potest reatus alterius expiari, non est inconveniens, si per unius satisfactionem alius purgetur.' (Ib. A. 6. ad ter.)

succour which we beg may reach them. We ask Him to deign to apply under title of satisfaction a virtuous act which would be for us if we kept it an expiation (as well as a merit). This is what is termed 'suffrage' 'per modum suffragii.'

Innumerable questions, and those practical ones, incessantly arise which do not enter within the scope of our present purpose. Such questions are admirably answered in their place in the I. E. RECORD. Yet there are some the entire omission of which would make this paper too incomplete, and yet which, for want of space, we must dismiss in a few words.

Of the dispositions required to gain an Indulgence the *intention* is altogether necessary. Again, one must be in a state of grace when the indulgence is gained; consequently, when the last of the enjoined good works is performed, because the penalty is not remitted unless the guilt from which it arose has disappeared. This holds true likewise of venial sin. Wherefore he who endeavours to gain even a plenary indulgence and yet has an affection to any venial sin, does not gain it relatively to that sin, and therefore does not gain the entire Indulgence.¹

It is not necessary that all the other good works enjoined should be performed in a state of grace unless so expressed in the diploma of the Indulgence. This, however, is not to be understood of indulgences applicable to the souls in Purgatory, unless the good work enjoined would of its nature require the state of grace, *i.e.*, Holy Communion; for he who obtains the indulgence does not enjoy the fruit of it, *i.e.*, the remission of the penalty, nor does he make the Indulgence his own, but obtains the power to apply it to another.²

Many more points of interest might, of course, be touched upon in noticing the writings of St. Thomas upon this subject. What is peculiarly valuable in our saint's treatment

¹ Billuart, Art. V.

² Billuart, Art. VI. Suffragia for the faithful departed should not be deferred. Cf. s. q. lxxi., a. 4.

of this as of all questions, is, that he avoids extremes; and there is no subject, perhaps, which of its nature presents so many aspects which lead the incautious to laxity or severity. The clearness of mind of the Angelic Doctor, his logical directness of expression, his thorough mastery of all theology, appears here as well as in more metaphysical studies. A perusal of the questions in the *Summa* which treat of indulgences will impart knowledge, and cannot fail to satisfy and please. In conclusion, let us quote the words of a late devotional writer. Father Faber says somewhere to the effect that 'an appreciation of indulgences ever goes hand in hand with the true Catholic spirit; diminishes and increases with it.'

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

OBLIGATION TO HEAR MASS ON SUNDAY: CAN IT BE FULFILLED IN ORATORIES?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following question in your next issue? In a recent work on Moral Theology it is said, ‘Oratoria publica relate ad praeceptum audiendae Missae sunt etiam oratoria in domibus sive institutis publicis.’ Does one satisfy his obligation by hearing Mass in the oratory of a convent? I suppose that there is no admission for persons in general.

SACERDOS.

Where can one satisfy the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday? Looking at the question from the point of view of the general law, one can, as a rule, according to the present discipline of the Church, satisfy his obligation wherever he hears Mass. The obligation to hear Mass on Sundays in one’s parish church or in some public church has been abrogated; nor is it in the power of a bishop to enforce or re-enact the ancient discipline. Mass may, therefore, be heard not merely in any public church, but also in the oratory of the bishop’s residence, in the oratories usually attached to convents, hospitals, seminaries, and such institutions.

There remain, however, one or two exceptions to the general rule just laid down. According to the common law the obligation of hearing Mass on Sunday can be fully satisfied in a strictly private oratory by those only that are included in the indult, in virtue of which the oratory has been erected. A private, or strictly private, oratory may in this connection be best defined as one for the erection of which a special papal indult is necessary. A second case of exception mentioned is where Mass is celebrated on a portable altar in a private house in virtue of a purely personal privilege. A bishop, for example, outside his own diocese may, by reason

of a personal privilege, celebrate (or get a priest to celebrate) on a portable altar wherever he happens to be. But only *familiares Episcopo actu necessarij* can satisfy the Sunday's obligation by assisting at such a Mass.

We have said above that the Sunday's obligation cannot be *fully* satisfied in a private oratory by one who is not covered by the Indult for that oratory. For it seems to be a tenable position to distinguish in the obligation to hear Mass a twofold precept: (1) a precept to *hear Mass*, and (2) a precept to hear it *in loco debito*. The first obligation, if the distinction is to be admitted, would be fulfilled by hearing Mass *anywhere*, even in a strictly private oratory. Only with the aid of such a distinction can we well explain the opinion of those theologians who maintain that a man who cannot hear Mass *in loco debito* would still be bound to hear Mass, if he reasonably can, in a private oratory, though he be not included in the Indult.

As we have remarked above, an episcopal prohibition against hearing Mass on Sunday in the oratory of a convent or other such institution does not affect the *valid* fulfilment of the obligation in that oratory, but only the lawful fulfilment. One who disregards the reasonable command of the bishop and hears Mass in such a place satisfies the ecclesiastical law of hearing Mass on Sunday, but fails in obedience due to his bishop.

It has been pretty generally held that in Ireland, in virtue of custom, one satisfies his obligation in any place whatever in which he hears Mass on Sunday.

EPISCOPAL FACULTIES FOR MATRIMONIAL CASES IN 'PERICULO MORTIS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—The bishops of Ireland have within the last few years received, I am informed, certain powers to grant matrimonial dispensations in cases of persons who are living in sin. I shall feel grateful if in an early number of the I. E. RECORD you could give the substance of this concession. C. C.

The faculty to which we understand our correspondent to refer was issued by the Holy Office, February 20th, 1888. It was granted to all ordinaries, not merely to the bishops

of this country. It will be noted too that the faculty is granted permanently.

The following is the text of the Encyclical letter of the Holy Office as far as it bears on our correspondent's question :—

De mandato S. D. N. Leonis XIII. S. Congregationi S. Rom. et Univ. Inquisitionis, nuperrimis temporibus duplex questionum genus expendendum propositum fuit. Primum respicit facultates quibus urgente mortis periculo, quando tempus non suppetit recurrendi ad S. Sedem augere conveniat locorum Ordinarios dispensandi super impedimentis publicis matrimonium dirimentibus cum iis qui juxta leges civiles sunt conjuncti, aut alias in concubinato vivunt, ut morituri in tanta temporis angustia in faciem Ecclesiae rite copulari et propriae conscientiae consulere valeant. . . .

Ad primum quod attinet, se serio diligenter que perpensa adprobatoque et confirmato Eminentissimorum Patrum Generalium Inquisitorum suffragio, sanctitas sua benigne annuit pro gratia, qua locorum Ordinarii dispensare valeant sive per se, sive per ecclesiasticam personam sibi benevisam aegrotos in gravissimo mortis periculo constitutis, quando non suppetit tempus recurrendi ad S. Sedem super impedimentis quantumvis publicis matrimonium jure ecclesiastico dirimentibus excepto sacro Presbyteratus Ordine et affinitate lineae rectae ex copula licita proveniente¹

We may briefly note the following points in connection with these faculties:—1. All ordinaries—the bishop, the vicar-general, the vicar-capitular, the vicar-apostolic—possess these faculties permanently. 2. The faculties can be permanently delegated by the Ordinary to all parish priests¹ and to all those who, though not parish priests in the strict sense, discharge the duties of parish priests—*exclusis tamen vice-parochis et cappellanis*; delegation, however, will be valid only for urgent cases where there is not time to refer to the Ordinary himself.² Any priest or cleric, *ecclesiastica persona Episcopo benevisa*, may, it would appear, be delegated transiently for a particular case. 3. The faculties are available for those only who have contracted a civil marriage or are living in concubinage; and for such persons only when one of the parties is in danger of death. It is

¹ *Vid. Collect. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, n. 1472.

² *Vid. Collect.*, n. 1471.

immaterial whether the dying person be directly or only indirectly affected by the impediment. 4. The faculty covers, with the two exceptions specified, diriment (not impedient) impediments, *juris ecclesiastice*, whether they be public or occult. 5. The faculty gives power to dispense, it is reasonable to assume, even though there be several diriment impediments concurring. 6. The dispensation having been granted, the parties should give or renew matrimonial consent in the ordinary way—therefore before the parish priest and witnesses, where the decree *Tametsi* is in force; in case of necessity, however, *ob periculum infamiae*, v.g., the dispensation may remove even the impediment of clandestinity. 7. The marriage should be duly registered.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

AN APOCRYPHAL INDULGENCE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly state, in an early number of the I. E. RECORD, what you think of the indulgence promised on the accompanying leaflet, which I find widely circulated in my parish?

P. P.

A DEVOTION IN HONOUR OF THE WOUNDED SHOULDER OF JESUS CHRIST, BEARING THE CROSS, TO WHICH AN INDULGENCE IS ATTACHED

St. Bernard, having besought our Lord Jesus Christ to reveal to him the most severe of the hidden sufferings of His bitter Passion, our Blessed Redeemer replied: 'The pressure of the heavy cross on my lacerated shoulder produced a wound three inches in depth, which, although so little reflected on by men, because unknown to them, was, in fact, the most agonising of My tortures, Venerate that sacred wound, and be assured that all petitions, presented through its merits, thou shalt obtain. Moreover, I will pardon and forget the sins of all who, for My love, shall honour it, bestowing on them My grace and mercy.'

Pope Eugenius III., at the earnest request of St. Bernard, granted three thousand years indulgence to all who with contrite heart recite the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary three times in honour of the wound in the shoulder of our Blessed Redeemer.

Our Father, Hail Mary, three times.

The following devout prayer may be added, though its recital is not requisite to gain the indulgence :—

LET US PRAY.

Most meek Lamb of God! I, a miserable sinner, humbly venerate the painful wound inflicted on Thy sacred shoulder by the heavy burden of the cross. I adore Thee, O my suffering Saviour! I praise and glorify Thee with all my heart; I bless the infinite love which induced Thee to submit to that torturing wound, beseeching Thee, through its efficacy and through all the torments of Thy passion, to have mercy on me, a sinner; to forgive my transgressions, and strengthen me to follow the traces of Thy Cross, until happily united to Thee in a glorious eternity. Amen.

Translated from the Italian.

This indulgence is undoubtedly apocryphal. Both St. Bernard and Eugene III. passed away about the middle of the twelfth century, and there is no authentic record of any indulgence of more than a few years having been granted as early as that time. Indeed, St. Thomas of Aquin, writing fully a century after the death of Eugene III., seems almost to marvel at indulgences of three and five years, although these indulgences could be gained only once in the year, and only during some special solemnity. And Pope Nicholas IV., in a Bull issued in 1290, speaks of an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines as a very exceptional favour, which could be gained only at Christmas, and even then only by those who would visit the Church of St. Peter in Rome.

In addition to this *a priori* reasoning, we have the express authority of the Congregation of Indulgences for saying that this particular indulgence is apocryphal. On March 7, 1678, an *elenchus*, or catalogue of apocryphal indulgences, was issued by this Congregation, and, among others declared apocryphal in this document, is the indulgence granted—

ab Eugenio III. revelationi de plaga in humero Jesu Christi facta S. Bernardo.

It may, we think, be laid down as a general rule that indulgences of hundreds and, *a fortiori*, of thousands of years, are apocryphal, unless their authenticity can be

clearly proved. In other words, the presumption is against the authenticity of such indulgences. Again, indulgences granted to devotions or prayers having for their authority only unauthenticated visions granted to anonymities, or alleged visions granted to known saints, such as St. Bernard, may be reasonably suspected. Obviously, the indulgences granted to the Rosary, the various scapulars, &c., do not come under this class.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

ARCHBISHOP USSHER AND THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

REV. DEAR SIR.—The following incidents, taken from the *Life of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford*, by Elizabeth Cowper, give a vivid idea of the Erastian origin and nature of the Protestant Church of Ireland, and may be of some interest to historical students:—In the Convocation of 1635, Strafford ordered Dean Lesley, the prolocutor, to put the question for allowing and receiving the Articles of the Church of England, about which he was, by name and in writing, to take the votes of the Committee; but merely content or not content, they were not to discuss the matter: for he would not endure that the Articles of the Church of England should be disputed. And, finally, that there should be no question about the canon that was to be voted, he desired that the Primate would be pleased to frame it; and when he had read it, he would send a draft of it to the prolocutor to be propounded, enclosed in a letter of his own.

Archbishop Ussher then drew up a form of the canon; but Wentworth, not approving it, replaced it by one of his own, as nearly as possible after the English canon, and sent it in turn for the perusal of the Archbishop. But he no more approved of Wentworth's efforts than Wentworth of his, and told him he feared a canon like that would never pass, though his own form might.

Wentworth, however, persisted in his own draft, saying, 'he was convinced that when brought before Parliament not six would vote against it. He would be content to be judged by that sequel only; for order's sake, he begged the Archbishop to vote it first in the Upper House of Convocation, and then pass it to the Lower. At the same time, he enclosed it to Dean Lesley with the promised letter, whose style and purport may be easily imagined. The consequence was, that the canon as drawn by Wentworth, was voted and carried by both Houses of Convocation.'¹

On another occasion, during his own absence in England, he ordered Ussher to cause all the Protestant clergy, who were

¹ Letter of Lord-Deputy to Archbishop of Canterbury, i. 301.

found living idly, in Dublin or other cities, on their farms, at once to repair to their parish churches ; and if they disobeyed, the Archbishop was to sequester their livings for one year ; and if that did not produce obedience, then they were to be deprived altogether. And lest Ussher himself should fail in his unpleasant duty, he was informed that immediately on his return to Ireland, the Lord-Deputy would rigidly examine into the manner he had exercised his appointed office.

Wentworth spoke always of Ussher as a good and learned man, but as one whom it was necessary to frighten a little.

Yours faithfully,

N. MURPHY, P.P.

DOCUMENTS

PASTORAL ADDRESS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE
MANAGERSHIP OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

THE following Pastoral address was unanimously agreed to by the assembled Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland at their meeting in Maynooth College, June 23rd :—

In view of the persistent attacks made by certain writers in the newspaper Press on the existing Managerial system in our Catholic primary schools, and of the reckless statements made by speakers at various meetings, especially at meetings of the Teachers' Organization, we deem it our duty to issue this solemn admonition, and to warn our flocks against the dangerous errors advocated by those misguided men, amongst whom, we regret to say, are some few who call themselves Catholics.

The Managerial system in our primary schools means, in reality, that legitimate and necessary control which the local pastors rightfully exercise over the National schools attended by the youth of their flocks, a control which is designed not merely to promote the general efficiency of the schools, but, above all, to safeguard the faith and morals of the pupils at the most perilous period of their lives. It essentially includes a constant supervision over the conduct of the teachers, the choice of the books, and the religious and moral training of the pupils, as well as over the educational efficiency of the schools. It is quite obvious that such control could never be maintained without the power of choosing worthy and efficient teachers, and also the right of removing those whose character and conduct render them unfit to be entrusted with the important duty of instructing and training our Catholic youth. Experience has also clearly proved that the more constant is this supervision, the more efficient the school is likely to be from every point of view—social, religious, and educational. It follows too that the men who seek to weaken or destroy this just and necessary control of the priest over the Catholic schools of his parish must be regarded as hostile to religion, and undisguised enemies of the Catholic Church ; nor

would their principles, if carried out in practice, be less likely to prove fatal to the true interests of the pupils, and of the teachers themselves, of whose cause these writers and speakers so loudly proclaim themselves the champions.

This is not our teaching merely : it has been set forth again and again in similar language by the Head of the Church, whose teaching all true Catholics must receive with reverence and docility. In a Brief addressed to the Archbishop of Freiburg by Pius IX. in 1864, his Holiness emphatically declared that ‘the purpose and effort to exclude the authority of the Church from the primary schools, proceed from a spirit altogether hostile to the Church, and from a desire to extinguish in the minds of the people the heavenly light of our holy faith.’ Elsewhere in the same Brief the Pope says that ‘all those who perversely maintain that the Church should give up, or even intermit, her guiding influence over the primary schools can mean only this, that the Church should act against the commands of her divine Founder, and fail in the discharge of her highest duty of labouring to promote the salvation of the souls committed by God to her care.’

There can be no doubt that the purpose of some of those to whom we refer is, step by step, to weaken, and, as far as they can, finally destroy, the salutary influence of the Church in our primary schools. The Pope tells us clearly what we are to think of such men and their designs ; and he urges the Bishops ‘fearlessly to defend the rights of the Church, and to keep far removed from the training and education of youth everything that could in the least tend to weaken their faith, pervert their religious sense, or sully in any way the purity of their morals.’ That duty we are resolved at all cost to discharge, and we confidently expect the loyal obedience and cordial co-operation of our ever-faithful people in maintaining the rights of the Church, and safeguarding, against every open or secret attack, the integrity of the faith and morals of the children of our Catholic people.

We have oftentimes borne public testimony to the zeal and fidelity with which the Catholic national teachers of Ireland, as a body, discharge their laborious duties, as well as to their cordial and successful co-operation with the clergy in imparting religious instruction to the pupils of their schools. We are most desirous to give them all reasonable security in their office, and have proved our good-will in this respect by recognising the right of

the teachers to have recourse to the bishop of the diocese for protection against arbitrary dismissal. It would seem at times to be forgotten that we, the Catholic bishops of Ireland, were the first to establish such a means of protection for the teachers of Irish National schools.

With the view of securing the full efficiency of the protection provided by us in a former resolution on this subject, we take this opportunity of re-publishing that resolution, inserting some words to render it more explicit on certain points, and thus remove all doubts as to our meaning.

We have, therefore, now unanimously resolved—

‘That no principal or assistant teacher be either summarily dismissed or served with notice of dismissal by a clerical manager until the manager has informed the bishop of the diocese of his intention to take such action, and has obtained the assent of the bishop to his doing so, the teacher having, in all cases, the right to be heard in his own defence.’

But we can never consent to submit the difficult and delicate question of the religious or moral fitness of our Catholic teachers for the discharge of their duties to any external tribunal, whose views on such questions might in many cases be quite different from ours. We would rather see our schools closed, and our children taught under the hedgerows, like their forefathers, than have them exposed to the pernicious influence of teachers whom we believed to be wholly unfit for their office.

It is well too for the teachers to bear in mind that the schools have been established for the efficient education of the children rather than for the comfort or security of their teachers. We are anxious to promote both the comfort and the security of the teachers; but the efficiency of the schools holds a still higher place in our estimation, and it must, if necessary, be maintained even at some sacrifice, without, however, inflicting injustice upon any teacher.

We are confident that our Catholic teachers will trust to the sense of justice and to the fairness of their bishops, who, as they know, have both their temporal and spiritual interests sincerely at heart; and we should be much mistaken were they to allow themselves to be misled by a few designing men who are unable to conceal the anti-Catholic and irreligious spirit

which is the mainspring of the campaign against the Managerial system.

(Signed),

- ✠ MICHAEL CARDINAL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
Primate of All Ireland.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.
- ✠ THOMAS WILLIAM, Archbishop of Cashel.
- ✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Meath.
- ✠ FRANCIS JOSEPH, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh.
- ✠ THOMAS ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Cork.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Ferns.
- ✠ ABRAHAM, Bishop of Ossory.
- ✠ EDWARD THOMAS, Bishop of Limerick.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Dromore.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Raphoe.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Achonry.
- ✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Kilmore.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Kerry.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Killaloe.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Derry.
- ✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Killala.
- ✠ ROBERT, Bishop of Cloyne.
- ✠ RICHARD, Bishop of Clogher.
- ✠ JOSEPH, Bishop of Ardagh.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Elphin.
- ✠ HENRY, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin
- ✠ DENIS, Bishop of Ross.
- ✠ NICHOLAS, Bishop of Canea,

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF
IRELAND ON THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL, AND THE
IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION

The following Resolutions in reference to the Local Government Bill, and to the Irish University Question, were unanimously adopted by the Irish Bishops at their recent meeting in Maynooth :—

I.

RESOLVED—That the Bishops of Ireland unanimously renew the protest made by their Standing Committee against the denial of the ordinary rights of citizenship to the Catholic clergy of Ireland, as proposed by the Local Government Bill now before Parliament.

We have been no strangers to such disabilities in the past, but surely it is a strange thing that a so-called Unionist Government, untaught by the history of the penal days, can find no better means of reconciling the Irish people with the British Government in Ireland than by re-enacting civil disabilities against the Catholic clergy—for it is really against them that the disability now proposed to be enacted has been designed. The times have changed, but the old spirit still reveals itself, the spirit of jealousy and distrust of the Catholic priesthood.

We protest against the clause ; we ask our representatives in Parliament to oppose it to the last. If they fail, this protest will remain to justify the clergy in exercising that influence outside the local Councils, which the law will not permit them to exercise as members of these bodies.

II.

RESOLVED—That the Irish members of Parliament be requested to take every opportunity for the remainder of this Session, particularly in the discussion of the Queen's College estimates and the London University Bill, to press the Irish Catholic University question on the attention of the House of Commons, and to obtain from Government an undertaking to deal with it at an early date.

(Signed)

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| ✠ MICHAEL CARD. LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh, and
Primate of All Ireland, <i>Chairman.</i> | |
| ✠ JOHN HEALY, Bishop of Clonfert,) | <i>Secretaries to
the Meeting.</i> |
| ✠ RICHARD A. SHEEHAN, Bishop of }
Waterford and Lismore, | |

FRAGMENT OF THE LIFE OF ST. FLANNAN IN THE
O'RENEHAN MSS. IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE LIBRARY¹

FRAGMENTUM DE VITA SANCTI FLANNANI

Angeli siquidem Domini per maria comitabantur eos et divinis colloquiis consolabantur. O felix navigium quod Deus mirabiliter lapidea navi gubernavit! O felix et admirabilis homo cujus sanctitate et felicitate Deus fecit petram per longissima maria natare! In diebus ante illis quibus Sanctus Flannanus in Italia pervenit ingens pugna inter Romanos et Gallos commissa est et acie amborum fervente sinistra manus filii regis Romanorum in ipsa pugna amputata est; et de hoc ipse rex et Romani valde condolebant. Fama autem dispersit, in illis regionibus, quod quidam sanctus peregrinus cum suis discipulis vectus lapide ut navi trans maria ab occasu solis venerat. Et haec fama pervenit ad regem manentem in illa civitate et statim rex misit nuncios ut Sanctus peregrinus ad se duceretur; et nuncii duxerunt Sanctum Flannanum ad regem, rogavitque eum rex et omnis populus ut curaret filium regis. Respondit eis Sanctus Flannanus dicens 'Non est meae infirmitatis signum facere; et illi magis ac magis rogaverunt virum Dei ut in nomine Domini sui manum acciperet et ponerat eam in locum suum. Tunc vir sanctus dixit ad regem—'Deus Omnipotens qui fecit coelum et terram, maria et omnia quae in eis sunt, filium tuum curabit,' et haec dicens accepit manum abscissam et accessit ad filium regis et composuit manum aridam ad locum suum et tenens eam oravit ad dominum statimque inter manus ejus os ad os adhaesit, caro ad carnem, cutis ad cutim et cicatrix apparuit. Et cum esset curata in pristinam vegetatem, sanitatem et speciem assignavit eam incolumen omnibus presentibus. Tunc omnes Deum glorificaverunt, honorificantes famulum ejus; et videntes eum virum sanctum et sapientem, inito consilio, tota illa civitas cum sua parochia a rege ex consensu totius populi romani in sempiterna possessione Sancto Flannano data est; et optantes rogaverunt eum ut ipse foret in ea episcopus. Vir autem Domini hoc respuit, dicens—Donate Domino quod mihi dedistis et placabilem acquirite ad vos; quia ego non possum hic manere, quoniam Deus praedestinavit ut ego revertar ad patriam meam, et scio divina revelatione in quo loco erit resurrectio mea. Tunc rogaverunt

¹ See note at end of Fragment.

eum omnes ut saltem ad tempus apud eos maneret et ibi unum de discipulis suis dimitteret. In illa siquidem civitate vir sanctus Flannanus spacio triginta dierum moratur, sanans omnes languores multitudinis undique confluentis ad se et dimisit ibi virum Abbatem nomine Cochid, qui extitit coram Deo et hominibus doctor sanctus et fidelis. Captum autem iter agens Sanctus Flannanus Romani pervenit. Postquam vero advenit Romam totum annum in ea complevit. Perseveravit ergo ibi in sua sancta consuetudine, i.e. in sejniis et vigiliis et orationibus et coeteris bonis operibus, et cum omni diligentia totum ecclesiasticae regulae ordinem didicit, et divina revelatione ostenditur Domino Papae ut consecret Sanctum Flannanum episcopum, et postea per impositionem manuum venerabilis Papae urbis Romae gradum episcopalem Sanctus Flannanus accepit: Dictum est enim ad eum desuper:—‘Qui vult episcopatum bonum opus desiderat. Sed dignitati vestrae narranda est, fratres charissimi, mira res nostris temporibus quae facta est a Domino in die consecrationis Sancti Flannani in urbe Romana. Septem enim de fructibus palmae imbres super urbem de coelo fluxerunt, cum ordinaret “Dominus Papa Sanctum Flannanum et angeli Dei” indicaverunt hoc factum esse ut ostenderent qualem et quantam gratiam Sanctus Flannanus Episcopus apud Deum habebat. Tunc omnes Domino laudes dederunt, glorificantes per hoc signum nomen Domini Jesu in suo Flannano sanctissimo.

Postea cum accepta licentia et benedictione a Sanctissimo Papa, Beatus Flannanus Episcopus, cum suis discipulis, cepit iter venire ad Hiberniam. Tunc Sancti Flannani fama ibi plaudento quatuor decim monachi a vicinis monasteriis venerunt ad eum volentes ire cum eo et sub tali viro esse in peregrinatione. Respondit eis Sanctus Flannanus dicens—‘Quam causam habetis,’ ‘Cur ita vultis,’ ‘Non licet monachis praepositum suum deserere. Ideo consilium accipite et eti ad vestra monasteria.’ Illi vero dixerunt ‘moriemur omnes si non ibimus tecum.’ Vir Sanctus dixit eis. Scio quia ibitis ad Hiberniam sed non mecum: nec ab hoc die videbitis faciem meam in aeternum. Descendens inde vir Dei venit ad ripam fluminis Tybris vilitque in alveo fluminis lapidem quae sub eo de Hibernia natavit natantem et quasi ludentem contra ictus alvei. Tunc vir Dei jussit lapidem descendere cum flumine, sequens eum de urbe, quia noluit ascendere super eum in urbe ante homines. Illi vero monachi sequebantur virum Dei a longe, volentes adhuc eum

rogare. Unus autem ex discipulis ejus aspiciens retro, ait :— Ecce nos sequentur monachi. Tunc Sanctus Flannanus dixit :— ‘ Potens est Dominus ut in vestigiis pedum suorum haereant donec cum consultu ratione synodi veniant. Mirum igitur dictu illico ad verbum Sancti Flannani in modum simulacrorum sine aliqua vegetate omnes stabant immobiles. Tunc multae turbae de civitate, videntes tale signum sive miraculum, perrexerunt post Sanctum Flannanum ut rogarent eum et illis sciscitaretur ab eo quid de illis ageretur.

Respondit eis Sanctus Flannanus dicens. ‘ Quia voluerunt mecum venire et ego rogavi eos manere in suis monasteriis vel cum licentia post me venire ad Hiberniam et hoc noluerunt, et ideo hoc eis contingit. Modo enim revertemini vos et invenietis eos solutos et si habuerint adhuc licentiam ratione Synodi veniant post me ad Hiberniam et Deus diriget viam eorum. Et turbae revertentes invenerunt eos solutos, sicut dixit Sanctus. De his autem monachis interim taceam et quod contigit iterum narrabim.

Beatissimus autem Flannanus ascendit super lapidem suum cum discipulis suis, sed dirigente Christo lapidem eundem portum quem reliquerat, juxta monasterium Sancti Braccani, apprehendit, et honorifice a Beato Braccano, secundum honorem pontificalem Sanctus Flannanus susceptus est, et mansit apud eum per aliquot dies.

Quodam quoque die Sanctus Flannanus dixit ad Beatum Braccanum :— ‘ Quod tibi promisi, Sancte Pater, ecce ego, Christo me adjuvante, complevi. Non promisi tibi tecum manere, sed tantum ad te reverti. Ideo Sancte Senior, dimitte me cum pace ; me quoque Christus perducatur iterum in peregrinatione. Tunc viatus est Sanctus Senior in ira pessima et dixit ei. ‘ Vis ire contra praedestinationem Domini. Insipienter hoc dicis, cum scis Sanctum Moluam expulsum ab Angelo Dei de loco suo ut tu in illo patronus multorum existeres. ‘ Respondit ei Sanctus Flannanus, dicens :— ‘ Quid mihi irasceris, Sancte pater ? Cur ad patriam meam reverterer nisi tantum propter ipsam promissionem angelicam ? Ecce cum sim, suasionem apostolicam, episcopus, parochiam episcopi non habeo et totam Diocesim totum, que populum meae provinciae alii Sancti praeoccupaverunt. ‘ Ille ait :— ‘ Illi cum suis parochiis sub te erunt et omnis populus tuae provinciae tibi serviet in aeternum. ‘ Sanctus Flannanus ait— ‘ Quatuor quidem fratres habeo qui mihi cum semine suo volunt

servire, sed quid sunt isti pauci ? ' Ait ei Sanctus Braccanus :—
' Nonne audivisti quod Deus dixit Abraham. *Multiplicabo semen tuum sicut arenam maris et sicut stellas coeli.* Ipse Deus faciet ut sint fratres tui in sexaginta viros, et sexaginta in trecentos et trecenti in tria millia, et non erunt in paucioribus quamdiu tuae voluntati non resistant ; alioquin ipsi pervenient ad centum. Ideo esto mihi obediens et quodcumque dicam tibi age. Pone itaque ad meum verbum Lapidem nostrum super aquas qui te per longa maria ducet. In enim dixisti :—'Nolo ibi manere et quocumque te Deus jactaverit de mari aequo animo vade et voluntate Domini ibi mane.' Et hoc verbum multum Sancto Flannano placuit. Postea autem Sanctus Flannanus cum suis discipulis super lapidem cum oratione et suasionem Sancti Braccani ascendit. Confirmata autem fraternitate et societate inter eos, Sanctus Breccanus diligenter Sanctum Flannanum et generationem ejus benedixit. Reficientes se invicem salutaribus monitis et pio amore flentes, Sanctus Flannanus in osculo pacis recessit. Deinde nutu Domini Sanctus Flannanus cum discipulis per circuitum Hiberniae ducuntur et in aquilonali parte ejus in quodam loco portum apprehenderunt, in initio vero quadragessimae in illum locum intraverunt. Tunc unus de discipulis ejus ait :—' Sancte Pater, quadragesima venit ; tempus manendi est et orandi.' Respondit ei Sanctus Flannanus dicens scotica lingua quod dicitur latine :—quia ita est maneam. Unde usque in hodiernum diem nomen illius loci '*Manand.*' In ipso autem loco vir sanctus usque post Pascha in divinis orationibus mansit et angeli Dei ibi virum sanctum confortantes eum visitabant. Quodam quoque die in illo loco novem declamatores ad Sanctum Flannanum venerunt et coeperunt statim inepta et turpia ante eum agere et sibi detrahere et Deo. Novem veruscas a viro Dei anxie postulaverunt, et ideo hoc fecerunt scientes quod vir sanctus nullum aratrum haberet et in eremo habitaret et putabant quod omnino invenire non possent. Tunc ait Sanctus Flannanus :—' Scriptum est *omni petenti a te da*, sed vobis dentur oves quae mentis vestrae votum non supplebunt : et vos et ipsi ab hinc filii perditionis eritis, quia Deum et famulum ejus detrahentes temptastis.' Quid plura ? Ecce ad jussum Sancti Flannani a profundo maris novem soccae venerunt ; formam ovium sibi induunt. Illis ante miseris manus in eas tendentibus, ipsi homines cum ovibus in lapides versi sunt, et usque nunc in signum virtutis quam fecit Deus per famulum suum Sanctum

Flannanum in ea permanet figura. Cum vero tale miraculum in regione propinqua audiretur, venerunt et voluerunt habere Sanctum Flannanum in patronum et sibi monasterium in illo loco construere : sed ab angelo Dei vir Sanctus commotus est ut post Pascha in suo navigio exiret et ibi maneret quo tunc duceretur.

Celebrante ergo illic viro Dei Pascha postea in navigio exivit et sine impedimento contra flumen Synna prospero navigio ductus est, et stetit lapis sub eo in loco praedestinato sibi a Deo, statimque vir Sanctus jubet lapidem quem valde diligebat, bendicens, ad Sanctum Braccanum reverti, et postea reversa per diversa aequora ad Beatum Braccanum pervenit et juxta monasterium ejus usque in hodiernum diem immobilis manet ; et per gratiam duorum Sanctorum SS. Flannani et Braccani beneficia signaque adhuc praestantur super ipsam petram, et ipsa petra siquidem ex nomina Flannani Scotice nominatur *leacc Flannam*, quod Latine dicitur Petra Flannani. Sanctus autem Flannanus suam civitatem cum suis sanctis monasteriis in fluminis margine quod dicitur Synnyno jam amplam fundavit et mansit vir Sanctus Flannanus in ea usque ad obitum suum, claruitque ipse de die in diem virtutibus et miraculis quamdiu vixit in ea : et ipsa civitas sicut superius dictum est *Ceallmolua* vocatur.

Illi monachi de quibus superius diximus, accepta licentia, completoque anno post Sanctum Flannanum ad Hiberniam in peregrinatione et beatissimus Flannanus pie et clementer accepit eos ; sed semper complevit sermonem quem dixit eis Romae i.e. 'non videbitis faciem meam in aeternum.' Et construxit eis beatus pontifex cellam in quadam insula juxta suam civitatem in medio fluminis Synna, quae vocatur scottice *Feapnhinn*, i.e. Aluanea insula, et fecit pontem inter insulam et terram. Egrediebatur quotidie Sanctus episcopus de civitate ad eos visitandos, et cum appropinquasset ad insulam faciem suam caputis capae velabat, et versa facie ad terram, in introitu insulae sedebat, et sic retro loquebatur cum eis et ita faciebat quotidie. Ipsi vero monachi in illa insula usque ad obitum suum in omni religione et sanctitate vitam suam ducentes sub cura Sancti Patris Flannani permanserunt. Quodam quoque tempore quidam homo infestus Maelcœch, filius Flaynd, cui cognomen erat Gotran tres boves de armeto Sancti Flannani furtive abstulit statimque eos fecit mactari et dixit servis suis ut sine mora carnem coquerent et illi posuerunt ignem immensae magnitudinis sub cacabo, sed

tamen semper caro cruda et aqua frigida apparebant et non potuerunt ullo modo in aliam speciem alterari. Tunc conversus ad se homo ille qui fecit latrocinia et intra se cogitans scivit quantum scelus commisit in Sanctum Dei; et illico penitens venit ad Sanctum Flannanum, dicens, 'Peccavi, Domine Sancte Dei in te et scimus quia homo Dei es,' et narravit ei quae supra diximus et ait. 'Tibi jam meliores boves restituam sed rogo ne mihi male dixeris, et ego et mea progenies post me, serviemus tibi in aeternum.' Tunc ait Sanctus Pater Flannanus. 'Quod Deus quaerit ab homine qui perpetrat crimen tu fecisti; i.e. peccata confiteri et veniam postulare: ideo quia confessus es peccatum tuum et veniam petisti Praecellens Laicus et Excelsus Clericus de semine tuo semper non deerit; tibi enim benedictio necessaria; et ille postquam seipsum et semen suum viro Dei obtulit gaudens reversus est in domum suam.

Alio autem tempore, erat quidam religiosus monachus nomine Maelpūnaro et unus minister nomine Braon cum eo in eremo et ipsi habebant possessiunculam, i.e. vaccam unam cujus lacte se reficiebant et ipsa quotidie erat in pascuis per herbas nullo se custodiante nisi divina potestate; et cum ea ferae habitabant et nihil ei nocebant et horis competentibus ad domum suam veniebat. Accidit autem quodam die ut quidam homo veniens ibi et videns eam solam abstulit eam ad domum suam et statim eam occidit. Cum vero esset occisa totum corpus ejus in acervum vermibus scaturientem versum est. Ille fur videns tale factum valde timuit divinam vindictam et statim ad Sanctum Flannanum qui tunc prope erat cum devota satisfactione fugit, et confessus est Sancto Pontifici quod factum fuerat, promittens se facturum sicut vir Dei sibi dixisset, et se et suam progeniem, Deo adjuvante, sub tutela hujus sancti semper servitutum promisit; et rogavit Flannanum ut liberaret eum ab ira Sanctorum quorum unam vaccam abstulit et a vindicta Dei. Tunc vir sanctus ait ei 'Liberaberis; nam ipsi putant vaccam suam adhuc vivere, et sero vocabunt eam fideliter, et una vacca ejusdem coloris de tua possessione curret ad eos et manebit apud eos in vice alterius. Et sero Bīsen Sancti Flannani Beatus discipulus et comes Sancti Maelpūnaro monachi suam vaccam vocavit et sicut prophetavit Sanctus Flannanus una vacca flava ex armetis praedicti furis exivit ad eum et familiariter ibi mansit. Tunc Sanctus Monachus Maelpūnaro qui erat familiaris conservus et amicus Mecpíncheoa sancti, gratias Deo egit et repletus spiritu pro-

phetiae dixit comiti suo ac discipulo. 'O vir magnus Flannanus, qui nos nescire vaccam nostram raptam esse praedixit et fecit, divina potestate, aliam nobis pro ea de possessione furis venire, et furem confitentem sibi et promittentem servire, a divina vindicta liberavit: et sic alii qui ei confitebuntur et inservient hic et in futuro liberati erunt!' Pater vero Sancti Flannani *Toppoéalbach* vocabatur qui in sua senectute ad civitatem *Lymon* perrexit et sub cura Sancte Mocholmog episcopi, qui cathedram Sancti Carthagi Episcopi, a quo eadem civitas imprimis fundata est, regebat, in peregrinatione mansit.

Quodam quoque die causa orandi in coemeterium in quo eran, reliquiae innumerabilium sanctorum ipse exivit; cumque juxta reliquias sanctorum, penitendo gegrans, pergeret, vidit in quodam lapide quatuor guttas sanguinis, tres rubras, unam vero nigram; ipse autem stupefactus hoc signo ad Sanctum Mocholmog sub quo ipse propter Deum abrevuncians saeculo militabat illico venit et narravit quod vidit. Respondit ei Sanctus Mocholmog plenus spiritu prophetiae, dicens:—'Tres guttae rubrae quas vidisti mortem trium filiorum significant, una vero nigra mortem comitis qui erat cum eis designat, qui besterna die ab inimicis suis sunt occisi. Tunc *Toppoéalbach* compunctus est corde.

Reliqua desiderantur.

[This fragment of the *Life of St. Flannan* is extracted from a Latin work entitled *Vita Sanctorum Hiberniae*, which is to be found in the O'Renehan collection of Maynooth College Library, a volume of considerable interest and antiquity. Dr. O'Renehan in another volume of his collection tells us that the above-mentioned work was given to him in the Holy Week of the year 1856, by Mr. Hugh M'Dermott, a student of Achoury in Maynooth College, and eldest son and heir of the Lords of Mylurg and Princes of Coolavin in the Co. Sligo. A record in Irish at the head of the volume tells how it found its way into the M'Dermott family, for it says:—'I, Charles, son of Dennis, son of Charles og O'Connor, bought this book at Dublin in the year of our Lord 1770.' The book, of which Dr. O'Renehan gives a most minute and accurate description, was copied in the year 1627 by a certain medical doctor named Arthur, from a very old parchment codex which was then in existence in the library of Dr. James Ussher.—Ed. I. E. R.]

**DISPENSATIONS IN THE LAW OF FASTING DURING
ADVENT**

FACULTAS CONCESSA EPIS DISPENSANDI SUPER LEGE IEIUNII ET
ABSTINENTIAE IN DIEBUS MAIORIS SOLEMNITATIS, NON VALET
PRO FERIIS SEXTIS ET SABBATIS INTRA ADVENTUM, IEIUNIO
CONSECRATIS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Per Decretum S. R. et U. Inquisitionis diei 5 Decembris 1894,¹ Sanctitas Vestra locorum Ordinariis concessit facultatem anticipandi atque ob gravissimas causas dispensandi super lege ieiunii et abstinentiae, quando festum sub utroque praecepto servandum Patroni principalis aut Titularis Ecclesiae inciderit in ferias sextas aut sabbata per annum, excepto tempore Quadragesimae, diebus Quatuor Temporum et Vigiliis per annum ieiunio consecratis.

Iam vero in Hispania, per Decretum S. R. C. diei 2 Maii 1867 nonnullae Vigiliae ieiunio consecratae per annum abrogatae fuerunt et ieiunium translatum in singulas ferias sextas et sabbata Sacri Adventus. Quare infrascriptus Archiepiscopus Compostellanus humillime petit ut Sanctitas Vestra declarare dignetur utrum Ordinarii, vi Decreti 5 Decembris 1894, anticipare possint, vel etiam ob gravissimas causas dispensare a lege ieiunii et abstinentiae in Feriis sextis et Sabbatis Adventus.

Feria IV, die 15 Decembris 1897.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab EEmis et RRmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus, proposito suprascripto dubio, prae-habitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EEmi ac RRmi Patres rescribendum mandarunt :

Negative.

Subsequenti vero Feria VI, die 17 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Adessori impertita, facta de his omnibus SSmo D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. Pp. XIII. relatione, SSmus resolutionem EEmorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. C. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis. Not.

¹ Cir. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iii, p. 56.

METHODS OF ENSURING THE SAFETY OF THE TABERNACLE

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

VARII MODI TUTANDI SECURITATEM TABERNACULORUM SPECTANT
AD LOCORUM ORDINARIOS

Visis et expensis variis modis asservandi et claudendi in Tabernaculo Sacram Pixidem cum SSmo Eucharistiae Sacramento, a Sacerdote Salvatore Barbara ad maiorem securitatem et custodian excogitatis et Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro speciali approbatione exhibitis, eadem Sacra Congregatio in particulari Coetu habito hac ipsa die, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum censuit: 'Finem inventoris esse laudandum. Negotium vero in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur, spectare ad locorum Ordinarios.' Atque ita rescripsit. Die 18 Martii 1898.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DANTE'S TEN HEAVENS. By Edmund G. Gardner, M.A.
Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. 1898.

THE popularity of Dante's name seems still on the increase in England. In addition to the lectureships and scholarships by which the study of the *Divine Comedy* is encouraged in schools and universities, votaries of the Dante cult have formed themselves into societies in the principal cities, and have made it their aim to keep up a living interest in everything that concerns the fame of the poet and his works. To the long list of names associated with this fascinating study may now be added that of Mr. Gardner, the author of this volume. As most of the English translators and commentators of Dante are Protestants, foremost amongst them being Vernon, Church, Plumtre, Moore, Wright, Lacaita, Butler, Hazelfoot, we are glad to welcome a Catholic into the ranks, and to find his work well worthy of commendation.

The work before us consists of seven essays, which, as the author informs us, 'are intended to serve as an introduction to the study of Dante's *Paradiso*.' They admirably fulfil this purpose for a special class of readers. They are not as elementary as the introduction of Ginguéné, and they are not as complete as the works of the Hon. Wm. Warren Vernon on the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*. We have, however, a substantial introduction. The description of the ten spheres, and of their beatified inhabitants, is marked by accurate knowledge of the spiritual motive that works through every scene, and of the endless historical episodes to which the poet refers. The various spheres are clearly distinguished, and the reasons for the distribution of souls in each planet, or heaven, is fully explained. It is rarely that a knowledge of Catholic philosophy is so satisfactorily brought to the assistance of literary criticism; and on this ground alone Mr. Gardner's work is almost unique, as far as English literature goes. The *Paradiso* is the part of Dante's trilogy that is least known, least understood, and least appreciated, on account of the prevailing ignorance of Catholic teaching and mediæval scholasticism; yet in a great many respects it is the finest fruit

of the poet's intellect and imagination, and, even from an historical and literary point of view, surpasses in interest and grandeur almost anything that Dante ever wrote. We earnestly commend Mr. Gardner's work to all lovers of Dante, and we are sure that it will facilitate to a vast degree the study of the most abstruse, the most difficult, but to many the most attractive part of the *Divine Comedy*.

J. F. H.

BLOSSOMS OF THE CROSS. Dedicated to my dear Companions in Sickness and Suffering, for their Pious Entertainment. By Emmy Giehl ('Tante Emmy'). From the German. By the Sisters of St. Joseph, Indianapolis. Second Edition. Benziger Brothers.

THIS is in many respects a very remarkable book. It has been written by a German lady who at the time of writing, and for years before, had been a suffering prisoner, bound fast to her bed of sickness. It has been translated by a Sister of St. Joseph, who (as we are told in the preface to the English edition) is also a confirmed invalid; and it has been written and translated for the express purpose of supplying consolation and pious entertainment to 'dear companions in sickness and suffering.' Thus the writing and translating of the book have been rare and precious works of charity, undertaken by those from whom such offices would scarcely be expected; and the mere undertaking of such work, in the circumstances, would be deserving of the highest praise. But we think that special praise is due for the success which has crowned the undertaking, for we have no hesitation in pronouncing the book to be an ideal book for the purpose intended. In it sickness is treated more or less as a particular state in life, pretty much like religion, or marriage, or any other state; and every circumstance and detail relating to that state comes under consideration. The staple subject of meditation is the suffering Saviour, the model of the suffering Christian; and the writer has furnished and collected such an abundant variety of beautiful and consoling thoughts, that, under every sorrow or phase of sorrow which sickness brings, motives of patience, and strength, and joy are ready at hand. We join, then, with the bishop who has written the preface to this English translation in recommending the book 'as a valuable help to those who must of necessity lead a life of suffering and seclusion, for we are convinced that

they will find a great deal to cheer them, to strengthen them, to help them to use well their trials, and to merit for the next life. Those who have friends who are invalids cannot do a better service than to add this book to the library of the sick-room.

P. J. T.

SHORT INSTRUCTIONS FOR EVERY SUNDAY OF THE YEAR,
AND FOR THE PRINCIPAL FEASTS. From the French.

By the Rev. Thomas E. Ward, Church of St. Charles
Borromeo, Brooklyn, N.Y. Benziger Brothers.

THE following is the translator's apology for giving this volume to the public :—

'After reading the *Instructions* in the original, I did not hesitate to give them an English garb, as I found them well calculated both to instruct and to edify. The choice of subjects, the manner in which they are treated, the practical details, the correct, and sometimes even elegant style, the sound doctrine; in a word, to my mind they possessed everything necessary to impart a knowledge of true devotion, and the means to advance in the way of perfection. Therefore, in the hope that they may prove as useful to others as they have been to me, I respectfully submit these *Instructions* to the kind consideration of priests and people.'

¶ We have read some of the *Instructions*, and as far as our acquaintance goes we are glad to be able to agree with Father Ward in his estimate of them. To the faithful they will afford much valuable instruction, and to priests who are in search of such aids for preparing their own instructions we may safely recommend them.

P. J. T.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By
F. Goulburn Walpole. London: Burns & Oates.
New York: Benziger Brothers.

WE are sorry not to be able to say much in praise of the little volume before us. Indeed, we confess to having approached its closer perusal in a spirit of prejudice as soon as we had seen, from the preface and table of contents, the extensive nature of the work which the author set himself to accomplish, and the very meagre compass which he strove to do it in. The work purports to be a history of the Church from its foundation to the

present time. Every important ecclesiastical event is treated of; an introductory chapter—not, we think, the best in the book—is devoted to vindicating the Church's claim to infallibility; something is said about each one of the early councils; the heresies that gave so much trouble in the early centuries are discussed; in his account of the persecutions the author makes a good-natured attempt to extenuate the conduct of the Roman emperors; the religious orders, Protestant Reformation, Council of Trent, all get notice; and in connection with the last mentioned thirty-seven pages are devoted to setting forth *in extenso* the most important canons of the council—and all this in the space of one hundred and ninety-nine pages. No one, we think, could have squeezed so much into such a little volume with any fair hope for the survival of clearness, grace of style, or ease of narrative. The result in the present instance, at any rate, is a book which is not pleasant to read, nor, we fear, calculated to serve the good purposes which its author had in view. We are far from saying the author cannot write good English. But he ought to attempt works of a less ambitious nature and of a less extensive scope.

J. S.

LIFE OF ST. CATHERINE OF SIENNA. By Edward L. Aymé, M.D. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is an extremely readable book. The author had a large and a varied field before him, in essaying to write an account of St. Catherine, the mystic, the miracle-worker, the apostle of Church Reunion, the saint whose life might be called a continued ecstacy. In saying that he has availed of the opportunities afforded him with taste, good sense, and discrimination, we certainly do not overstate the merits of the life before us.

St. Catherine's life, from her birth, in 1347, till her glorious death, was literally filled with marvels. When little more than six years of age, she had already resolved to retire from the world and its vanities. When the time came to carry out her purpose she met with the most determined opposition from parents and friends; even her confessor was slow to recognise her high vocation. Opposition and misunderstanding was ever her lot; but with a quiet resignation, and an unshaken confidence in God's providence, she ultimately triumphed over the

various barriers which stood between her and the perfection she was destined for. Possibly, the dominant characteristic of her life was her consuming charity for her neighbour, and her readiness not only to place all her personal resources at his disposal, but to beg God's assistance, even to the extent of procuring miracles, to raise him up in his time of need. Her sense of divine protection, and her conception of our duties in difficult circumstances are summed up in those words of advice:—'Why so solicitous for yourselves? Let Providence act: amidst your greatest dangers its eyes are fixed on you, and it will ever save you.' This principle, consistently carried out in her life, was to Catherine an unfailing source of consolation and peace, in the face of trials and temptations, that would have dismayed a less fervent and trustful soul. An extraordinary intimacy with God was the outcome of so much sanctity of life. Of her were these words literally true, that she lived not in herself, but in Christ, who had complete possession of her.

The author traces the saint's subsequent life: her miraculous fasts, her espousal to our Lord, her extraordinary miracles—even raising the dead to life, her power over evil spirits, her revelations and gift of prophecy, her frequent communions; and the closing scenes of her life, in language which, by its directness, simplicity, and ease is admirably fitted to the description of the miraculous and the supernatural.

Many people, even amongst Catholics, have a distaste for the mystical; they distrust private revelations, and make up their minds that the miraculous and the fictitious are almost synonymous, unless in the Church as it existed at the time of Christ, and for a very little time after. To such as these, as well as to those who are less sceptical, we recommend the present *Life*. It cannot fail to be wholesome reading for thinking minds of both classes. The volume is neatly brought out, and the price is one dollar.

F. S.

ILLUSTRATED LIFE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN. By Rev. B. Rohner, O.S.B. Adapted by the Rev. Richard Brennan, LL.D. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

This *Life of the Blessed Virgin* deserves a hearty welcome from the Catholic public. It is a convenient volume of 360 pages, brought out in beautiful style and offered at a price that is within

the means of all. And its intrinsic worth is, in our opinion, quite in keeping with its external form. We have no means of proving how far the credit is due to the original author and how far to the adapter, but to the work, as it comes before us, we give our sincere commendation. The narrative is confined to facts and events that are certain from Scripture or tradition, or, at least, sufficiently probable and easily credible; all pious extravagance in the admission of unauthenticated legends is avoided, and such stories and beliefs as are introduced are mentioned merely for what they are worth. On the other hand, every point of real importance in regard to the dignity and prerogatives of the Mother of God, is clearly and solidly dealt with. The author's reflections on the great, mysterious events and little incidents that make up the earthly history of the most exalted of God's creatures are always appropriate, and mostly take the form of practical lessons inculcated for the benefit of the Christian reader. In point of literary style the book is unexceptional, though we notice some trivial points, which we consider to be characteristically American, if they do not betray the influence of the presumably German original. But it would be unfair to descend to trifles; and our best word is an earnest wish that the book may have a wide circulation. The author, who is evidently a devoted client of Mary, has done good service in her honour, and his Mother will not forget him.

P. J. T.

FIVE THRONES OF DIVINE LOVE UPON THE EARTH. Translated from the French of R. P. Alexis Louis de Saint Joseph, Discalced Carmelite and Examiner in Theology. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

IN those days when faith and piety have grown cold in the hearts even of Catholics, there is evident need of some such work as that before us to quicken tepid souls and warm them to a sense of their duty. This need is admirably supplied by the *Five Thrones of Divine Love*. In it we find treated at considerable length the great love of Almighty God as shown in the Incarnation, the love of the Incarnate Word during His life, and especially in that last sad scene on Calvary's hill, which concluded His earthly mission. The Blessed Eucharist, too, is

another Throne, where this love is perpetuated here below. Finally, the faithful soul is a throne whence the flames of Divine love should ever glow, casting its rays all around. These main points are beautifully and profusely interspersed with solid, useful, practical instruction, which cannot fail to be productive of much spiritual profit.

The work is a translation from the French, and seems to follow the original closely, so much so that the English is sometimes stiff, and, occasionally, even the French idiom is retained in the translation.

We notice the absence of one very important element in the book—there is no imprimatur nor ecclesiastical approbation of any kind. In fact, the translator has not given us any clue to his own personality. The work contains no preface, nor even a table of contents.

Apart from these few omissions, the book must be an attractive and valuable guide in the path of interior perfection.

J. F.

SERMONS FOR THE CHILDREN OF MARY. By Rev. Ferdinand Callerio, Canon of the Cathedral of Novara. Translated from the Italian. Revised by Rev. P. F. Clarke, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers.

WE can recommend this well-published volume not only to priests conducting sodalities, such as are mentioned in the title, but to all anxious to procure a useful book for spiritual reading. The former will find appropriate matter for short and impressive lectures on almost every point that his audience should know for their spiritual advancement, and for their efficient direction in regard of social customs, which, though dangerous, may not always, without the aspect of a somewhat repulsive rigorism, be unnecessarily condemned. The latter, even though they be not members of any formal society, will become true children of Mary, in the wider sense, by reading of, and reducing to practice, the exercises of devotion so simply and clearly explained by the Canon. The work of translation has been so well executed that one would scarce think that English was not the original language of the *lectus*.

P. S

THE MADCAP SET AT ST. ANNE'S. By Marion J. Brunowe, Author of *The Sealed Packet, Seven of Us*, &c. New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a highly entertaining story, which will not fail to excite keen interest in every school-girl who is fortunate enough to come across it. It is of the sort that these young, thoughtless spirits would revel in to their hearts' content. The scene of the tale is a convent boarding-school, and the 'madcap set' consisted of five of the school-girls who formed themselves into a club for objects of which those in charge of the institution did not by any means approve. However, all things ended happily.

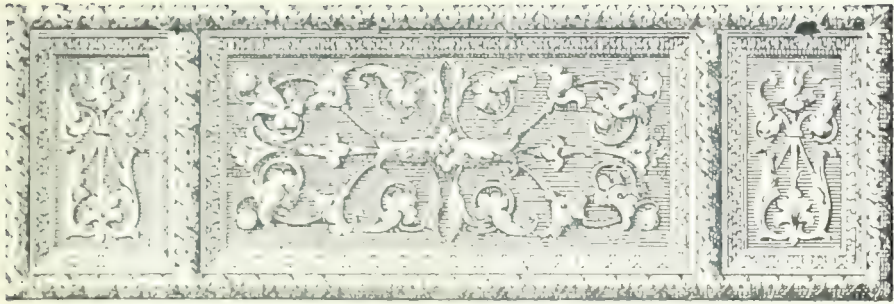
The character of the youthful rebels to law and order is well and cleverly drawn, and the moral tone is most healthy and elevating. It will furnish a few hours' very interesting reading.

P. M.

BRUNO AND LUCY; OR, THE WAYS OF THE LORD ARE WONDERFUL. From the German of W. Herchenback. Revised by the Rev. W. H. Eyre, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Brothers.

A DELIGHTFUL tale, full of thrilling adventure. Such was our conviction when we had unravelled the tangled skein of this charming story. The hero and heroine are personalities that one could not help being enraptured with. Bruno is the devoted playfellow and confidant of little Lucy. He is accused of a false crime by a designing and hard-hearted woman, and forced to hide himself away from the haunts of men. Lucy, the victim of another wicked design, is carried away, and left to die near the cave where Bruno had taken refuge. She is found by Bruno, and they successfully make their escape from the awful position in which they were placed. The innocence of Bruno is established, the mystery is cleared up, and the curtain falls on the scene where the two loving and devoted hearts are united in bonds stronger than adamant. Parents and others who look for wholesome reading for young minds will here find a treasure.

P. M.



LOURDES AND THE FRENCH NATIONAL PILGRIMAGE¹

WHAT is the greatest religious event in the nineteenth century? It is probably the 'Concordat' concluded between Pius VII. and Bonaparte. By sanctioning and assisting all over France the exercise of public Catholic worship, which had already been begun again in many places,² this treaty restored its 'eldest daughter' to the Church. It gave the Papacy power to rise gloriously again, and once more to show itself to the amazed world 'full of life and youthful vigour,' after it had been 'brought so low as to become an object of derision to infidels, and of pity rather than of hatred to Protestants.'³

What is the second greatest religious event? Some would say it is Napoleon's overthrow, so visibly the work of Providence,⁴ at a time when he contemplated the enthralment of the Church, and was about to achieve it; others, the definition of Papal Infallibility, or the proclamation of

¹ *Histoire des Apparitions de N^{tr} Dame de Lourdes*, by Lasserre. Paris. English translation of same. Burns & Oates, London. *Lourdes, étude médicale*, by Dr Boissarie. Paris. *Annales de Lourdes*, a monthly publication. Lourdes.

² See *Les Pèlerins et le Pèlerinage de Lourdes*, by d'Haussonville.

³ Macaulay's *Essay*, p. 509. Longmans.

⁴ 'There is something in these marvellous coincidences [between the circumstances of the Emperor's excommunication and some of those of the awful disaster that befell him in Russia soon after] beyond the operation of chance, and which even a Protestant historian feels himself bound to mark for the observation of future years.'—Alison's *History*, vol. iii.

the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, &c. ; but none would ever think of the wonders of Lourdes. Lourdes does not rank so high, indeed, in the opinion of the world. The ignorance that prevails about it is profound, and most regrettable, too. It is, therefore, worth while to attempt here, even in a small way, to dispel it. This attempt will prove successful, if through it some readers become more alive to the importance of what takes place at our Lady's favourite shrine, and still more if some make up their minds to go and judge for themselves on the spot.

Go to Lourdes ! But many have been there, and failed to witness anything really extraordinary. Profane tourists, for instance, hurrying over France, take it in. They see scenery, beautiful, indeed, but not at all superior to other sights in the Pyrenees. Many pious pilgrims, again, betake themselves from afar to the much-frequented shrine. They see costly churches and buildings, the spot where the Blessed Virgin is supposed to have appeared, and Christians praying with unparalleled fervour. They hear besides that thousands of devotees keep on pouring in all the year round ; that sick people sometimes get cured ; and that is all. In what, then, does Lourdes differ from so many Catholic shrines ? The miraculous cures, vaguely reported are not peculiar to it, for countless are the churches and chapels whose walls are covered with ex-votos that are evidences of God's, our Lady's, or some saint's power and mercy. The truth is, there is another Lourdes. Lourdes is only itself, that is, unique in its kind, when it is enlivened by some of the great pilgrimages, and especially by the greatest of all, the French national one. Then, and then only, is the time to visit it, to form an adequate opinion of it. It thus happens that a description of the French national pilgrimage is that of the real Lourdes.

Such a description is all the more seasonable now, as the silver jubilee of the pilgrimage was kept with due solemnity in August last. To think that such a great event has taken place twenty-five times during the last twenty-five years without the world at large becoming aware of its existence ! But, no, it has begun to make itself known. The worst

French newspapers, such as the *Gil Blas*, have lately taken to reporting it in strangely favourable terms. What is this French national pilgrimage? A conglomeration of pilgrims hailing from all parts of France? Not quite so now: but it was exactly so at the beginning.

The Fathers of the Assumption, who had undertaken the task of reviving in full modern times, at the end of the nineteenth century, the obsolete, absurd, superstitious mediæval custom of a distant pilgrimage on a large scale (a task pronounced hopeless by their more enlightened contemporaries), tried, among others, to set on foot one to Lourdes, in 1873. The railway companies, greatly diffident about the success, agreed reluctantly to organize one train from Paris, and the Fathers sent forth an appeal to zealous Catholics throughout France to come and fill it.

That was surely to be a national pilgrimage. So were the other two or three that followed immediately. But their success was so great as not only to give the lie to sceptics and scoffers, but also to exceed even the most sanguine expectations of their promoters. The consequence was, that many dioceses started special ones, and thus their members abstained from joining those from Paris. The latter, nevertheless, did not alter their name, and they bear it even to this day. Nor is it without any show of reason. They consist, it is true, of ten trains that are run from Paris. But the seats in those trains are secured by people from all parts of the country as well as by Parisians. Besides, thirty dioceses or more, between Normandy and Corsica, between Lorraine and Bordeaux, select for their special pilgrimages the very same date as Paris—a day within the Octave of the Assumption.

If, again, it is taken into account that a host of French people taking the waters or travelling in the Pyrenees in August make it a point to come to Lourdes at that time also, it will be admitted that the whole of France is then duly represented; and that such a pilgrimage can truly be termed national. Universal would not even be too much. There are also Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Belgians, Americans, negroes, &c.; and I saw last year a woman

apparently from some savage land, whose swarthy face was covered with tattooings. The English and Irish have long been comparatively conspicuous by their absence, although they are to be met with at every step everywhere else in France. But efforts were made last year to bring some, with the result that close upon sixty, one of whom was the Right Rev. Dr. Lyster, Bishop of Achonry, came. As the same attempt will be renewed every year, it is to be hoped that all those who are in the habit of occasionally indulging in a continental trip will, once at least, bend their way to the little 'wonderland' in the Pyrenees to their gratification, as also to that of our Blessed Lady, who said to Bernadette, 'I want many people to come here.'

The national pilgrimage excels all the others by the multitude of its members—from 30,000 to 35,000, and of the sick it brings—1,000 from Paris, and say 200 from various parts of the country; 1,200 in all. But its main characteristic is, perhaps, that the number of cures it offers is exceptionally great, because there are more sick people, or rather because there are more faithful to pray at Lourdes itself, and more convents, monasteries, parishes, families, &c., in France to join in with them from afar. All this enhances the splendour of the ceremonies, and brings about results which will entitle Lourdes to a foremost place among the great events of the century, when they are fully realised. When will that be? It may be in a long time hence. Christianity itself was overlooked at the beginning, and was slow in making itself known. But, at any rate, some advance has already been made. Ten or fifteen years ago newspapers either ignored or derided the national pilgrimage. They would, for instance, contain items like the following one:—

A party of Lourdes pilgrims were waiting yesterday in the station at A. where they changed trains. A poor paralysed man was lying on a mattress almost on the edge of the platform. All of a sudden, a *mauvais plaisant* shouted out apparently in great dismay, 'The train! the train! stand back!' The crowd rushed backwards panic-stricken, and, oh! wonder, the poor paralysed man got up and fled as nimbly as the others! Indeed it is not at Lourdes only that miracles are wrought in pilgrims!

This was intended to hint that the reported miraculous cures at Lourdes were so many gross impostures. But papers of the same dye have of late years taken to referring to Lourdes, to the sick, and those that tend them, in terms of admiration. In that busy age in which men are so intent upon seeking after money, honours, and enjoyment, Lourdes has actually created a sensation, and attracted the public attention, a kind of a miracle, something like making a deaf man hear. A press which deals with politics, infidelity, and unsound literature has been prevailed upon to report about it. This, again, is a kind of miracle, something like making a dumb man, or rather one who *will* be dumb, speak.

The departure of pilgrimages for Lourdes, once looked on by a rabble which did not shrink from showering insults, and even stones upon them now takes place in the presence of newspaper reporters and other orderly, respectable spectators, who watch it with wondering interest. It is such a strange event for those who fancy that modern enlightenment had done away with superstition, and with religion, which they regard as but one form of it! So many men and women about to travel hundreds of miles, not for pleasure or business' sake, but for the purpose of devoting three days to prayer in the Pyrenees! And these men and women not priests, monks, or nuns, whose profession, as it were, it is to pray all day long, but belonging to the laity, to every condition and standing. And how devoted to the sick, to the most loathsome sick! How touching it is! And those sick! They have been given up by the most skillful doctors in the Paris hospitals, and yet they are confident that they may be cured in a moment. They have been laid up for months or years, and been pronounced unable to stir from their beds; and yet they are about to undergo the fatigue of a long, wearisome journey in the hottest season of the year. O folly! They will allow themselves to be plunged in an ice-cold bath! Yet none will be killed or injured; nay, some will return in sound health, after doing all that could be calculated to make them worse! How bewildering! What a strange crowd! What strange states of minds and feelings! How unlike all we see in every-day life!

If the lookers-on accompanied the pilgrimage all the way, they would find further matter for astonishment; they would more and more think the pilgrims unlike the rest of mankind. Everyone is given a cloth cross to be pinned on the breast, and a leaflet containing the order of devotions. Devotions actually go on in the carriages. At stated times the pilgrims say the Rosary, and sing hymns, Vespers, and an additional *O Salutaris* whenever they descry a church. They bear in mind the object of their journey, and have at heart to do everything in their power to propitiate the Queen of Heaven on behalf of so many wretched sick people that are travelling with them. What an incitement to fervour it is to be able to think: the more fervently we pray, the more of those poor sick we may go and visit and talk to in their carriages, when the train stops, will be walking about, just like ourselves, when we come back. How unhappy they are now, how happy they will then be! What a speedy, splendid, visible reward our prayers will get, if they are worthy of acceptance! 'Euntes ibant et flebant, mittentes semina sua. Venientes autem venient cum exultatione, portantes manipulos suos.'

Conversations run on idly also; but they bear mainly on the wonders that were witnessed at Lourdes in the previous pilgrimages. Religious subjects are not often talked of in railway carriages or on board liners; but they were by St. Louis, King of France, and his knights on the boat that took them to the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades. We find them recorded in the quaint old French of the chronicler, Joinville. How far back, then, pilgrimages carry us! But, of course, the height of strangeness, and consequently of astonishment, for thorough modern spectators, is at Lourdes.

The new pilgrim has read in his guide or in geography books that the population numbers five thousand. How unlike such a small town! How busy the street is! There are 'buses hurrying to and fro, cabs, people going on foot, and carts loaded with sick people lying on mattresses. To think that the cause of so much traffic, of the presence there of so many travellers, is not money, but religion!

Surely religion is still a power in the land! That was just the impression of Mr. Frederic Harrison, the well-known leader of Positivism in England. There are mountains covered with snow in front of the station; but they fail to attract the pilgrim's attention. He gets clear of the natives, eager to secure lodgers, and hurries down the town. How picturesque it looks, nestled in between the lofty hills! And the castle, standing very high up at the top of a huge perpendicular rock, and overhanging the swift Gave, with its waters so blue or green, that they could be mistaken for those of the sea. It puts one in mind of Byron's lines:—

The castled crag of Drachenfels
Frowns o'er the wide and winding Rhine,
Whose breast of water broadly swells.

The river nobly foams and flows.¹

But all this is lost upon the pilgrim. It is no part of the Lourdes worth coming to from the furthest extremities of the world. This real Lourdes he begins to see when he gets to the esplanade in front of the churches. There are several gatherings there; fresh people are rushing towards them, while others are departing. Someone—a woman, perhaps—standing in the centre, with a beaming, peaceful countenance, is relating, for the hundredth time, that she came to Lourdes afflicted with this or that apparently incurable disease, and was suddenly cured a few hours ago. Those that are pressing so hard want to hear her tale from her own lips, to kiss her, or shake hands, and ask to be remembered in her prayers. There is a like crowd at the door of the medical-room, where doctors of all opinions are welcome to investigate the reported cures. There is another, also a few yards further off: but how dense! It fills up all the level space between the Gave and the hill. What lovely ground! It is planted with huge plane-trees, which afford delicious shade. The swift Gave is hard by, whose sea-like waters spread such pleasant freshness in the air; the background is the bushy hill containing at the

¹ *Childe Harold* Canto iii.

foot the world-famed grotto in which the Blessed Virgin appeared to Bernadette.

But all natural beauty sinks into nothingness compared with what is going on. Invalids are wheeled to and fro. There are the piscines at the foot of the hill, close by the grotto. There is an immense crowd in front. They are saying the Rosary aloud, or exclaiming, 'Holy Mother of God, heal our poor sick!' They are lifting up their arms, and looking upwards, as though they saw Mary stand just above them. How vividly they must feel her presence! What fervour their attitude, looks, and tone evince! how incomparably above all you can see anywhere else, or realise, or describe! Lo! they are kneeling in the dust and kissing the ground. There they are up again, and beginning the Rosary once more. Meantime the sick are incessantly brought in and out. Most of them are apparently not improved, but they hope it will be for next time. Yet, every now and then one who had been carried in on a stretcher comes out by himself. Clapping of hands break out, and hundreds of voices strike in the *Magnificat*. But the priest who conducts the service will not allow anything more. There is not a minute to spare. So many others are in want of prayers! Thus it goes on from 6 a.m. till night-fall.

Nor is the day of prayer over even then. A torch-light procession follows, and when it breaks up, isolated parties repair to the grotto, to spend the night in singing and praying, with the same indefatigable fervour, while the bulk crowd into the vast Church of the Rosary. The Blessed Sacrament is exposed and carried all round the church, and adored. Directly it strikes twelve, High Mass begins at the High Altar. It is followed by sermons, hymns, prayers, &c., till morning. So it happens that many pilgrims do not sleep for the three nights they spend at Lourdes. Where is there another instance of such literally incessant fervent praying? Surely, we must go back for it as far as the time when St. Peter was in prison and 'prayer was made without ceasing unto God for him.'¹

¹ Acts xii. 5.

There is another church built over that of the Rosary—the Crypt, and another again built over the Crypt—the Basilica. Low Masses begin at the side altars at twelve at night in the first, and a few hours later in the other two. They go on till noon without the least interruption, so that between six hundred and eight hundred are said daily. Another sight of Lourdes is the torch-light procession. Pilgrims holding a lighted candle in their hands assemble in large numbers, perhaps twenty thousand, in front of the grotto. They form a crowd of little lights which stretch far out of sight. How picturesque and lovely it looks under the dark foliage of the plane trees! Thus dotted with tiny lights, the space all round is like a starry sky. But it looks as though you viewed it from above, as though you were in heaven. It is not the only case in which you could fancy at Lourdes that you behold the same sights as the saints in heaven.

When an Assumptionist Father, in the pulpit close by the grotto, has given an account of the cures that took place in the course of the day, he strikes in the *Ave, Ave Maria*, and at its stirring strains the procession sets into motion. The pilgrims singing heartily proceed in two lines up the path that winds along the flank of the leafy hill. There is the same sea of lights as before on the flat ground (they were so many, that a large number can be abstracted without their absence being felt), and there are now others besides swarming in the foliage on the flank of the hill. The procession extends over several miles, and offers a splendid view when you reach the top of the hill.

When all those that formed it are gathered in front of the Church of the Rosary, the *Credo* is sung. What a sight it is! Thousands of human beings from various countries and climes, of different languages, singing the same creed in the same tongue, and lo! kneeling all down like one man at the verse *et incarnatus est*; the shades of night prevailing all round, but illuminated by countless little lights; above them, not the roof of 'a house made with hands,' but the 'brave overhanging firmament, this majestic roof fretted

with golden fire ; ¹ yea, 'the heavens which show forth the glory of God' on which all gaze eagerly, as they feel the more vividly the presence there of that mysterious invisible but real Being, the Creator and Father of the world, on account of the masterly unmistakable manner in which He has revealed it in the course of the day. What quiet enthusiasm prevails there ! What happiness overjoys you ! It is truly that *pax Domini quae exsuperat omnem sensum*.

But the sight that is not only characteristic of Lourdes, but without a parallel in the wide world is the five o'clock procession of the Blessed Sacrament, from the Basilica to the Grotto and back. The sick are laid out on both sides of the road and in the precincts of the grotto. Thirty thousand pilgrims stand behind in closely-packed masses. Hundreds of priests in white gilt garments proceed along in majestic array under the bright sky of southern France. But they pass unnoticed. The Son of the living God comes behind them, and the spectators are intent upon worshipping Him, and await eagerly the wonders that He is to work. Just before Benediction is given from the altar in the grotto, a priest in the pulpit hard-by exhorts the pilgrims to pray from the bottom of their hearts for the sick. He kneels down. Those that can find room do so too, and then, in spite of the presence of thirty thousand human beings, all is hushed, nothing is heard but the ripple of the water in the Gave, or the murmur of the wind in the trees. How awful such a silence seems when you come to think of the presence of such a crowd, and of what is expected to take place.

The priest then gets up and begins the ejaculations which are repeated by the whole crowd : 'Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon us ! Hosannah to the Son of David ! Lord, if Thou wilt Thou canst cure us ! Holy Mother of God, if thou wilt intercede for us, thou canst obtain anything from thy Divine Son,' &c. All of a sudden clappings of hands are heard : one sick person who had perhaps not stirred from his or her bed for the last two, three, ten, or fifteen years has just risen up cured. He is followed by

¹ *Hamlet*, Act II., Sc. 2.

another, by another again. The effect it makes upon those that are near enough is utterly unimaginable. I know it from experience, for I once had the good fortune to feel it. I had taken my stand on the small wall that runs along the Gave. From there I commanded a good view of the crowd stretching out of sight, of the priest in the pulpit, and of the sick. Some of the latter were even lying in front of me, lining the way the Blessed Sacrament was to come. When I had looked leisurely round, my attention rested on a woman just a few yards from me. She seemed to be in a fit. She was nursed by several of those women who are night and day the servants of the poorest and most loathsome sick during the time of the national pilgrimage, but who are during the rest of the year, countess, duchess, or marchioness of so and so. One of them was making her inhale salts.

I bowed down for a few minutes while the Blessed Sacrament was passing in front of me. When I looked up again, the bed was empty. The woman was actually walking beside the Blessed Sacrament! What a sight it was! How vividly I can picture it to myself even now! She was walking in her white stockings; her hands were eagerly clasped, and held up towards that Jesus who had cured her against all hope. Tears were pouring down her cheeks, and you could see she was almost choked with them. What must be her joy at such a sudden deliverance! She had, perhaps, been attended to by the best physicians in the world while in the Paris hospitals: she had been told her case was hopeless; and yet she was cured in a moment. Our Divine Lord had deigned to do so Himself; He had wrought a miracle in her favour, in favour of such a miserable sinner. How good He was! How grateful she was! It was no wonder that she was walking with faltering steps; she could not but be overpowered with emotions of various kinds. Nor could all those that saw her. For my own part, I lost for a few moments all consciousness of what I was doing. When I recovered it, I found I was stretching out my arm towards her, and saying to my neighbours, as well as my sobs would allow me: 'Look, look! that is the woman that was lying over there.'

Sometimes also the priest in the pulpit says : ' Let the sick alone pray for their own cure.' This is the signal for the most heart-rending scene that can be imagined. Hundreds of arms are held out towards the Blessed Sacrament, and a violent uproar arises. You can discern it in the shrill tones of children and women, and the loud cries of men, sending forth various prayers at the same time. ' Lord have mercy on me,' says one. ' Jesus, make me whole,' says another. ' Lord, I do believe, but help my unbelief. Lord, I do not deserve it ; I am a sinner ; but cure me, all the same.' ' Lord, forget me, but cure the others.' Applause is sooner or later mingled with them, together with the singing of the *Magnificat*, because one, two, three cures have been wrought.¹ Enthusiasm, fervour, emotion reach their climax. Everyone is sobbing and praying aloud, and the sick make desperate efforts to rise and walk behind the Blessed Sacrament.

You have there more than a representation of the scenes of the Gospel, like, for instance, the Passion-Play at Oberammergau, however true to life it may be ; you have a real continuation or repetition of them. Christ is there, as He was in Judea. He is hidden under the species of bread, as He was then under those of human nature. He is greeted with loud, enthusiastic acclamations by an immense crowd, as when He entered Jerusalem. He is appealed to by the sick, as He was wherever He went in Judea. He is also the same ; He is still the Lord, powerful and merciful, who had ' compassion on the multitude ;' who went about doing good.

' Blessed are the eyes that see the things which you see ' O Lourdes' pilgrims ! ' Many prophets and kings have desired to see the things that you see, and have not seen them.'² You are not taken up to heaven, but heaven comes down upon earth, with all its might and goodness. You do not exactly see God Himself, but, at least, you see signs and immediate effects of His presence. It is revealed by His

¹ There were over thirty-five on August 23rd last, but the number was quite exceptional.

² Luke x. 23, 24.

direct action, like that of electricity is known by the flash of the lightning and the roar of the thunder. How awful it is to think: 'God was ten yards from me just now, for something supernatural has happened that must needs be traced immediately to Him.' It is something like being in His visible presence.

According to the computations of Dr. Boissarie, the resident physician, twenty thousand cures have already been wrought through our Lady of Lourdes, either at the shrine or away from it, through novenas and using water from the miraculous well. Lourdes has thus restored health to twenty thousand members of the Catholic Church. It has, at the same time, brought back peace, happiness, and in many cases¹ ease and comfort, to many homes from which they had been driven by illness. In what countless other ways has it not comforted the afflicted? I once, for instance, met a woman who had been for years literally broken-hearted (so her friends told me) at her only son's lameness. She had brought him to Lourdes, and he was not improved in the least. But she had come across so many awful diseases, that she found she must be truly thankful her boy was lame only. She went away reconciled with her lot. Was not such a result as good as a cure? Further, Lourdes is likely to prove more and more beneficial throughout the Catholic world in proportion as it becomes known more widely.

Is not this enough to insure it a high rank among the great religious events of the century? Yet it is but half of all that can be said in its favour; nay, it is less than half; inasmuch as spiritual blessings excel temporal ones. Lourdes has wrought out innumerable conversions of sinners. It is the boast of the fathers who hear confessions there that the spiritual miracles exceed in number the bodily ones. Dr. Boissarie often records with pride the formation of fresh religious associations of medical men, under the patronage of St. Luke, in towns in France, Belgium, and Italy. Besides, when the cures are duly speculated upon, and their

¹ The vast majority of the people cured belonged to the lower classes.

blessings realized, they will offer a fitting reply to modern negations, a powerful remedy against unbelief, in so far, at least, as it is an intellectual disease, for it is sometimes a moral one also.

But are these real cures at Lourdes? What authorizes a belief in the genuineness of those that are reported? There is, in the first place, the testimony of those on whom they are wrought. Nor is it a worthless one; for you can read on their faces that they are of those 'in whom there is no guile.'¹ There is also that of their friends and travelling companions, and that of the lookers-on who saw them lying ill. A mere stranger can give pretty reliable evidence, for consumption in its last stage, cancers, ulcers, &c., cannot be counterfeited. Further, the names and addresses of the cured are published in the *Annales de Lourdes* and in some of the Paris newspapers which are circulated all over France, consequently in their own towns or villages. Supposing the supporters of Lourdes were dishonest enough to wish to impose spurious cases upon the public, how could they try to do so under such circumstances? It would be sheer folly.

But there is, above all, scientific evidence. All the registered patients bring descriptions of their cases, in the handwriting of their doctors, who are sometimes Protestant, and often infidel. Those who come from Paris are provided with a copy of the entries in the hospital-book concerning them. All can also be examined by any medical man in either of the three temporary hospitals at Lourdes. That they are ill cannot reasonably be doubted; nor can the reported cures, for they have been investigated in the medical room, where anyone who is a doctor, whatever his religious opinion may be, is not only admitted, but most earnestly invited.

But, after all, the public opinion is not so set against the reality of the Lourdes cures. It was so at one time. Dr. Diday, a distinguished physician of Lyons, once wrote to a Parisian journalist who persisted in standing up for

¹ John i. 47.

them : ' A friend of mine, who has had great experience as superintendent of a lunatic asylum, will soon go to Paris. I will ask him to call on you, and examine your mental state.' And, indeed, his contemporaries would have concurred in his views. But after the discovery of hypnotism, and in consequence of the exaggerated hopes it has given rise to, the world is no longer ready to dismiss supernatural facts *a priori*.¹ But it professes to account for them by means of its new science. It classifies them wholesale among hypnotic phenomena. So it happens that the task supporters of Lourdes are now confronted with is to prove, not the genuineness of the cures, but their supernatural character. Are those cures the result of self-suggestion? The way to solve the question is to compare them with those suggestion can effect.

There are cases in which sensibility, or the power of motion, are gone from a limb or organ. If the nerves are there still, and outwardly in their normal structure, if they are simply paralysed, suggestion can avail. It can quicken them into action, for a time, and if resorted to repeatedly, accustom them again to their former activity. But if they are gone, if they have been injured, cut, or destroyed, they will be unable to obey; therefore all the suggestion in the world will be to no purpose. In other words, simple paralysis can be improved, or even permanently cured, by hypnotism; but that is all.

Yet incurable paralysis has not always been proof against prayers to our Lord and His Holy Mother; it can, therefore, be already asserted that there are other agents at play at Lourdes than suggestion.

¹ 'Très réels, malgré les incrédules, les faits anciens ne demandent, pour prendre place dans la science qu'une observation attentive et précise, base d'une explication sérieuse.'—*Revue Scientifique*, 16th September, 1893 (a review with materialistic tendencies).

'As so often happens, a fact is denied until a welcome interpretation comes with it. Then it is admitted readily enough; and evidence quite insufficient to back a claim, so long as the Church had an interest in making it, proves to be quite sufficient for modern scientific enlightenment, the moment it appears that a reputed saint can thereby be classed as a case of hystero-epilepsy.'—*The Principles of Psychology*, by W. James, Professor in Harvard University, vol. ii., p. 612, 613.

It may happen that a stomach or lungs are out of order, although there is nothing altered in their structure. The disease is then due to the nerves not discharging their functions properly. If suggestion can quicken, moderate, or coordinate their action, according to cases, it will improve and cure. But what if an ulcer or cancer is eating away the stomach or some other part of the body? if consumption is destroying the tissues of the lungs? To effect a cure, it would, first of all, be necessary to stop their progress; for, whether they are caused by microbes or not, they are, as it were, living organisms which grow more and more, and drawing their substance from the body, destroy some of its essential parts, and ultimately make it unfit for the functions which keep up life. It would, moreover, be necessary to repair all the havoc that has already been done.

Can hypnotism answer the first of these purposes? We would ransack in vain the records of therapeutics for a case in which it has been successful in the treatment of the above diseases; but, as it is rather wise to overrate its power, especially as we can afford it, we will be *grand seigneur*, and grant that it can. The human organism does its best to resist the parasite which is destroying it; it literally struggles for life with it. Perhaps, then, it would get the better of it, if only some reinforcement were forthcoming. Who knows that suggestion cannot bring some. Perhaps it can impart to the patient a strong assurance of his recovery; and confidence is such an important element of success in therapeutics! Supposing even it has never been so efficient elsewhere, it does not follow that it will not be at Lourdes. As the sick there put their trust in an all-powerful and all-merciful Being, they must be inspired with incomparably greater confidence than those who expect their recovery from human skill. Let us, then, admit, for argument's sake, that an incurable disease can be brought to a standstill by the hope of a cure, imparted by the suggestion, or, at least, by the self-suggestion, that is brought to bear upon the patients at Lourdes in the shape of boundless confidence in God and the Blessed Virgin. In what way will the damage it has already done to the body be repaired?

The blood, in its incessant circulation, will have to remove, cell by cell, all the abnormal or morbid tissues, and to build the normal ones anew, cell by cell, also. How slowly such a process must go on ! Just think how long it takes for the red tissue of a mere boil to go away, and the flesh and skin to resume their former appearance. Can suggestion accelerate this process ? Let us suppose it can by a few days. Can it cause it to be completed in the twinkling of an eye ? Decidedly not. What vehicle would take away wholesale such a quantity of morbid tissue ? What vehicle would supply, in the twinkling of an eye, all the elements needed to form such a quantity of normal tissue ? What force would turn all these elements into normal cells in the twinkling of an eye, or even in a few hours ? There is no such force in the world. Such a phenomenon is beyond all possibility ; it is contrary to the laws of biology. Yet it does take place at Lourdes. Other forces than those known in biology, in the natural world, come into play. These are, therefore, supernatural ones, and some of the cures, at least (and what matters their number ?), are miraculous.

Those cures are reported in the *Annales de Lourdes* and in Dr. Boissarie's book ; but let me quote one :—A man's leg had been broken by the fall of a tree. It remained unset for eight years, its condition becoming worse and worse. The two parts of the broken bone were a little over an inch distant from each other. The lower one could come out through a gangrenous sore that extended over the posterior part of the leg. The foot could even be brought up to the knee by folding the lower part of the leg forwards and upwards upon the upper one. This man was cured instantaneously, simply by means of a prayer to our Lady of Lourdes. The two blackened bones were brought together, welded, and so well, too, that the callus to be felt on every limb that was once broken is there literally absent. The sore was healed also. In a word, the broken, diseased leg became exactly like the other. This passes so much all that can be imagined (just think of the care, surgical attendance, rest, and time it requires to set a broken limb), that it is but legitimate to feel at first inclined to doubt it ever took

place. But all doubt is impossible : the man, Pierre Rudder, is still living at Jabbeke, a small station on the line from Ostend to Bruges, in Belgium.

True as this cure is, science knows of no force or agent in the world that could effect it. If so, there exists other agents or forces than those it knows ; we may justly say to it :—

There are more things in heaven and earth
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.¹

In other words, there is a world beside nature—a supernatural one, therefore, and so the supernatural exists. By enabling to draw this conclusion Lourdes supplies a much-needed remedy for the disease of the age, the inability to believe in the supernatural. ‘Almost every mechanical employment, it is said, has a tendency to injure some one or other of the bodily organs of the artisan. In the same manner, almost every intellectual employment has a tendency to produce some intellectual malady.’² Our age offers the best possible illustration of the truth of this remark. It has given itself up to the study of science, with stupendous results. It has made wonderful discoveries and inventions in chemistry, physics, natural philosophy, medicine, &c. ; but it has impaired its health. By dint of forcing nature to give up its secrets, it has brought about such a hypertrophy of its self-confidence, that it feels sure it can account for everything. It has so satisfactorily explained away, and in such a natural manner, what was once ascribed to preternatural agents, that it has every confidence it will, some day or other, be equally successful with what has baffled it as yet. In other words, it believes it can assign a natural origin to all that exists, and that anything that does not admit of a natural explanation is a myth. It is so accustomed to meet with immutable laws in nature that it jumps at the conclusion it must needs be so, and that miracle is impossible.³ As it professes not

¹ *Hamlet*, Act i., Sc. 1.

² Macaulay, *Essay on William Pitt*, p. 288.

³ Hence the awful spread of rationalism in the theological schools, and even in the lower clergy, in Protestant Germany. See a curious article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for October 1st, 1896.

to have witnessed God's interference in human affairs, it asserts, on that ground, that either He does not exist at all, or, at least, does not tamper with the world, whose matter He created and whose laws He ordained once for all at the beginning; and, therefore, in either alternative, prayer is of no avail. By dint of studying matters it has acquired a conviction that an immaterial entity is a mere absurdity, and it concurs with that renowned Parisian surgeon who used to say: 'I believe the soul does not exist, because I have never come across it with my scalpel.'

It has also inquired into the rational basis of the received Christian or rather human ideas about the conscience, the weight its dictates carry, the notions of good and evil; and as they rest on the existence of God and of the soul, these old notions engraven by the Creator in the human heart, these old notions, of which benighted heathens, like Sophocles, spoke with such reverence,¹ and which worse ones, like Ovid, acknowledged even when they did not live up to them,² have been involved in the general wreck. Nothing beyond mathematical and physical truths is left standing!

Such a disaster has brought its own remedy with itself. It has made it obvious that the methods were faulty. Distinguished men like Mallock,³ Kidd, Balfour in England, Brunetiere in France, have begun their endeavours to create a just reaction. They teach a new doctrine. A constant use of the intellect, the consequent neglect of that of the heart have resulted in what Macaulay calls an 'intellectual malady,' due to an atrophy of the heart, or rather an utter oblivion of the part it must play in the discovery of certain kinds of truth. But a part it does play. 'Ex corde creditur,' says St. Paul. 'Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas,' says Pascal; and they are right. The spiritual world may exist, nay, it must exist after all, although the unaided intellect does not take cognizance of it. But what

¹ *Antigone*, v. 450, and seq.

² 'Video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor.'—(*Met.* viii. 19.)

³ Where is there a better confutation of Positivism and Protestantism than his *Is Life Worth Living?*
Rom. x. 10.

human reason is thus painfully catching glimpses of, is revealed in full splendour at Lourdes, just like the great truths that Plato and some other pagan philosophers had hinted at were propounded to the world in the clearest manner in the Gospel. Lourdes is a kind of supplement to revelation which Heaven in its unwearied mercy has deigned to impart to mankind at a time when the supernatural was disbelieved for want of sufficient intellectual evidence. It is a new allowance that the bountiful Heavenly Father is granting to his prodigal sons, now reduced to poverty and helplessness, because they have squandered away the valuable gifts they had already received.

Lourdes proves once again that God exists; that prayer avails with Him; that He can break for once the immutable laws of the world; and that, consequently, miracles are possible. The narratives of the Evangelists can, therefore, no longer be rejected *a priori*, on the ground that they contain accounts of miraculous events. Their credibility is no longer a question of common sense, but one of historical evidence. It is no longer possible to write in a confident, dispassionate way, as Renan did: 'That the Gospels are partly legendary is obvious, since they teem with miracles and the supernatural.'¹ Nay, a great historical difficulty is also removed. It has sometimes been urged that if miracles had actually been wrought by Christ and His Apostles, they would have created a stir, their fame would have spread all over the Roman Empire, and we should find some account of them in the pagan historians, instead of the scanty reference to 'Christus' and His followers in Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny. Lourdes answers that objection. It shows it is a mistake to take it for granted that miracles cannot happen without creating a sensation, and without being reported all over the world, and consigned in contemporary histories. Its miraculous cures have failed to arouse the interest even of its inhabitants; they are unknown to infidels, Protestants, and even to very many Catholics;² we should look in vain

¹ Quoted in Bishop Freppel's *Œuvres posthumes*, p. 42.

² Until very few years ago the author did not know what to think about Lourdes. Were there real cures? Were they to be accounted for in a natural way? And yet he has never swerved in his attachment to the Catholic religion.

for even a slight reference to them in any history of our times; and yet they are taking place, not in a remote, secluded corner of the world, like Judea was in the days of the Roman Empire, but in France, and in the days of easy, frequent travelling, of railways, telegraphs, newspapers, and reporters. Surely the ignorance of the Roman world about Christian miracles does not tell against their genuineness.

But the Church's opponents, in the question of the supernatural, are not infidels only. Protestants also, while they accept the miracles in Scripture, reject wholesale those in the lives of the saints. The ground on which they do so is the same: events of this kind must be pronounced impossible *a priori*.

Such denials cannot be maintained in the face of the history of Lourdes, in the past and in the present. Why could not extraordinary cures have been wrought by saints, when some have unquestionably taken place at Lourdes? Why could not saints have caused a spring to flow, when Bernadette did so, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, at 7 a.m., on the 25th of February, 1858?¹ What other event recorded in their history is more extraordinary than the 'miracle of the candle'? During the apparition, on the 7th of April, 1858, Bernadette, clasping her hands, held them in the flame of the candle in front of her. Dr. Dozous, an infidel, who was standing by, noticed it. His scientific curiosity was aroused. He took out his watch, and ascertained thus that her fingers remained in the flame for over fifteen minutes, without sustaining the slightest injury.² Could hypnotism have done as much? It could, perhaps, have removed all pain; but it would certainly not have prevented the tissues of the fingers being burned away. This is contrary to the laws of nature; it is supernatural.

Lourdes teaches other lessons. Are not, for instance, the cures that take place before the Blessed Sacrament evidences of the Real Presence? Do not those which occur in the piscines, while the crowd outside is praying to the

¹ *Lasserre*, Livre iii., vi., and viii.

² Dr. Bossaric, p. 49.

Blessed Virgin, point to the conclusion that, in spite of the assurance of the Thirty-nine Articles, the invocation of saints is not 'repugnant to the word of God,' but rather pleasing to Him and serviceable.

All those latter cures are to be ascribed to the Rosary. Is it not unreasonable, then, to say, as even lukewarm Catholics will do, that it is absurd, because it is an endless repetition of the same prayer?

Surely it is no exaggeration to call Lourdes a supplement to Revelation, for the use of infidels and Protestants. But 'how shall they hear without a preacher?'¹ It is for the faithful to make it known. To fit themselves for this task, they must, of course, study the question at home; but they must also pay a visit to our Lady's shrine when it is at its best. And why should they not? From a worldly point of view, a pilgrimage to Lourdes is highly preferable to an idle tour on the Continent. The journey, right through France, to the very border of Spain, is a long one—660 miles from London. It is a cheap one, too: £3 15s. second class, £2 10s. third class; and it is interesting all the way. The landing-place, Caen, and Le Mans, where the train stops a few hours, offer splendid models of religious architecture. So does Tours; and pilgrims have not only time to go over that beautiful town, but also to pay a visit to the house of M. Dupont, the holy man of Tours; to St. Martin's basilica and tomb, and to the grottoes on the lovely banks of the Loire, where he lived with St. Patrick. May all Catholics, all Protestants, all infidels, come. If they want particulars and help, they can ask them from the author at Avranches.

F. GUEROULT.

¹ Rom. x, 15.

THE AFRICAN LETTERS OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT

IN the *Life of St. Augustine*, just published by Gill & Son, Dublin, the following short sentence occurs at p. 256 :— ‘We have forty African letters of Pope Gregory the Great.’ These letters deserve far more attention than could be there bestowed on them, for they suffice of themselves to refute the oft-repeated Anglican assertion that the African Church was anti-Papal. The pontificate of St. Gregory occurs (590-604) in one of the most critical periods of the Church’s history. The Roman Empire was broken up; the East was in the hands of weak and jealous emperors; the West was occupied by new races—Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, Lombards, Visigoths, &c.—some still pagan, others Arian, others just emerging from Arianism. Italy was in a deplorable state from the constant wars between the Lombards and the Exarchs, who still endeavoured to hold Rome and a great part of the country for the Emperor; for these emperors still considered themselves the *de jure* rulers of the whole empire; and it was on this principle Justinian wrested Africa from the Vandals, in 534, and Italy from the Ostrogoths, in 540. Constantly attacked or threatened by the Lombards, Rome was almost in ruins; and its inhabitants, decimated by famine and pestilence, were often dependant for their daily bread on the charity of the popes, who even still possessed more than twenty great estates in the old provinces of the empire, the remains of the ‘patrimony of St. Peter.’

In ecclesiastical affairs the outlook was no less gloomy. The East was almost equally divided between the Nestorians and Eutychians, on the one hand, and the orthodox on the other, these being kept habitually on the verge of schism by meddling emperors and ambitious patriarchs. The Donatists were making a desperate rally in Africa; the schisms caused in the West by the affair of the ‘Three Chapters’ were not as

yet completely extinguished ; and the religious state of the new races was most unsettled. Worst of all, the emperors and the feudal princes had already entered on that career of simony and lay investiture which wrought so much evil in the Church. No wonder the new Pope trembled before the burden imposed on him, and in answer to every congratulation said that 'grief had pierced his very soul.' But he faced his task like a hero and a saint, and in the Benedictine edition of his works we still possess fourteen books of his letters, written to all sorts of persons, from emperors and patriarchs down to the agents placed over his numerous estates. His African letters are scattered through these books, according to date ; and in quoting them the book will be indicated by Roman numerals, the letters by ordinary figures. The better to understand the allusions, it will be well to recollect the following dates :—St. Augustine died in 430, the Vandals having almost completed the conquest of Africa. By the Treaty of Hippo, in 435, they restored Mauritania and Western Numidia to the empire. In violation of this treaty, they took possession of the whole country in 455, having already taken Carthage in 439. They were expelled by Belisarius, the great general of Justinian, in 534 ; and the country remained subject to the Greek Empire until the Arab conquest, in 665. During the Vandal occupation the Church had to pass through the longest and most ferocious persecution recorded in history. She enjoyed liberty and protection during the Greek period, but disappeared completely from Africa under the Arabs.

Among the numerous letters of congratulation that poured in on the new Pope, one came, accompanied by a solemn embassy, from Dominicus, Bishop of Carthage, Primate of Africa. Its contents may be inferred from the following answer :—¹

GREGORY TO DOMINICUS, BISHOP OF CARTHAGE

We have received with the greatest joy the letters of your fraternity, brought to us somewhat late by our most reverend brothers and fellow-bishops, Donatus and Quodvulteus, and the

deacon, Victor, with the notary, Agileus . . . The congratulations of your fraternity on my ordination are an evident sign of your most sincere charity and friendship ; but I confess that the very thought of this ordination pierces my soul with grief, for great is the burthen of the priesthood . . . Help me, then, most beloved brother, by your prayers, and ponder daily for yourself on the alarms you behold in me ; for in the bonds of Christ all my troubles are yours, and yours are mine. As regards the ecclesiastical privileges about which your fraternity has written, lay aside all doubt, and hold for certain that, as we defend our own rights, so do we preserve its rights to every other Church whatever. I am delighted with your representatives, and see in them another proof of your affection, which prompted you to make so choice a selection of brethren and sons.

We have here revived an old question. Before the Vandal period the primatial privileges of Carthage were never questioned ; but during this long persecution the see was nearly always vacant, and the subject metropolitans became practically independent. There were six of these metropolitans, and we shall see that they traced up their privileges to St. Peter himself ; not that he had evangelized Africa in person, or established these metropolitan sees, but that he had sent the first bishop to Carthage, with full power to establish a hierarchy, just as he had sent St. Mark to Alexandria. And, as a matter of fact, the authority of the Bishop of Carthage was equal to that of the Eastern patriarchs in everything but the name. Hence Canon 3 of the Council of Hippo, A.D. 393, which creates a new province, cannot be quoted as a precedent for ordinary provincial councils. Moreover, that very Council applied to Rome for the confirmation of its Canon of Scripture, and forbade these bishops to call themselves metropolitans. *Sener* was their usual title, and we never find Rome defending the rights of the *sener*, as it uniformly did those of metropolitans. The Bishop of Carthage could pass over the *sener*, and ordain bishops in his province at any time. The six provinces were—Proconsularis, Numidia, Byzacene, Tripolitana, Mauritania Sitifensis, Mauritania Cosariensis.

During a lull in the persecution, Boniface was elected Bishop of Carthage, in 525, and at once held a synod of sixty bishops to restore discipline. He was unable to obtain

full recognition of his privileges, and an appeal to Rome, under Vandal rule, was too dangerous. But in 535, after the expulsion of the Vandals, the new primate, Reparatus, held a synod of two hundred and seventeen bishops. Its synodical letter was sent on to Rome, in charge of two bishops and a deacon. It submits for decision several important points of discipline, and the Primate sent a special letter of congratulation to the new Pontiff, Agapetus, who in return confirms all his privileges.¹ Still, in a provincial synod of Byzacene, in 541, the question was again raised. In dealing with this question the synods never pretended to do more than attest the ancient usage. Thus, in the Council of Carthage, 397, when the right of the Bishop of Carthage to take any cleric he pleased, and make him bishop where he pleased, was discussed, Numidius says, 'fuit semper hæc licentia huic sedi;' and Epigonius says, 'unde tibi non potestatem damus, sed tuam assignamus.' In those days the Primate had to ordain a bishop every Sunday in the year at Carthage. From all this we can infer the meaning of the paragraph regarding the privileges. Dominicus had asked for the confirmation² of those of Carthage. We have six other letters to Dominicus, which shall be noticed further on.

The next letter³ speaks for itself:—

GREGORY TO ALL THE BISHOPS OF NUMIDIA

You have petitioned our predecessor, of happy memory, to have all your ancient customs preserved, as they had been consecrated by time, and by having been first instituted by the Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles. We, therefore, grant, according to your relation—nothing being attempted contrary to the Catholic faith—that the usage may continue, both as to the mode of constituting primates and the other matters referred to, with this exception, that we strictly prohibit the primacy to Donatist converts who may have become bishops; and this although their clerical *status* may otherwise entitle them to this dignity.

To understand this letter we must remember that by a

¹ Hefele and Rohrbacher.

² Fleury says *confirmation*; Baronius, *conservation*; but either involves a question of Roman supremacy.

³ i 77

singular exception the senior bishop of the province became *de jure* its primate, the only formality being his installation by the synod of the province, and its notification to the Bishop of Carthage. The inconvenience of this system was felt only when sees were multiplied, and great cities arose, and then the primate was often an aged and infirm bishop of some remote town, while invested with authority over numerous bishops, some of them bishops of great cities. Thus, in Numidia alone, there were one hundred and twenty-five bishops and twenty great cities before the Vandal conquest. Fully sharing the ideas of his predecessor, St. Gregory had already written¹ to Gennadius, Exarch of Africa, to try and induce the provincial synods to fix the seat of the primacy in some central city, and to elect, not the oldest, but the best candidate. But his efforts were unsuccessful, and the above letter illustrates one of his fundamental principles, viz., that no lawful sacrifice is too great for the preservation of ecclesiastical peace and harmony.

The next letter² brings before us an instance of the evil above mentioned:—

GREGORY TO ADEODATUS, PRIMATE OF NUMIDIA

The tenor of your letter clearly evinces the great charity and affection of your fraternity towards us . . . Although your age or strength, as you say, will not permit you to come to us, &c.

He then exhorts him to discharge faithfully his duty of primate, especially as regards ordinations; to be guided in this, as in all other things, by the advice of grave and experienced men—

Such as our brother and fellow-bishop, Columbus . . . For we believe that if you act in all that you do by his advice, no one can find anything whatever to blame in you. Know also that you shall be thus as agreeable to us as if you acted on our own advice . . . Give me a full account of the council you are about to hold.

This letter and the next³ reveal to us another principle of St. Gregory's administration. To balance the incompetence

of an immovable man like Adeodatus, he looked out for a man like Columbus, the Numidian bishop, to whom the following letter was written:—

GREGORY TO COLUMBUS, BISHOP

Even before I received the letter of your fraternity, I knew, from trustworthy report, that you were a true servant of God . . . I bless God, our Creator, who does not deny the gifts of His mercy to His humble servants . . . I know, moreover, and knew even before I received your letter, that you are devoted heart and soul to the Apostolic See.

He then directs him to look after his Primate, especially in the matter of ordinations, to enforce the canons, and to consider himself responsible before God for all this.

We have seven of these letters to Columbus, and from them we learn that he was really the acting Primate of Numidia. In one letter¹ he is told that two deacons of Pudentia had come to Rome, and lodged an appeal against their bishop. He is directed to call a synod, and with Hilary, the Papal Agent, to examine the case; and if he finds these deacons in fault, 'not to spare them for the fatigues of their journey to Rome.' In another² he is told that a certain Peter, calling himself a bishop, had come to Rome, seeking for justice; that his evidence was incomplete; and that, as he had asked to be judged by Columbus, the case was now remitted to him. In another letter³ he is told that the bishop, Paul, had reached Rome, and lodged his appeal. In another⁴ he recommends Paul, who had elected to be judged by the Council of Numidia. In another⁵ he sends to him Donadeus, a deacon, who had come to Rome, and lodged an appeal against his bishop, Victor. He directs him to have the case examined in a council, with the Primate or some other bishops. Again,⁶ he directs him to call a council to examine the case of the Bishop Paulinus of Tigrisi, against whom complaints had been sent by his clergy; to act with his Primate, Victor; and, if necessary, to call in Hilary. He writes to the same effect⁷ to Victor, the new Primate of Numidia.

¹ ii. 48.

² vi. 37.

³ vii. 2.

⁴ viii. 13.

⁵ xii. 8.

⁶ xii. 28.

⁷ xii. 29.

The Hilary, so often mentioned in these letters, is always called *chartularius noster*; he had charge of the patrimony of St. Peter, which had been restored by Justinian after the expulsion of the Vandals; and was also Papal Legate for ecclesiastical affairs.

Beside these seven letters, we have two to Victor and Columbus *a paribus*,¹ an official formula which meant that identical copies were sent to both. In the first they are directed to call a council against the renewed efforts of the Donatists; in the second, to examine the case of the Bishop Valentian, against whom the Bishop Cresconius had lodged a complaint at Rome, for having annexed some of his parishes.

Turning to the province of Byzacene, we find a letter² inscribed thus: 'Gregory to Clementius, Bishop, Primate of Byzacene.' He directs him to examine canonically the case of Adeolatus, a priest who had appealed to Rome against his bishop, Quintianus; and so to conclude the matter as to leave no room for further appeal.

About nine years later we find the following letter:—

Gregory, to all the Bishops of the Council of Byzacene.

Reports about your primate, Clementius, have reached us, which have, pierced our heart with no small grief. [He then directs them to examine the matter canonically] so that, if true, it may be visited by canonical punishment; or if false, our brother's innocence may not remain under the infamy of a wicked accusation.³

We find by another letter⁴ that this case had been referred to Rome by order of the Emperor three years previously, but that Clementius had interposed various delays, protesting all the time his willingness to submit to the Apostolic See. It was then St. Gregory wrote:—

As to what he says about his willingness to submit to the Apostolic See, I know of no bishop who is not subject to this when he commits a fault; outside of this case all bishops are equal by the laws of humility.

The remaining letters to Dominicus can be only briefly noticed. Having received from him a report of a synod in

¹ iv. 35, viii. 28.

² iii. 13.

³ xii. 32.

⁴ ix. 59.

which he had enacted some laws regarding bishops, Gregory¹ condemns them as being too severe, and calculated to offend the provincial primates. In another letter² he tells him that a certain abbot had come to Rome to complain of his monks; and asks him to correct and punish them, and to prevent the bishops, by threats if necessary, from encouraging them. Again,³ he thanks him for his affectionate letter, praises his attachment to the Apostolic See, and, alluding to a constant African tradition, says:—

Knowing, moreover, whence the sacerdotal order [*ordinatio*] has come to Africa, you do well to love the Apostolic See; prudently calling to mind the origin of your office, you remain constant in your laudable affection: for it is certain that the sacerdotal reverence and affection thus rendered, adds more and more to your own honour.

His last letter⁴ to Dominicus begins thus:—

How abundant the charity of your heart is, your words demonstrate: for, such is the sweetness of your letters, that it is a pleasure and a comfort to read them.

From this we can see that their affectionate friendship continued to the end.

We have in these letters an authentic picture of the relations between Africa and Rome at the end of the sixth century. Is there in the whole world at the present day a Church more thoroughly Roman?⁵

But it will be said, it was not always so; there was once a bitter contest on the question of appeals, and in 424 a great African Council 'wrote a stern synodical letter to the Pope, rebuking him and repudiating his claims.'⁶

Yes, there was a dispute in 418-19, but not 'a bitter

¹ v. 5.

² vii. 35.

³ viii. 33.

⁴ xii. 1.

⁵ The temporary misunderstanding between the Africans and Pope Vigilius, in 550, was common to them with nearly the whole West, and was soon cleared up; even Gallicans could never make much of it. At bottom it was an excess of zeal for the honour of the Apostolic See, which seemed to them to have been compromised in the person of its present occupant. (Hefele, vol. iii. Rohrbacher, vol. ix.)

⁶ *Spectator*, quoted in the *Dublin Review*, July, 1890.

contest; and there is no proof that it ever extended beyond that date, or ever existed before it.

Having already discussed the question in that article, I will merely repeat that—1st, the dispute regarded only clerical causes of the second order; 2nd, it was carried on in a spirit most respectful to Rome; 3rd, it ended quickly, and in the complete adoption of the Roman view. How this last result came about we have no positive evidence; but that it did come about is absolutely certain. For Pope Leo the Great (440-461) tells us¹ that he had so many complaints and appeals from Mauritania that he had to establish there a special court of appeal responsible to himself. This was, of course, during the twenty years of Roman occupation, for such a thing was impossible under Vandal rule. The ‘stern synodical letter,’ was, therefore, quite unknown in St. Leo’s time; that there was no trace of it in St. Gregory’s time, we have just seen. It was a manifest Donatist forgery from first to last.²

St. Gregory was a great puzzle to Gibbon,³ who was utterly incapable of understanding the motives or actions of a saint. Speaking of his temporal administration and boundless charity, he says: ‘Gregory might justly be styled the father of his country.’ And of the mission to Britain he says:—

The conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Caesar than on that of Gregory the First. Instead of six legions, forty monks were embarked for that distant island, and the Pontiff lamented the austere duties which forbade him to partake of the perils of their spiritual warfare. In less than two years he could announce to the Archbishop of Alexandria that they had baptized the King of Kent, with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxons.

¹ Ep. xii. ed. Migne.

² In that article of the *Dublin Review*, I admitted, with Hefele, that Pope Zosimus had mistaken Sardican canons for Nicene; I now think Father Rivington (*Dublin Review*, July, 1891) has not only proved Hefele’s conclusion to be extremely doubtful, but has almost proved that it was Nicene Canons that were called Sardican. What he there says about the unreliability of eastern archives, was strikingly exemplified at the Council in Trullo, A.D. 680, Sess. 3: the papal legates called for the acts of the fifth General Council, and had it openly proved that they had been tampered with and falsified in the patriarchal archives, no new thing there. (Rohrbacher, v. 9, b. 47—v. 10, b. 50.)

³ Ch. xlv.

After such admissions we could hardly expect to be told that his faith was only superstition, his humility mere policy, his zeal unbounded ambition. Again :—

In his rival, the Patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of ‘universal bishop,’ which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of Bishop of Rome, Primate of Italy, and Apostle of the West. . . . His successful inroads into the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul might countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding popes.

With the mistakes about the title of ‘universal bishop,’ we need not quarrel, for Gibbon was hardly bound to know that it had been often given to the popes, and notably to St. Leo, in the Council of Chalcedon, in 451; it was complained of only when it began to be abused by the court bishops of Constantinople.¹ But there can be no excuse for the rest of this paragraph, as Gibbon had open before him these fourteen books of letters, carefully tabulated for the different countries, and they exhibit the relations between the Pope and the bishops in exactly the same light as we have seen for Africa. He seems to pay no attention to the difference between papal and patriarchal authority, or to the fact that the bishops of Constantinople, so far from questioning the former, were in the habit of appealing to it for the approval of their usurpations. By the ‘Provinces of Greece,’ Gibbon means Eastern and Western Illyria; that is, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Achaia, and provalitana, of which Justinianopolis 1^{ma}. (Acrida) was the capital; he had before him an immense mass of correspondence with these countries, and a good deal of it against the pretensions of the Bishop of Constantinople; from this he infers that Gregory was making ‘inroads into Greece.’ But what is the fact? Why, that, like his predecessors, he is only resisting a barefaced usurpation. All these countries belonged to the Western Patriarchate² from time im-

¹ Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, p. 2, l. 1, ch. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1, l. 1, ch. 9.

memorial, and were subject to the Papal Vicar of Thessalonica, just as Gaul was to the Vicar of Arles, and Spain to the Vicar of Seville. The weak Emperor, Theodosius the Younger, countenanced an attempt to subject Eastern Illyria to the Patriarch of Constantinople early in the fifth century; and Justinian, in the next century, could only succeed in inducing Pope Vigilius to divide the vicariate, and have two vicars; one as before at Thessalonica for Eastern Illyria, the other at Justinianopolis ¹ for Western Illyria. St. Gregory appointed John, Bishop of Justinianopolis, his Vicar, after having suspended his predecessor.¹ All these Papal Vicars had authority over bishops, metropolitans, and even primates, and through them the popes maintained unity and discipline. St. Gregory, like all the other Popes, knew well that to allow any part of his patriarchate to fall under the immediate authority of Constantinople, was to expose it to the eventual danger of schism. What Gibbon calls ambition was, therefore, only pure zeal, and an imperative sense of duty.

Gibbon knew that in those days the Popes had always a legate at Constantinople, and that Gregory himself had been a great favourite there as legate: and yet in the above extract he deliberately selects the word *rival* to deceive his readers: what reliance can be placed on the incursions of such a man into Church history? Well, until our own time he has been the Church historian of Anglicans. Reviewing a work of Milman's, in 1841,² Newman says: 'It is notorious that the English Church is destitute of an Ecclesiastical history; Gibbon is almost our sole authority.' Newman was then a zealous Anglican; history has been more cultivated since that time, but Gibbon's errors have been treated very gently.

St. Gregory died in 604, and, in 646, the African bishops sent their last synodical letter to Rome; it informs Pope Theodore of some doctrinal innovations at Constantinople, and begs of him to exert all his authority against

¹ Thomassin, p. 2, l. 1, ch. 5.

² *Essays, Critical and Historical*, vol. ii,

them.¹ In 647 the Arabs invaded Africa, and completed their conquest in 665; Africo-Roman Society was broken up, and the garden of the empire was changed into Barbary. From this date the great African Church disappears almost completely from history; and this sudden disappearance has left us several historical problems, which have not been solved by Gibbon's hypothesis of a wholesale apostasy; for it is now quite certain that there was no such apostasy. It is also certain that the agony of the African Church lasted for at least four hundred years; and that whenever we get a glimpse at her during that long night, we find her looking to Rome for light and help, and never looking in vain.

P. BURTON, C.M.

¹ Rohrbacher, vol. x. An extract from the original text in Baronius (ad an. 646) will give the best idea of its spirit:—

‘Domino beatissimo apostolico culmine sublimate sancto patri patrum Theodoro Papae et summo omnium presulum Pontifici,

‘Magnum et indeficientem omnibus christianis fluentem apud apostolicam sedem consistere fontem, nullus ambigere possit, de quo rivuli prodeunt affluenter universum largissime irrigantes orbem christianorum; cui etiam in honore beatissimi Petri decreta Patrum peculiarem omnem decrevere reverentiam in requirendis Dei rebus. . . . Antiquis enim regulis sanctitum est, ut quidquid quamvis in remotis vel in longinquo positus ageretur provinciis, non prius tractandum vel accipiendum sit, nisi ad notitiam almae sedis vestrae fuisset deductum, ut hujus auctoritate justa quae fuisset pronuntiatio firmaretur, etc.’

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

VII.

WE saw in the preceding article ¹ that the end and aim of the parables spoken to the multitudes (St. Matt. xiii.) was nothing less than a verification of Asaph's mystical prophecy. The Evangelist declares that our Lord delivered portions of His doctrine in this way, and only in this way, in order to accomplish what had been foretold of Him :—‘ All these things Jesus spoke in parables to the multitudes; and without parables He did not speak to them. That it might be fulfilled, which was spoken by the prophet, saying: *I will open My mouth in parables, I will utter things hidden from the foundation of the world.*’

The figurative style of discourse, the mysterious shadowing forth of heavenly truths which Jesus Christ employed on that occasion, was neither the fortuitous outcome of circumstances, nor *a fortiori* was it referable to the national peculiarities of His hearers, nor did it result from any combination of causes merely human or temporal. That exclusive use of parables had been decreed from all eternity as one of the infallible signs of the Messias. One alone could speak in that manner. When He did so, then men would hear the voice of their Redeemer.

Of course, there was no such thing as chance in our Lord's actions; but even supposing, for the sake of illustration, as He himself does on a similar subject (St. Matt. xxiv. 24) that elsewhere chance were conceivable, chance could find no place here. In the fulfilment of a Messianic prophecy, all the deliberation of the Divine Will is, so to speak, brought into action. Heaven and earth may pass away, but that word shall not pass away. The mysterious deed foretold by Asaph had to be accomplished, and it was accomplished. Hence to those who were enlightened by revelation, the *fact* that Christ uttered ‘the things hidden from the

¹ I. E. RECORD, September, 1896,

commencement of the world' only in parables, was as certain a proof of His divinity as any other that was vouchsafed during all the years He spent on earth. Hence the nature of His discourse on the occasion referred to was as clear a manifestation of His being the Saviour of the world as any of those miracles which no one else could work. So much for the immediate scope or aim of our Lord's action considered in itself, and for the divine explanation or declaration of it given to us by means of His first Evangelist.

66. But students of Scripture are not left to themselves to form conjectures as to whether Christ had any ulterior motive in these parables. He Himself said that He had such a motive, and has, moreover, shown what that motive was :—

Therefore do I speak to them in parables: because seeing they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand. And the prophecy of Isaias is fulfilled in them who saith: By hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing you shall see, and shall not perceive. For the heart of this people is grown gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes they have shut; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.¹

The reason why our Lord condescended to give this explanation is not far to seek. It was necessary to reveal what was at once the foreseen result of these parables, and the effect which He had decided to produce by means of them on the majority of His hearers. We should never be able to discover it, but He has manifested it in the words above quoted, because He knew that unless we were told the scope of His discourse, we could not by any possibility perceive its real nature and intrinsic meaning. The *fact* of our Lord's speaking exclusively in parables, and the *lesson* which that *fact* was intended to convey, could not be understood as He wishes us to understand it, apart from the knowledge of the ulterior *end* which He had decreed to reach thereby. In one word, an explanation of this kind was as indispensable to man, as it was unattainable by him.

¹ St. Matt. xiii. 13, 14, 15.

Were it merely the act of a creature like ourselves that we had to consider, it is obvious that in many cases we should never succeed in estimating it duly, until we were informed of the man's intention. We might, indeed, in some measure apprehend the external action without having been made acquainted with the personal motive which induced the man to perform it, but we could not comprehend it. An act is never adequately understood so long as it is viewed irrespectively of its dependence on its determining cause, and in innumerable instances that cause can be made known to us only by the agent himself. Hence, in ordinary human affairs, in so much of what goes to make up everyday life, we are of ourselves incompetent to form a correct and complete judgment on our neighbour's behaviour. If this be so in respect of our fellow-creatures, how much more does it hold good of Him who is infinitely above us; and if it be true in regard to all His words and acts, how pre-eminently is it so in regard to these mysterious parables.

Certainly in obedience to the law which regulates the acquisition of one of the two great divisions of all knowledge, we must make the consideration of an action in itself and by itself, the initial stage of our inquiry: but it is only the initial stage, and must be recognised as such. All analytical science, or the science of explanation, proceeds from effect to cause. This law which guides and directs us in the investigation of what comes within the range of reason's vision, is still more binding when by revelation we are shown, as here in regard of the Gospel parables, what is above the ken of human intelligence or what belongs to the sphere of faith. It is, in fact, here the sole law, and the only possible method of instruction. Hence it is that with reference to our Lord's addressing the multitude exclusively in parables, we must learn first *what* He does, and then *why* He does it. Asaph foretells the one, Isaias foretells the other. For this reason, in considering our Lord's parables here, so far forth as they are the object of certain mystical prophecies, we have had to take that of Asaph before that of Isaias, although to do so it was necessary to

reverse the order in which these predictions are quoted in the Gospel of St. Matthew.

For the same reason also after having studied Asaph's prophecy, we are now going to read that of Isaias. Asaph, as we saw in the preceding article, mentions the *fact*, and the *fact* only; but as we shall presently see, Isaias announces the *purpose*. The Psalmist describes the *deed*, but the greatest of the prophets declares the deep mysterious *intention* which underlay it. And it is significant that the marked difference between the character of these two predictions is reproduced in that of their respective interpretations. St. Matthew explains how Asaph's prophecy was accomplished; Jesus Christ Himself declares in the most solemn manner that He is fulfilling that of Isaias. In respect of the parables which were not explained to the multitudes, the Evangelist shows us what is called in the theological language the *finis operis*; but the Evangelist's Master goes further, He reveals the *finis operantis*.

67. The words, 'Hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand,' &c., which our Lord quotes, were heard by Isaias in that glorious vision he describes in his sixth chapter. It was the inauguration of his own prophetic mission. In this, the only vision which Isaias mentions that he had, he beheld the Almighty seated on His throne (*to indicate that He was the Judge*), and the seraphim with veiled faces standing before it. They were crying out, one to another: 'Holy, Holy, Holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is full of His glory.' One of the seraphim touched the lips of Isaias with a live coal¹ from the altar, in order to purify and sanctify them for the ministry of the word, and

¹ *Apropos* of this we may be allowed to remark that from the word 'gmurotho,' 'live coal,' found here in the Pschitta version, the name of the consecrated host in the Syriac liturgies is taken. It is called 'gmurotho' or 'gmuryotho,' for instance, in the prayer said by the celebrant immediately before the Communion (Renaudot, *Lit. Or.* ii. 24, in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus*). This beautiful allusion to Isaias vi. sees in the live coal a symbol of Christ, Who now in reality is present on the altar. His own words: 'I am come to cast fire on the earth,' so often applied to the Blessed Sacrament, may also have in part suggested this interpretation.

We may add that in the Syriac liturgy (Renaudot. *ib.*) the Blessed Virgin, in whose chaste womb the body of Christ was contained, is called 'the sacred thurible.'

to the question from the throne: 'Whom shall I send?' the newly-consecrated prophet humbly ventured to answer, 'Lo, here I am, send me.' God then commanded him to preach, and that commission was, perhaps, the most awful He ever gave to man.¹

68. The divine words may be thus translated from the Hebrew, 'Go and say to this people: Hearing, hear ye, but understand not: and seeing, see ye, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people dull,² and make their ears deaf, and close (*literally* smear) their eyes; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand, and be converted and be healed.' It may be observed in passing, that God does not call them, 'My people.' They have forfeited the title.

A few grammatical remarks may be necessary to bring out more distinctly the meaning of some parts of this passage. The repetition in 'hearing, hear,' expresses the long duration of the action: see Ewald,³ or Gesenius-Kautsch.⁴ As regards

¹ It is necessary to state here that some commentators in their remarks on *Isaias* vi. 9, 10, explain the words, 'Hearing, hear ye,' &c., solely in reference to the Jews of our Lord's time. No doubt, the divine utterance has the meaning which the New Testament in several places indicates. But the commentators we allude to, dwell exclusively on this meaning; and they, moreover, take the words in question to be a prophecy; whereas in their literal sense they are a command, and nothing else. These commentators ignore the obvious fact, that in these words God gives directions to *Isaias* about preaching to his own contemporaries.

In its place, we shall see where the Messianic prophecy really exists, and how it comes in. At present it is enough to say that those writers who ignore the direct reference to *Isaias*' contemporaries, and others that even hold positively that the words refer solely to the Jews in the time of Christ, make a serious mistake. Such explanations are at variance both with the divine words themselves and with their context.

² The Hebrew verb literally means 'to make fat,' then by an obvious metaphor 'to make dull, stupid.' Gesenius aptly illustrates this by the expressions 'παῖς τῆς παρρηίας,' 'pingui Minerva.' The Hebrews regarded the heart as the seat of the understanding, and in the *Psalms*, for instance, it is often spoken of as such. On the heart, *i.e.*, the moral dispositions, depends whether a man really understands the law of God, or not. The knowledge of the Hebrew idiomatic phrase just explained enables us to perceive the meaning of what we recite every day, in the *Psalms* of Terce: 'Coagulatum est sicut lac (*Hebrew* Pingue instar adipis est; the *Septuagint*, however, has ἐρυώδη ὡς γάλα, which the *Vulgate* follows; cor eorum, ego vero legem tuam meditatus sum.' The antithesis becomes intelligible and the meaning clear, as soon as we read the verse in the original. The state of mind which David here describes, is precisely what is meant by God's words to *Isaias*.

³ *Hebrew Syntax*, 280 b.

⁴ *Hebrew Grammar*, 113.r.

the whole clause : 'hearing, hear ye, but understand not,' the first of the two imperatives, 'hear,' has a concessive¹ signification, and taken in conjunction with its participle (infinite absolute, in *Hebrew*), is equivalent to, 'you may hear as long as you like;' the second imperative, 'understand not,' contains a predictive prohibition that cannot be falsified or violated; and, therefore, the latter part of the sentence virtually means, 'but you shall never understand.' We say advisedly, 'the second imperative,' for although in the original the future indicative is used here, yet a future indicative preceded as this is by the negative particle, *א*, is in reality the imperative of prohibition. Wherever *א* forbids, it takes the future (by preference in the jussive mood where this is in use), but never the imperative. Hence, though in the original what is in form the future is found, it would be incorrect to translate it here by a simple : 'You will never understand.' In Hebrew the imperative mood is found only in positive commands; where a prohibition is to be expressed, the future with a negative particle must be employed. It resembles the Latin *ne feceris*. As Driver well says : 'Al [*א*] is, in fact, not used with a verb, unless an imperative or jussive force is distinctly felt. Its use is, therefore, far more restricted than that of the Greek *μη*, with which it is often compared.'² It is indeed true that the subjective negative *א* (al) even with the jussive form of the future, is not so peremptory as the objective negative with the *ל* (lo) simple future (e.g., 'Thou shalt *not* steal'); nevertheless, a strict prohibition can be adequately expressed by means of it. See, for instance,

¹ As regards the concessive (or sometimes the hypothetical) meaning of the first of two imperatives, it may be useful to observe that it is an idiom frequently met with in the Old Testament. The first emphasizes the protasis, the second expresses the apodosis in rapid animated discourse. For instance (Gen. xlii. 18), Joseph's words to his brethren : 'Do this and live,' mean, 'your lives will be spared, if you do what I say;' or, to mention a text familiar to every clerical reader; 'Trascimini et nolite peccare,' is not a double command; David's adversaries are not told to get angry; the meaning is : 'in case you are angry, take care not to sin.' See also Psalms xxxvi. 27, 4 Kings v. 13, Proverbs iv. 4, vii. 2, Isaiah xxxvi. 16, Amos v. 4, 6. In some of these passages the Vulgate has two imperatives, in others it has an imperative followed by a future; but in all, the Hebrew has two imperatives.

² *Hebrew Tenses*, p. 79.

Exodus xxxiv. 8, Proverbs iii. 7, Job xv. 31. But we must observe it is not a moral prohibition, as in these three texts, and as in the Decalogue, where God, alas! saw that His command would often be broken, that we find here in Isaias. God does not lay a moral obligation on the Jewish people not to understand: quite the contrary; but in punishment for their sins, He decrees that they shall *not* understand. The divine sentence is the ground of the divine pre-science. * 'Al' is also used with the future to express certainty that a thing cannot happen, for instance, Psalm 121 (120 *Vulgate*) v. 3, and Jeremias xlv. 6. This secondary meaning of the word is also apparent here. So much for 'hearing hear, but understand not.'

All that has been said about the syntax of the first sentence applies equally to that of the second, 'seeing see ye, but perceive not.' The iterative form denotes length of duration; the first imperative permits or presupposes the action, and the second indicates its utter futility.

In the latter part of the tenth verse [*lest* they should see, etc.] there is a little word, namely, *ʔ* (*pen*), that calls for a remark. *ʔ* is the negative particle that is always used in final sentences, and so far corresponds exactly to the Greek *μή*, and the Latin 'ne.' It does not by any means imply doubt: it is found in sentences that express certainty that a thing will not happen. In such a sentence as the one before us, uttered with all the majesty of the Divine Judge, deliberation and certainty are, of course, contained in the highest possible degree.

These few grammatical remarks will, it is hoped, be sufficient to explain the sense of the passage. It is evident that Almighty God here manifests what was His purpose in blinding the Jews, 'Quos perdit Deus, prius dementit.' If He intended only to reveal the future, or to disclose the extreme misery and destitution which was to be the result of sin, He would certainly have done so. He would not have spoken as Isaias declares he did. Hebrew can show whether a purpose or a consequence is meant, just as clearly as Greek or Latin or English; indeed, as we shall later have no occasion to see, it can show this more clearly and

certainly than any of these three languages ; for there is in Hebrew a different set of expressions for *purpose* and for *consequence*, respectively. The words written down by Isaias indicate a deliberate *purpose* on the part of the Speaker. He will *not* heal the people. He speaks here neither as Redeemer nor as Legislator, but as Judge. It is even not so much the sanctity and righteousness of God that appears, as His awful retributive justice. Divine vengeance has at last overtaken the transgressors. The Jews have persistently sinned against the light ; that light shall now be withdrawn : they have repeatedly impugned the known truth ; the knowledge of it shall be given to them no longer.

The divine means also for the accomplishment of that stern purpose are plainly pointed out by the words ‘understand not,’ ‘perceive not.’ The command hereby given is not one that the Jews can disobey ; it is not a ‘*voluntas signi*,’ but a ‘*voluntas consequens*.’ It is a decree, the fulfilment of which no man can impede ; a sentence, the execution of which the Almighty Himself will see to. God alone can bestow understanding. If He decides not to give it, who can compel Him ? Who can frustrate His will, or understand aught without Him ? The Jews are now under the ban of God’s unchangeable displeasure, and there they will remain. As regards themselves, their blindness is voluntary ; for in that blindness does their second sin consist. As regards God, their blindness is caused by Him in just punishment for their first sin, in order to bring about His all-holy ends. As St. Thomas so well says :—

Unde cum ipsa subtractio gratiae sit quaedam poena et a Deo, sequitur quod, per accidens etiam peccatum quod ex hoc sequitur, poena dicatur. Et hoc modo loquitur Apostolus (Rom. i. 24) dicens, *Propter quod tradidit eos Deus in desideria cordis eorum*, quae sunt animae passionibus ; quia scilicet deserti homines ab auxilio divinae gratiae, vincuntur a passionibus. Et hoc modo semper peccatum dicitur esse poena praecedentis peccati.¹

¹ 1^a, 2^o, q. lxxxvii., art. 2,

69. We may now see how the passage of *Isaias* appears in the Septuagint. It is translated thus:—

παρεβλήθη καὶ εἶπον τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ. Ἀκοὴ ἀκούετε καὶ οὐ μὴ σιγήτη, καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἰδῆτη. Ἐπαχυνθὴ γὰρ ἡ καρδίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν αὐτῶν βάρεως ἤκουσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκαθάρσαν, μὴ ποτε ἰδῶσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ὠσίν ἀκούωσι, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ ἰατορῶμαι αὐτοῦς.

With regard to this rendering, the following observations may be made:—The double negative *οὐ μὴ* is an emphatic denial. In classical Greek *οὐ μὴ* with the aorist subjunctive is equivalent to our future; *e.g.*, ‘you shall not;’ but with the future indicative it corresponds to our imperative, ‘do not.’ In the later stage of the language (*ἡ κοινὴ διαλεκτός*), however, this distinction is often ignored. It may not have been adverted to here by the Alexandrian translator; but certainly, of the two tenses in question, the future indicative would be preferable. However, as in *Isaias* xxxv. 9, and several other places, he uses the subjunctive to express a prohibition, it is probable that he does so here too. His language is not Attic Greek. At any rate, the difference of meaning between ‘do not’ and ‘you shall not’ is so slight that it does not affect the sense of the passage in an appreciable degree. With this proviso, it must be said that the ninth verse is accurately translated. This, however, cannot be said of the first part of the tenth. The Septuagint does not reproduce the original. The meaning, indeed, of the text, and the meaning of the translation virtually amount to the same, one being the logical converse, or, so to speak, the necessary complement of the other; but to show this theology has to be called to our assistance, and an inference has to be made. At first sight, indeed, it might almost seem that one of the greatest difficulties in all Scripture was suppressed. Instead of ‘make the heart of this people dull, and close their eyes,’ &c., the Septuagint has, ‘The heart of this people is become dull, and they have closed their eyes,’ &c. A description is substituted for an effective command, and what in the text is the work of God, is in the translation laid at the door of the

people.¹ Yet, on closer examination, it will appear not only that the two affirmations are compatible, but that the very same truth, one of the most fundamental in dogmatic theology, is contained, as logicians say, conversely in text and in translation respectively. But of this more anon. Suffice for the present to observe that the verse is quoted according to the Septuagint by our Lord in St. Matthew: 'Go and say to this people: Hearing, hear ye, and understand not; seeing, see ye, and perceive not. For the heart of this people is become dull, and with their ears they have been hard of hearing; and they have closed their eyes, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and be converted, and I should heal them;' and by St. Paul (Acts xxviii. 26); but in agreement with the Hebrew by St. John (xii. 40), and by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 7). Both readings, therefore, have equal authority; both are attested by God—the Hebrew because it is the inspired word itself; the Septuagint because it virtually conveys the meaning of the original.

70. A remark may be made in passing. Is not God's action, in respect of the Greek translation here, precisely similar to that of His Church in regard to the Vulgate version? In order to authenticity, as defined by the Council of Trent, it is necessary that each and every dogma contained in the version be contained also in the original, but not that it should be expressed in the same way. The

¹ 'The Ebionite translator, Symmachus (circa A.D. 200), does the same. His version, which is quoted with approval by Theodoret of Cyr, runs thus;—

Ο λαος ουτος τα ωτα εβαρυνε, και τους οφθαλμους αυτου εμυσε; μηπως ιδη εν τοις οφθαλμοις αυτου, και εν τοις ωσιν ακουη, και η καρδια αυτου συνη, και επιωτραφη και ιαθη. (Field's *Hexapla Origenis*.)

The Syriac version, or Peshitta, also agrees here with the Septuagint. Although it was made directly from the Hebrew, yet the Peshitta was subsequently altered in many places, in order to make it correspond with the Septuagint. This seems to have been done here.

On the other hand, Rabbi Hillel's famous disciple, Jonathan ben Uziel (circa A.D. 30), in his *Targum* on Isaiah, follows the Hebrew text. He preserves the imperatives, 'make the mind dull, close the eyes and the ears,' thus showing that he understood the words to be a command of God given to His prophet. His *Targum*, or Chaldaic paraphrase, is of the highest critical and exegetical value. Its readings bear witness to the Hebrew text as it was in the time of our Lord, and its explanations are the traditional ones of the great school in Jerusalem.

Hebrew or the Greek may exhibit a truth under one aspect, and the Latin under another. Intrinsic identity of meaning is sufficient. Dogmatic texts, however, in which such a modal difference is found, are of very rare occurrence.¹ Here we have a parallel instance: between the Hebrew of Isaias and the Greek translation quoted in St. Matthew there is just such a difference; yet the translation is cited as being the Divine word.² The 'critics,' therefore, that found fault with the Tridentine decree, in this respect, might as well have found fault with God Himself.

As regards Catholics, however, if here and there a difference such as has been referred to exists between the Vulgate and the original in the manner of representing 'res fidei et morum,' while this can be no cause of difficulty to anyone, it may even prove indirectly to be of considerable advantage to the theologian and exegete that understands all about it, and is able to make use of his knowledge. Two different views of one and the same dogma, both of them true, and each, therefore, in perfect harmony with the other, are presented together to him. The authentic explanation, taken from revelation existing elsewhere, is practically a second revelation at a most opportune moment. Unaided human reason might be unable to apprehend much of the truth, if the truth were presented under one sole aspect. Reason might even form some erroneous conclusion about the other side of the question which it did not actually see. It might never advert to the fact that it had got a glimpse of the mystery from one standpoint only, and that, perhaps, its concept of what was thus revealed was far from being accurate. It might even think that it saw everything, and reject as being contrary to truth what did not fall in with its own deductions, or what seemed not to agree with

¹ See Cardinal Franzelin, *De Divina Scriptura*, Thesis xix.

² The following remarkable instance of accidental differences in the Hebrew itself may also be mentioned. The 18th Psalm in the Vulgate reckoned as the 17th, is contained *in extenso* in 2 Samuel xxii. (2 Kings, Vulgate). Between what appears to be its original form, as it is given there, and what may be called the Psalter recension, there are no fewer than ninety-five differences—on the average two in verse! These changes were deliberately made by some inspired writer, in order to render the archaisms of David's hymn intelligible, and to adapt it for choral use.

the ideas contained within the narrow limits of its first vision. This is especially true in regard of our present subject. There are indeed few theological questions regarding which man is more liable to err than this very one about the relations between the divine decrees and human liberty. We find it extremely difficult to adjust and reconcile their seemingly conflicting claims. Hence it is of especial advantage here to get infallible information on both sides of the question.

As regards our text which has given occasion to these thoughts, it is, of course, obvious that the Vulgate exactly reproduces the original. In *Isaias* it agrees word for word with the Hebrew; in *St. Matthew* (where the *Septuagint* is followed) it agrees word for word with the Greek. And what was said above about the Vulgate, in the places where it has a modal difference, applies to the *Septuagint* here (*e.g.*, 'they have closed their eyes,' instead of 'close their eyes'). This difference of expression, sanctioned as it is by God, throws a flood of light on the deep problem of reprobation, and of the compatibility of divine action and human freedom. We not say that these different aspects of the mystery are not respectively afforded elsewhere in *Holy Writ* (on the contrary, we hold that the very opposite is the fact); but what we do say is, that the juxtaposition here of these two views of the subject is of exceedingly great utility. The second is an authoritative explanation of the first. There is, and there must be, perfect harmony here between the *Septuagint* and the Hebrew, and it is the business of the commentator to show it.

Hence it follows that no proffered exposition of the passage of *Isaias* at present under consideration is, in reality, an explanation, unless it combine and utilize the Hebrew text and its earliest Greek version. It might, indeed, perhaps seem to some persons that the *Septuagint* translator deliberately toned down and softened the harshness of the original. No one can tell whether such was the translator's intention or not; all we know is that his words sufficiently express the sense of the original.

It may be of interest to our readers to see how the

Septuagint and St. Jerome's version (which we have in the Vulgate) have both come from one and the same source. Their respective divergencies can thus be readily accounted for. The Hebrew alphabet consists only of consonants, and only consonants were to be seen in all the MSS. of the Hebrew Bible, not only down to St. Jerome's time, but for three hundred years afterwards. Isaias, for instance, wrote *הושה מנחם* H-SH-M-N; the Septuagint read it as *HuSHMaN* = 'is made dull,' but St. Jerome read it as *HaSHMeN* = 'make dull.' One word is the third person singular perfect, indicative passive (*Hophal voice*); the other is the second person singular imperative active (*Hiphil voice*). It will be noticed by anyone who compares the Septuagint and the Vulgate that the same difference respectively, in voice, mood, and tense, is found throughout the rest of the clause.

We saw above that theologians should have no difficulty in accepting the imperative active. We may now add, that it is found, too, in what may be called the authentic text of the Hebrew Bible. In the seventh century of our era, the Masorets added the vowel-points, in order to mark and preserve for ever the traditional reading (Masora). Their vocalization here, *HaSHMeN*, exactly corresponds with St. Jerome's version. He, as is well known, was deeply versed in the Jewish traditional interpretation, and this, amongst many similar causes, has largely contributed to the perfection of the Vulgate.

There is, no doubt, a difficult problem for theologians and commentators in that reading. It has never been better stated, and never from the exegetical standpoint has it been better solved, than it is in the following words of St. Jerome. An explanation of this kind is his forte. In his own sphere he stands supreme, and it would be hard to find, in any part of his numerous works, a passage that exhibits his vast and profound knowledge of Scripture better than the one which we have the pleasure of presenting here to our readers:—

‘Ergo secundum LXX. facilis interpretatio est, quod Isaias propheta Domino imperante praedicat, quid populus sit facturus.

¹ In Isaiam, vi, 9, *seqq.*; Migne xxiv. 98, *seqq.*

In Hebraico difficultas est quomodo Deus praecipiat ipse populo, ut auditu audiat et non intelligat, et videns videat et non agnoscat. De praesenti autem loco dicendum est, frustra nos ad LXX. translationem confugere, ne blasphemum videatur esse quod juxta Hebraicum dicitur: 'Auditu audite et nolite intelligere; et videte visionem, et nolite cognoscere,' cum hujusmodi testimonia, etiam in LXX. interpretibus reperiamus, ut est illud in Exodo quod ad Pharaonem dicitur: 'Propterea suscitavi te, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam. (Exod. ix. 16.) Si autem ipse suscitavit, et induravit cor Pharaonis ne crederet: et de aliis dicitur: 'Dedit eis Deus spiritum compunctionis, oculos, ut non videant, et aures ut non audiant' (Rom. xi. 3) et in Psalmis: 'Fiat mensa eorum in laqueum et in captionem et in scandalum et in retributionem; obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, et dorsa eorum semper incurva' (Ps. lxxviii. 23, 24); non sunt illi in culpa qui non videant, sed ille qui dedit oculos ad non videndum. Ergo et absque hoc testimonio quod nunc conamur exponere, manet eadem quaestio in Ecclesiis, et aut cum ista solventur et caeterae, aut cum caeteris et haec indissolubilis erit. Locum istum beatus apostolus Paulus plenius explicat ad Romanos, et quod ille pene tota epistola persecutus est nos superfluum facimus, si voluerimus brevi sermone comprehendere. Dicit enim post multa: 'Concludit Deus omnia in incredulitate, ut omnibus misereatur.' (Rom. xi. 32.) Admiransque Domini sacramenta intulit: 'O profundum divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei, quam inscrutabilia judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus.' Et iterum de Judaeorum incredulitate disputans ait: 'Numquid sic peccaverunt, ut caderent? absit; sed illorum delicto salus gentium fieret ad aemulandum eos.' (Rom. xi. 11.) Et post modicum: 'Si enim abjectio eorum reconciliatio mundi, quae assumptio eorum? nonne vita ex mortuis?' Et iterum 'Nolo enim vos ignorare, fratres, mysterium hoc, ut non sitis vobismetipsis prudentes, quia caecitas ex parte facta est in Israel, donec plenitudo gentium introeat, et tunc omnis Israel salvus fiat.' Et post paululum. (Rom. xi. 25.) 'Juxta Evangelium quidem inimici propter vos, juxta electionem autem dilecti propter patres; absque poenitentia enim sunt donationes et vocatio Dei. Sicut enim vos,' inquit 'aliquando non credidistis Deo, nunc autem estis misericordiam consecuti, propter eorum incredulitatem; sic et isti non crediderunt in vestram misericordiam, ut et ipsi misericordiam consequantur.' Ergo non est crudelitas Dei, sed misericordia, unam perire gentem, ut omnes salvae fiant, Judaeorum partem non videre, ut omnis mundus aspiciat. Unde et ipse Dominus in evangelio sacramentum caeci a nativitate qui receperat oculos, vertit ad tropologiam, et dicit: 'In judicium ego veni in hunc mundum, ut videntes non videant, et non videntes videant.' (Joan. ix. 39.) Et in alio loco Simeon loquitur: 'Ecce hic positus est in ruinam et in resur-

rectionem multorum.' (Luc. ii. 34.) Illis itaque non videntibus nos videmus; illis cadentibus, nos resurgimus. Quod intelligens Propheta quodammodo aliis verbis dicit: O Domine, præcipis mihi loqui populo Judæorum, ut audiant, et non intelligant Salvatorem, et videant eum, et non cognoscant. Si vis impleri jussionem tuam et totum salvari mundum, quod et ego fieri desidero, tu exæca cor populi hujus, et aures aggrava, et oculos claude, ne intelligant, ne audiant, ne videant. Si enim illi viderint et conversi fuerint et intellexerint et sanati fuerint, totus mundus non recipiet sanitatem.

From some of the texts of Scripture referred to by St. Jerome, it is evident that the obduracy of the Jews in the days of Isaiah was by no means an isolated instance. This fact is of the greatest assistance to the commentator of Scripture. By comparison and induction he discovers that there is a general law underlying the several cases, and the knowledge of the law makes his interpretation certain. We saw above that the obduracy of the Jews was caused by themselves, and by God. In precisely the same way, Pharaoh hardened his own heart;¹ and God hardened it;² and

¹ Exodus, vii. 13, 22; viii. 15; ix. 35. In only one passage of the first group, namely, viii. 15, does the Vulgate say that Pharaoh hardened his own heart, 'ingravavit cor suum;' in all the others it employs the passive, 'induratum est cor Pharaonis,' 'ingravatum est cor ejus,' and does not mention the cause of the hardening; but in all four passages the Hebrew (*Masoretic*) text has the active voice: 'Pharaoh hardened his heart.'

Another interesting fact about the Masoretic text is, that it indicates a difference between the action of God and that of Pharaoh; for the simple active voice (Qual)—'he hardened,' is used of Pharaoh, but the causative voice (Fiel)—'He made Pharaoh harden his heart,' is employed about God. Both these instances of modal differences between the version and the original are commended to the notice of students.

² Ib. iv. 21; ix. 12, 16; x. 20, 27; xi. 10; xiv. 4, 8, 17. The words of the book of Exodus, ix. 16, are the 'locus classicus' on our subject, of all the texts in Scripture that show God's motive in reprobation, none other is so explicit. The divine intention could not be made plainer. It would be impossible to express a deliberate purpose more emphatically than is done here. The greatest resources of the language are put into operation lest by any chance God's awful meaning should not be clearly understood. There are in Hebrew, as scholars know, several conjunctions, any one of which may be used in sentences that signify purpose; the strongest and most intense use of them all, 'lemahan,' is found here. As Mitchell says (*Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew*, Leipzig, 1879): 'The most perfect development of the idea of purpose in the Hebrew language is denoted by the particle 'lemahan'—it denotes a constant purpose, corresponding very nearly to the English 'for the sake of,' in its strictest sense.' See numerous examples in Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1051, and Gesenius-Kautsch, § 151, b.

Another final conjunction, 'bahem,' is used here, on the peculiar force of which Mitchell makes a remark that will enable the reader to perceive the

moreover in xiv. 4, 17, 18, He declares the foreseen and intended result (v. 4)—‘I shall harden his heart, and he will pursue you; and I shall be glorified in Pharaoh, and in all his army; and the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord.’

It is true that in the literal sense of these denunciations there is no reference to eternal punishment; the fate in store for the unbelieving Jews was banishment from Palestine, and the doom which awaited the disobedient Pharaoh was death beneath the waters of the Red Sea. It is not even implied that he is eternally lost. In his case it may have been

Mercy sought, and mercy found,
Between the saddle and the ground.

But it would be a great mistake to imagine that these temporal calamities did not portend spiritual ones. We cannot say what befel either Pharaoh or those Jews in the other world, but we do know on divine authority that their punishment in this world was typical.

It is an axiom in exegesis that many of the temporal evils recorded in the Old Testament were prefigurative or spiritual ones in the New. St. Peter, for instance, implicitly teaches that the destruction of those who were not in the ark foreshadowed the damnation of those who are outside

meaning of the whole passage better. ‘Bahabur’ implies concomitance, but as concomitance usually implies a more intimate relation, the word thus acquires the force of ‘by occasion of,’ introducing a circumstance which brings into operation a deeper cause.’ He concludes his explanation thus: ‘In Exodus ix. 16, both ‘bahabur’ and ‘lemahan’ are found, each with its appropriate signification. The sense is: ‘*Therefore (by occasion) upheld I thee, that (lemahan) while (bahabur) showing thee My power, I might publish My name in the whole earth.*’ Thus Pharaoh is taught that the dealings of God with him are but part of a great plan, to whose accomplishment he is merely incidental.

The verse of the 68th (Hebrew 69th) Psalm which St. Jerome quotes, is shown by St. Paul (Rom. xi. 9) to be a prediction of the blindness of the Jews in our Lord’s time. We shall have occasion to say something about it in the next article, but in this we can treat only of the blindness of the Jews under the Old Testament.

Besides the examples referred to by St. Jerome, there are some others in the Old Testament. One regards the Hivites. We read of them in the Book of Josue (xi. 20). ‘For it was the sentence of the Lord that their hearts should be hardened, and they should fight against Israel, and fall, and should not deserve clemency, and should be destroyed, as the Lord had commanded Moses.’

A second example is seen in the obstinate refusal of Roboam. It was the

the Church : and St. Paul, after he has enumerated several chastisements inflicted on the Jews, says that all these happened to them in figure. So too is it with regard to 'the blinding of the eyes' referred to above ; as we shall see, it is symbolical of a far greater one mentioned in the New Testament, and is, like it, the result of reprobation. As such it is at once the work of a sinful people, and of an angry God : the one being the positive, the absolute, and the culpable origin ; the other being the negative, the conditional, and the just cause of it. Compare Deuteronomy xxix. 4 with Psalm xciv. 8, 9.

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To be continued

immediate cause of the revolt and secession of the ten tribes, and might, perhaps, seem to be the only one. But this was by no means the case. In reality God hardened Roboam's heart. 'And the king condescended not to the people ; for the Lord was turned away from him, to make good His word, which He had spoken in the hand of Ahias the Silonite, to Jeroboam the son of Nabat' 3 Kings, xii. 15.

Another terrifying instance of God's blinding the sinner is to be seen in connection with the last crime of Antiochus (2 Mach. ix.). Swelling with anger, he commanded his chariot to be driven without stopping, that he might the sooner wreak his vengeance on the Jews, and make Jerusalem their burying place. Yet, beside his own violent rage, another and a more powerful cause impelled him. It was 'the judgment of heaven urging him forward' (*ib.*, v. 4). On he went in his furious hurry, till he was thrown out of his chariot, and had to be carried in a litter, 'bearing witness to the manifest power of God in himself' v. 8. At length when interior agony and intolerable stench brought him to the knowledge of his nothingness, 'this wicked man prayed to the Lord, of Whom he was not to obtain mercy' (v. 18). And so the murderer and blasphemer died a miserable death (v. 28).

THE NATURE OF SACRIFICE

THERE are two truths which the writer of the following pages has long believed, but which, up to the present, he has never fully understood or realized. One of them is, that God can be honoured by the destruction, say, of some life which, in His infinite goodness, He has given for the assistance and support of man; the other, that not alone is the Divinity honoured by such an act, but that there is no other worship, no prayer, no almsgiving, which, of its nature, gives such glory to the Almighty, and draws forth from His limitless compassion such copious streams of grace and mercy.

A further element of mystery has also struck him as being present in this context—the dignity of the person sacrificing, and the value of the object destroyed, by their own increase, proportionately enhance the efficacy of the sacrificial ceremony in the twofold direction of praise and impetration, not to mention others where the same effect is found.

To elucidate the former difficulty will be to clear away the obscurity of this latter point; and the attempt at accomplishing the double task will lead us to discuss in order all points that can be raised in an investigation of the true nature of sacrifice.

Let us begin, then, by endeavouring to realize what is understood by giving glory to God by our actions, and why we, poor as we are, should be thought capable of adding, and should be obliged to add, anything to the wondrous perfections of a Being all glorious, all powerful, all sufficient in Himself. It is true that we cannot make our Creator more perfect than He is in His own complete and infinite nature, which is His end, and from which all things that exist derive their due proportion of reality. But we can do what the inanimate world and lower animate forms are doing each moment of their being; nay, more, without a single action on our part, by our mere existence, by the powers of our soul and body, we too are joining in the vast harmony

of praise that peals through all creation, telling of the magnificence of Him, the first cause, who has made us and all things else. 'Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei; et opera manuum ejus annuntiat firmamentum.' And how? we ask. 'Invisibilia, enim, ipsius, per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspiciuntur.' The heavens are beautiful when the pale round moon moves slowly through the star-lit cloisters of the sky, or when, at morn, the restless coursers of Aurora 'beat the twilight into flakes of fire.' All round us, as we write, the fresh flowers of spring are scattering fragrant odours on the breeze, and from out the new-leaved trees, 'that clap their little hands in glee,' the birds pour forth upon our ears a wealth of glorious melody. And all are giving glory to God—the sun and moon, the flowers and leaves, and the little birds; for, whispering us, they say: 'If we are so fair, and can so delight the human heart, and fill it with such peace and joy, what must be the beauty of Him who has drawn us all from nothingness! What must be the happiness of one who looks upon His loveliness, and hearkens to the music of His voice!' And the higher we ascend in the grade of being, the greater is the glory given by the creature to his Creator, until, in man, we reach the summit of this world's perfection, and find the greatest honour rendered to the Almighty by the mere existence of a human soul. It tells us, not in words, but by its silent being, of an excellence in the Divinity which no lower form could help us to conceive.

Thus, then, to honour God is not to make Him greater in Himself, but to declare aloud, as far as in us lies, His wondrous majesty; and we can conclude that the more fully we announce the perfections of His essence, the greater is the glory that we give Him.

The importance we attach to an understanding of this elementary conception may not, at first sight, seem reasonable; but, in truth, it arises from the idea which we, and everyone in general, form of sacrifice. Few, if any, deny that the essential end of this highest act is the worshipping and honouring of our Maker. These two phrases are continually occurring in every discussion on the subject we contemplate; and while it is necessary to determine, once

for all, the meaning we attach to them, and so declare in general terms the nature of the act we study, the examples cited and drawn from nature, will help us to realize points that might otherwise be obscure, and will ward off the questionings that easily arise as to whether, after all, one of the essential characteristics of sacrifice is utility, or a necessity springing from our nature.

In the general sense, it certainly is useful for man to glorify his Maker. Working onward to his end, he daily shows forth the talents of his soul, and so speaks to all of the perfection in the First Cause, whence those powers have come. And bound, moreover, as he is, to utilize those faculties with diligence, we discern in him the obligation of declaring to the utmost of his capacity the majesty of the Most High.

One perfection, the noblest he possesses—his intellect—enables him to know his end, and investigate, to a very perfect degree, the magnificence of God. By the almost intuitive vision of this power, he cannot help seeing that the whole world around him, and he, himself, the apparent king of all, has above a superior from whom everything proceeded, on whom they all depend for being; who is, however, so great that creation and its beauty, even man, with all his faculties, are no way needed by Him for His perfection. And, when the human mind has realized this truth, it has accomplished what is in outline its most perfect act. Details may be added by increasing knowledge of nature's secrets, but, in the form portrayed, it gives implicitly all the glory of his Creator which man can know.

Let us analyze this act, and classify its parts. It evidently contains two elements: one, positive; the other, negative, the latter being that which adds a full, complete expressiveness to the thought. The former, it is true, declares, interiorly, at least, that all the reality of creation is in God, the wonders of inanimate and animate creation, the perfections and faculties of man himself. But even this, great as it is, is not the most that can be told him by his soul. As, in passing from the idea of a finite thing, we reach the infinite by removing all limits from the object or

collection of perfections we consider, so here, having seen that all depend upon their Maker, that He contains their every excellence, that all are His, we still must pass beyond ; and only when we grasp that He needs them not, that His glory is complete without them, shall we reach the limit of our powers, and be utterly unable to form a more adequate concept of His perfection.

Just at this point, the transition point, as we may call it, from the internal to the external order, an obvious question claims attention, and must be answered if we wish to fully understand the nature of a ceremony so widespread as sacrifice. There never was a people in which it did not exist ; there never has been a religion, save, perhaps, that sprung from Luther, which has not possessed it. If, therefore, it be the expression of the above-described *sacrificium invisibile*, to use St. Augustine's phrase, in order to a realization of its character, and the peculiarly natural and necessary relation it bears to the interior thought, we must dwell a little on the philosophy of external signs in general.

Everywhere around us we see our fellow-men using signs, as distinct from speech, where, at first, we should think this latter method of expressing thought sufficient. A person meets a superior, and lifts his hat to acknowledge thereby some ecclesiastical or civil eminence. He might have done the same in words, and the end of the communication would have been accomplished, but, following the impulse of nature, we all act otherwise. A savage wandering on the plains, far from the society of all his kind, cowers upon the earth to signify his dread of a Deity against whom he has offended. Again, even when speaking, we use gestures, and feel that they enhance our words ; sometimes the motions are quiet and argumentative, on another occasion they are wild and stormy, and we throw down, and trample on, a document with whose contents we thus express our utter dissatisfaction or disgust. Those, and a thousand other examples that might be cited, prove how thoroughly natural and, thereby, necessary it is for us to externalize not by words alone, but by signs also, our secret feelings and thoughts in certain circumstances ; and they

help us, moreover, to understand how, from some peculiar aptitude in a motion, leading us to choose it for our communication, or from the mere fact of repeatedly selecting some particular arbitrary sign, there may be found a code of tokens ready, as it were, to hand, for the expression of any thought our intellects conceive. As to the further interesting point, whence springs this tendency of nature to symbolize by acts as well as words the mind of man, space forbids a formal investigation. Nor is it necessary for our purpose. The fact remains that such symbolism is natural, and that men think verbal manifestation in some circumstances inadequate, if not altogether insincere; and such alone is the point on which our context requires us to insist.

Man, then, having formulated the notion, above described, of God, in accordance with this law of signs, would feel himself impelled to manifest it to his fellows. He would look about him for some appropriately expressive action, and would choose it in accordance with the nature of the thought he wished to manifest. In this 'sacrificium invisible' there are, as we said, two elements: one positive, telling us that all things belong to God; the other negative, declaring that, so great is the Divinity, He needs not His creation, He can, as it were, do without it all. For the former, the positive constituent, he would find everywhere around him the appropriate expression. From the dawn of society there have been superiors, and subjects who held from them, as from lords, their lands or other movable possessions; and the inferiors have ever been wont, in acknowledgment of the source of their prosperity, to bring a part of their wealth—a part that symbolized the whole—and place it at their masters' feet. Thus too we find man acting in regard to God. From Him he had received, not material goods alone, but life itself, the highest of all gifts. Wishing to adequately admit this truth, he should select a symbol that could be thought to fitly represent this best and grandest of his possessions. Life itself he could offer to his God, that it might serve its Creator, just as the humbler present brought profit to the earthly lord. Life would have been the most perfect token, and in the one great sacrifice

it was adopted ; but such could not ordinarily be used. The negative element, as we shall see, requires destruction ; and since man could not lawfully destroy himself, he was forced to select some other symbol. Beings endowed with life, and used by man as food, the sheep, or the goat, or the ox ; inanimate substances, closely connected with his existence, as bread and flour, would next suggest themselves as suitable ; and these, we learn from profane as well as sacred history, were chosen. Among savage tribes, and even among peoples as highly civilized as the ancient Mexicans, the most expressive of all signs, a human being, was used, and the fact helps us to realize how vividly the idea of dependence from an all-independent and all-glorious First Cause was impressed on minds benighted as well as enlightened. One other point also must be remarked before proceeding. In addition to the texts alleged by theologians, the objects chosen by man for sacrifice prove clearly that substitution for his own being was intended. To specify but one example: the horse is a much nobler animal than the ox, and much better suited thereby, we should think, to be offered in honour of the Lord of Hosts. Still we never read that such was used in sacrifice. Its life had not that connection with its master's being which pointed out the other objects, animate and inanimate, as fit symbols for the sacrificial thought.

Humbly prostrate at his Maker's feet, man's life would have been, therefore, the most perfect token of that dependence acknowledged by his intellect, did not the negative element in his mental adoration prohibit it. To express this negative constituent, destruction, in some form or other, would at once suggest itself as alone appropriate. The giving an object to a prince is tantamount to saying that from its use he will derive increase, or, at least, that the connection with all the goods thus symbolized is a perfection he would lose were they subtracted from his dominion. Did we wish to signify that He needed not the wealth or life we have, that, though Lord of all, they added not a whit to His most perfect glory, no action could be more suitable than to destroy, with this intention, the token symbolizing all ; no

other ceremony could express that highest perfection of independent being which God alone possesses.

Wishing, then, to honour his Creator in the most perfect way, man has chosen sacrifice. Human life could not be destroyed; a substitution was, therefore, made of some being, animate or inanimate. Placing it on the altar, at the feet of the Most High, the creature thus professed the glory of his Master, and told the source whence all his being proceeded. Destroying it by knife, consuming it by fire, he showed a grander thought, of One who needed not at all the beings, even the noblest, of His hands.

Such being, as it appears to us, the true signification of the sacrificial act, before advancing it will be interesting to discuss the theory of Cardinal De Lugo, and the objection brought by him against the position held by Suarez. The former, following Eusebius, maintains that by sacrifice we declare God's majesty to be so great, that were it lawful, we should be ready to sacrifice in His honour our very lives. We cannot actually do so, but to signify this willingness on our part we select some creature inferior to us, and by destroying it testify this adoration of our heart.

The great difficulty against such an explanation arises from the fact that it is by no means fundamental, and leaves untouched the central point of our subject. Suppose, for an instant, that in some great oblation a man were to offer up his life to his Creator, here we should have a true sacrifice: and, in reply to a question seeking the signification of this act, it is no reply to say merely that this person thereby honours God. How does the honour arise in this case? In particular, how does the separation of soul and body express it? Lugo states that the effect exists, but goes no further; the position explained by us, and modified from Suarez, suitably explains the whole, and, distinguishing the elements of the purely internal thought, displays, in addition, the symbolism and efficacy of the external sign.

The objection referred to above, brought by the Cardinal against Suarez' doctrine, seems based on an inadequate estimation of his opponent's theory. According to this account the latter requires destruction, not, as was explained,

to signify that negative constituent, but as a means of placing the victim offered more completely under God's dominion. Against such a position an obvious difficulty is raised at once. If this be true, we should not look for destruction in sacrifices made, as they often are, to kings on earth. In these cases, the objects offered, and thus, the goods they represent, could be placed within the rulers' power far more effectually by presentation than by the other complete change.

In reply, we say that if the alleged interpretation of the great Jesuit's opinion be correct, the difficulty appears to avail against it; in the explanation of the doctrine adopted by us the objection disappears at once. When men offered sacrifices to earthly potentates, their object was to signify that those latter were credited with all the perfections assigned by men to God, and, since chief amongst those divine perfections shone the idea of complete independence of any creature, destruction was assumed by those idolaters as the only appropriate symbol of their thought.

Having reached thus far in our discussion, to avoid confusion in a somewhat tangled subject, it will be highly useful to analyze, and assign a name to the various elements of the external sign.

First, then, there is what may be termed the matter—*materia*—of the sacrifice: the object selected by man to represent his highest good, his life, his soul, and thence all his other wealth. This token was not chosen arbitrarily. Outside the Jewish nation, as within it, the victims and the materials for unbloody offerings were, by their nature, peculiarly appropriate for such an end, and were strikingly similar in consequence. On the brazen altar, at the entrance to the temple, were offered up domestic animals: sheep, oxen, &c., and bread and wine, and oil, 'velut primariæ creaturæ pertinentes ad sustentandam vitam hominum,' as Franzelin says. On the golden table were placed the loaves of proposition, regarded, and rightly so, by some as a mere symbolical oblation. On the golden altar of the tabernacle was burned the incense which, as we shall see, can be thought sacrifice only in a loose sense.

Such being the matter, the form—*forma*—was twofold,

in harmony with the thought of adoration ; one consisted in placing the selected offerings at the Creator's feet, either by bringing them to some place set apart as peculiarly His, or by some other action suited to express the same idea ; the other was the destruction of the victim in oblation, to externalize the negative concept. Taken separately, each is but a partial form, both together are required to constitute the true determining element of sacrifice. We might, however, say that destruction differs from the act of presentation, as the form which makes the sensible sign a fit symbol for the internal thought differs from that which gives the sign, so physically constituted, what might be called its metaphysical essence. Every day sheep and other animals are slain ; but such actions are not sacrifices. They could be made so if the real *forma* of this worship were added to what is otherwise a mere ordinary occurrence ; and then only will this determining element be applied when some person, having the requisite interior thought, assumes this symbol as a means, and with the intention of thereby expressing the adoration of his soul. The act of presentation externalizes this purpose, and constitutes the sacrifice in its complete essence. Nor let it be said that presentation preceding, as it does, destruction, could never make this latter more definite or more significant. Though it really precede in time, the virtue of the former action is, in truth, co-existent with the latter, and so, can sufficiently determine and qualify it.

Furthermore, from this brief analysis, we learn the highly important fact that a person can refuse, as it were, to sacrifice, until two, or even more signs—each, in other circumstances, sufficient by itself—are used ; and that up to the moment in which both are made complete the sacrificial act does not truly exist. If I destroy, for example, a lamb, and have not the intention of thereby signifying my adoration, wherever the act takes place, there is evidently no sacrifice. What, now, if in this same act my will be, not to manifest thereby my thought until some other different class of animal be destroyed with the same intention ? Others looking on may deem all essentials present ; but it is for me, not them, to sacrifice, and when I so decide to retain

within my power the application of this metaphysical form, it is evident that the essence cannot be as is required. We might, indeed, call the first offering a conditional oblation, conditional on another animal being added; but in no sense could it alone be thought enough. Somewhat after this manner, Jesus Christ offers daily on our altars the 'clean oblation' of prophecy. He might have consummated His infinite worship under one species; but He has willed it otherwise. He wishes to express His adoration by self-annihilation under both bread and wine; and, if one alone be consecrated, the internal thought is not externalized, for the will does not exist for its expression.

Without this form, therefore, called metaphysical by Franzelin, we have no sacrifice. That which we call physical is no less necessary, for without it we have not the fitting sign.

As to the act of presentation as such, there can be but little difficulty. It must put the object in some place apart, consecrated to divine service: or, should the condition of society be so primitive that no such spot exists, it is hard to see how this form—at least by itself—can be. However, as destruction is the principal element, to it we shall direct attention: for it may well be said that its efficacy in segregating the victim offered may atone for lack of temples or other sacred places.

From the etymology of words used to signify sacrifice, the necessity of this latter form is at once apparent. The Hebrews employed, therefore, a term equivalent to the Latin 'mactare': the Greeks had *thusa*, from the verb that means 'to burn'; for fire was the element they adopted to consume the offering.

In the Sacred Scriptures, moreover, we find a marked distinction drawn between mere oblations and peculiar ceremonies which, from the annexation thereto of a distinctive title, are shown to require essentially some further action. In the Epistle to the Hebrews we read: 'Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur . . . ut offerat dona et sacrificia (προσφορὰν καὶ θύσιν).' And though such texts do not explain the full nature of this latter, they show, at least, that something more than ordinary consecra-

tion is required; and the only additional ceremony we know of was destruction.

Against this fundamental position an old objection is found in the Protestant theory, that every virtuous act, by being good, has all the essential elements of a true sacrifice. Were such a doctrine true, we should not expect to read: '*Misericordiam volo et non sacrificium*,' and other such texts that might be cited; and granted that we learn '*sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus*,' or '*elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum*,' we can easily explain them by the tendency of the human mind to attach a common name to actions having a somewhat similar efficacy in one direction, or alike in the element of time besides, though they differ totally in these points which are essential to constitute the prototype.

Acts, then, which do not cause destruction—nay, which are totally internal—may be termed sacrifice; but they are not truly such. For, first, they do not answer to the etymological signification of this name; secondly, they are distinguished more or less explicitly from the ceremonies properly so called; lastly, in the philosophy of external signs, they would not, or could not, be assumed as appropriate symbols for that high thought which sacrifice is ordained to manifest.

This third point needs but little amplification, after all that we have said. Sacrifice is the grandest act of worship. It, more completely than aught else, glorifies our Maker by manifesting the greatest thought of God a creature can possess. All admit it to be the noblest exercise of the virtue of religion. Seeing, then, that the negative element of internal adoration is that which crowns and completes the full, but still inadequate, positive constituent, no external ceremony will really convey the whole where this negation is not expressed. We may wish to tell it by other signs, but none, except destruction in some way, can do so; no other symbol is a fit form to specify the indifferent matter, and so constitute a fit recipient for the higher metaphysical determination.

Against this, the central portion of the theory, manifold

objections from Scripture, from rival systems, and the sacrifice of Mass arise. We can glance only at a few, for the subject has already outrun a reasonable space, and positive points of interest still await discussion. The 'loaves of proposition,' if admitted as a sacrifice, present some difficulty, for we read of no occasion on which they are said to have been destroyed in any appropriate manner. Each Sabbath, those of the preceding week were removed, and in their stead twelve others, in two rows, six and six, were placed before the Lord, and sparkling incense scattered on them all.

In replying to this point, Lugo adopts the easiest solution, and denies a sacrifice. Franzelin maintains the opposite, thinking that there may be found a two-fold, real, and sufficient destruction in the case: one accomplished by the burning of the super-imposed incense—a symbol of the whole oblation; the other, the priest's act of eating them, *sacrificiali modo*. Finally, some even say that baking in the oven was the process that had sufficiently changed the bread before its presentation each Sabbath in the tabernacle.

This third hypothesis may be at once abandoned, for no one seriously thinks that a bake-house could be a sacrificial chamber, or that the accidental change wrought in it could express the negative concept as described. The second theory, as far, at least, as regards its latter portion, cannot be thought quite satisfactory. Eating, with any intention whatsoever, especially when the object is bread, could not be regarded as a true sign of that independence attributed to God. As to the substitution of the incense for the whole offering, the consumption of the part might or might not be a sufficient token for sacrifice; but, apart from this question, by the destruction of this portion we cannot rightly say that the loaves were sacrificed any more than man's life when in its place he has offered up an ox or a lamb.

With the first opinion, therefore, it seems more probable to hold that there was no sacrifice in the case; and the meaning of the rite may be explained by regarding the twelve loaves as a symbol of the twelve tribes who, in a mystic manner, thus continually, in the presence of

Jehovah, offered up their praise and prayer, as typified by incense.

The oblation of Melchisedech presents more difficulty. No one admitting its relation to the tremendous sacrifice of our altars, can, for a moment, deny it the quality of a real sacrifice ; nor is there the least necessity for doing so. As to the wine offered, we can at once declare that pouring it forth was certainly, or almost certainly, the means used by the celebrant for the consummation of his worship. It was the obvious, and the universally-adopted token used in such materials. The Scripture says he sacrificed, but thought it quite needless to explain the method, when everyone was rightly considered to be acquainted therewith. In regard of the bread, since there was an altar at hand, and since, in after times, under the law, this substance was often used in worship, we are at liberty to think that at both periods the method was the same, and the victim was consumed, at least in part, by fire.

The last objection drawn from Sacred Scripture, found in the ceremony of the emissary goat, may be quickly dismissed. The sacrifice had been consummated by the slaying of one such animal, and then another was let loose, to signify, not the highest worship of God, but the fact that the people's sins had been taken away upon the other victim, and had been hidden out of sight for ever.

Rival theories and the Mass, named above as two sources of difficulty, in reality coincide. The former were elaborated by their authors under the light of this new revelation ; and from the particular discussion of the character of this last and greatest sacrifice they legitimately transferred their conclusions to the general question, which alone we contemplate. We shall not, however, treat these teachings as objections to anything hitherto laid down. In reality they are not so. Our preceding remarks have gone to show that some destruction is required ; but its character has been in no way decided. At this point it can most suitably be declared.

First, we shall see what theologians teach.

According to Suarez, provided that there be some sacred action exercised on the victim, by which it is consecrated, and

thus only morally destroyed, we have all that is sufficient and necessary. For this he quotes St. Thomas, giving, for example : 'Quando panis comeditur, frangitur et benedicitur ;' and he himself admits as sacrifice in its essentials the change wrought in a lamb by its presentation on an altar, and its consequent consecration. Immediately, however, he maintains, that there is more than this in Mass ; and he explains by distinguishing three elements or stages in sacrifice—the object offered, the sheep or bread, as it is before destruction ; the act by which it is destroyed ; and, thirdly, its consequent condition. In Mass, then, we have the bread as Host ; by the words of a priest its substance is completely changed into the Sacred Body of our Lord, which is thus presented as an agreeable offering to God. Under the Old Law the matter, in its first stage, was nobler than in its third and final condition ; and to it, in this worthier state, the word 'sacrificed' was applied, and the chief intention of the minister directed. In the New Law the 'term' is the nobler part ; and though it be not destroyed, since its production is principally intended by the person sacrificing, we can say that it is 'sacrificed.'

A grade beyond this, and more explicit, the theory of Bellarmine maintains, that since Christ's body is ordained to destruction in the celebrant's communion, we have, in this act, the determining and completing element of a hitherto unfinished sacrifice.

At the opposite pole to these two systems, distinguishing relative from absolute oblations, Vasquez defines sacrifice as '*nota existens in re, qua profiteamur Deum dominum vitæ et mortis,*' and maintains that, though in 'absolute' offerings we do require destruction to signify the thought within, in 'relative' we need it not at all, and can deem all completed by a representation of it as having taken place.

Somewhat in the same manner, Billot and others teach that when an object is presented under its proper species destruction is required of substance as of species, but, when, as in Mass, a victim is concealed under strange accidents, nothing more can be demanded than the expression, in the outward appearance, of this complete change in the concealed

substance. The reason alleged by them is obvious. Sacrifice, being a sign, must be sensible, and no change, however great, happening beneath the appearance, say, of bread, can ever fulfil this principal and necessary condition. When, 'vi sacramenti,' the Body of our Lord is alone recognised beneath the Host, and His Sacred Blood beneath the species of wine, we have then, in the only manner possible, externalized our adoration.

With the first of these theories it is difficult to agree when it states that a consecration such as has been instanced would be quite sufficient alteration. All, indeed, admit that when something is made sacred we have the highest act of worship; but mere presentation will not fulfil the essential conditions of that 'sacrificatio,' which everyone, or almost everyone, maintains to be something more. Nor does it avail to quote St. Thomas as favouring this initial contention. In the text alleged the Angelic Doctor is proposing instances of sacrifices that had really existed, to exemplify the various modes of consecration that had been actually adopted; and, therefore, it is fair to say that, when he mentions this 'breaking, blessing, and eating of bread,' he draws attention to the great Eucharistic mystery he so loved himself, without analyzing or describing the peculiar and full effect of the various acts referred to.

The second portion of this great writer's theory is not less unsatisfactory. It can never be truly said, except, perhaps, in holocausts, and even then not properly, that the 'term' of the sacrificial act is sacrificed; and the reason is plain in our analysis. The action by which we express the negative component of our internal adoration must, apparently, be regarded as the chief object of the worshipper's mind. It alone adequately specifies the external sign. This act, it is true, results in destruction, and in some such sense it may be said that in all sacrifices the 'term' is what we chiefly aim at. If, however, by this action we purpose, as our principal end, not to destroy, but to produce, however noble be the result, we fail to apply the metaphysical form to the external symbol, and so have not at all the intention of sacrificing in the true sense. In

addition, the victim to which we direct this principal act must be regarded as the chief and sole victim in the circumstances, for that alone can rightly be said to be 'sacrificed' about which entirely the distinguishing form of this mode of honouring God is exercised. If, then, the Sacred Body of our Lord remain unchanged, and no destruction, real, equivalent, or symbolical thereof, takes place, it is hard to see, not how there is a sacrifice in Mass, but how Christ is verily the victim immolated.

Bellarmino's position somewhat confirms this reasoning, for, having stated that by consecration the All-holy Victim is placed upon the altar, he seeks for some further action by which it is destroyed, and finds it in the Communion of the priest. This latter, then, as well as consecration, is in such a system equally essential to the sacrifice; nay, it may well be regarded as the more important part. On the general question we discuss this theory commends itself as in some way adequate. Hidden, as in such a case the victim would be, under strange species, the act of destroying these by fire, for example, if the victim were mortal, would be as sufficient as if exercised on the same person in his own peculiar form. Why not, then, consumption by the act of eating, unless it be said that, even while consuming them, we well know there is no change whatever in Christ's body, either as in heaven or beneath the Host? This objection hits the position very strongly, and to it may be added that any such ceremony about bread, whether substantially present or only in appearance, is by no means an appropriate symbol of what men, in this case, intend by destruction. We object to the Cardinal's theory on other grounds also, for, as we said above, the metaphysical essence may be wanting even where the physical sign is complete. Even though, then, it were granted that this latter could be found in the Communion, we should still deny that this particular action pertained to the sacrifice, as the intention of Christ was not to manifest thereby His infinitely perfect adoration.

The third opinion, that of Vasquez, is now very generally rejected. Few think that the mere representation

of a destruction which has really taken place will be enough, and the reason comes out at once from that philosophy of signs at which we have but glanced. By sacrifice a thought is to be externalized, and by some significant action, not by mere words or mere pictures of what would suffice if real, must man declare it to his fellows. Such is the human mind, and such its peculiarly interesting dictate in the present subject.

The fourth opinion, one of a large class, at first sight seems plausible enough. The destruction must be, it says, evident to the senses in order to constitute a sign. This complete change cannot take place in the requisite manner in the concealed Victim, for, this latter not being palpable or visible, no alteration of it can possess either of those indispensable conditions. Since, then, it is absolutely necessary that the Victim should be destroyed, and in a manner evident to the senses, the only alternative is a mystical slaying whereby the Body alone is made visible through the species of bread, and the Sacred Blood through that of wine, and so are placed apart.

To this reasoning it may be well replied that our Divine Lord, to speak of the one such case, is as truly present to us under each of the sacramental species as He would be beneath His proper accidents. In the latter, as in the former case, we use some intellectual process to recognise and admit the substance beneath the appearances that cover it. If, then, we confess and know no change whatever in the offering, say, under the Host at Mass, it is hard to see how we can be said to have sufficiently portrayed that negative element which is the chief and highest part of the invisible concept.

What, then, if all these theories be inadequate, shall be considered sufficient destruction, when the victim cannot die?

An answer may, we think, be discovered through a consideration of the thought we manifest by sacrifice. The offering must be presented to the Lord, and on it must be exercised some action apt to externalise the negation of dependence that enters into our internal adoration. Amongst us aequivalent destruction, as it is called, is almost as expressive of this latter element as the loss of life itself. To

every mind the dashing of a bowl of wine upon the earth by one who made the liquid a symbol of something he would utterly destroy—a hostile nation, for example—would convey his thought most perfectly. It is a strangely expressive sign of the idea. So, too, if we could divest a victim, say a lamb, of all its senses, then of all its limbs, and then could present it under the form of an object extremely small, such would speak eloquently as to our mind. This really occurs in Mass. Christ, offering this mystery, deprives Himself of the natural use of every power of body and soul, changes even His human shape, and presents Himself, thus annihilated, upon the altar. The very loss of life is not so complete a change as this. When the soul is gone it still, we know, exists, and the body, to our senses, is almost the same. In Mass, by the mystic words, the priest destroys, totally, the use of every faculty, the very form of man itself, to testify that both those elements, the perfection itself, we may say, of our Redeemer's very soul, are no way needed by the Almighty Father. In plainer words—by actual death we do not annihilate the soul, nor, to all intents and purposes, do we destroy the body. We separate the two, and so declare that, as the result of union is His, so He needs not, whatever be the perfection thereof, the being and faculties of man. We do exactly the same in the Sacrifice of our altars. We take away the noblest properties of the most perfect human being, and so testify most fully the idea of Divine independence as conceived.

Very little space now remains for the investigation of the point—how far institution is essential to the matter of a sacrifice. In so far as we mean by institution the selection on some one's part of the external symbol as a means, and with the intention, of thereby worshipping, we need no argument to prove it necessary. Moreover, if a number of persons, or a whole society, in their corporate capacity, wish to honour God by sacrifice, the matter of this offering can be that alone which they or their representative decide. If different objects be selected, the will to worship in this manner is not present; the metaphysical, and absolutely necessary form, has not been applied.

Two other hypotheses may be made, and about them alone does difficulty arise. In a state, such as the ancient Hebrew nation, where the superior has fixed the matter of oblations, might a man validly sacrifice with some forbidden beasts or substances; or, secondly, could one, dwelling in the woods, far from all society, select an appropriate and adequate sign, not instituted by his fellow-men or society, and thereby honour God in truly sacrificial form?

To the question of this latter hypothesis, Lugo gives a negative reply. Such an individual, he maintains, could not give the due signification to an external sign, any more than annex a new meaning, say that of 'horse' to the word 'homo;' and in confirmation, he adds, no person could now take as the matter of sacrifice the cutting down of a tree, or the pruning of a vine, and this because society has not instituted such acts as fitting symbols of adoration.

To this confirmation we can at once reply that even society itself could not erect these actions into tokens for sacrifice. Neither of them has that peculiar relation to human life which in this case the philosophy of signs requires.

In the preceding argument there is more truth. It might well be questioned whether the benighted savage could ever in his lonely life attain such notion of Divinity as would urge him to any more than those motions which naturally express fear or reverence—genuflection and the like. Such, Lugo admits he could exercise. But, supposing for an instant that he elaborated the 'sacrificium invisible,' to a certain extent, it is true that he could not invent for its expression an altogether arbitrary sign. Society itself could not do so, because, as we instanced, of a certain natural dictate. It might decree that a symbol short of destruction would express what this latter signifies at present, and man would understand the meaning of such. The restriction would, however, be against nature, nor could the token so forced be ever thought an adequate expression. The two actions that express the elements of the sacrificial concept have a relation to those ideas that comes not from institution by society, but is made evident as inherent, by the almost intuitive vision of our minds.

The solitary being of our question, therefore, having reached the exalted idea of an all-producing, independent God would feel an impulse to externalize it. In reply to the movement he would not use a purely arbitrary sign, and if such alone could exist, his thought would remain for ever buried in his breast. Arbitrary signs are used only when we wish to communicate an idea to a fellow-man, or to some other being who, we may think, could understand us. They would not, and need not, be where only one individual exists. A 'quasi-natural' appropriate sign would be the issue of the savage's conception: and, since the external act of sacrifice is such, not purely arbitrary, we cannot see why it requires institution by men, when by them it is, and must be, selected for the very reason that seems to recommend it as appropriate to our lonely friend.

This conclusion Suarez admits to be apparently according to the mind of the Angelic Doctor. Franzelin declares that if a sacrifice could in the circumstances exist, it would be quite different in kind from that offered by society. The only way in which it seems to differ is in the persons who apply the metaphysical form to the sensible sign. This latter element appears specifically the same in both. Finally, as to Lugo's objection from the meaning of words, we can easily deny its application to our present question. Without institution, by two persons at least, 'homo' could not be selected as a symbol for the idea 'horse.' To assume it from my private fancy for such a purpose would be not to assume a sign at all. In sacrifice, my whims have no part. Long before my existence, even before states and peoples, there was an obvious meaning in the act of placing some object at another person's feet, and when men looked around for a token of that other negative element it was not their decision but nature itself that led them to use destruction. The two combined were in a sense a 'natural' sign. They were not, indeed, necessarily connected with the metaphysical form, as smoke is with fire: slaughter might exist, and no sacrifice be present. But this physical sign is dictated by nature as the only appropriate, and so the necessary token of our adoration,

As to the former hypothesis regarding individuals in a society where the matter of sacrifice has been determined by the superior, it might be asked does the nature of our subject forbid their using therefor some prohibited materials? Under the Jewish law it is easy to see how in several cases it would be so. Those living within its jurisdiction were not allowed to, and, as a matter of fact, did not, use as food the flesh of swine; and thus the assumption of objects prohibited in this manner would not suffice. The same is true also of every society in which an animal or substance not having the relation of supporting medium to human life was condemned as unfit for sacrifice.

What, however, if an element related by use to man's existence, and not allowed in offerings, be utilized by some person against the law! Can we call that true sacrifice? and what if a certain class of persons alone are permitted to perform such ceremony? First of all, it has not the essence of a 'satisfactory' sacrifice. If God appoint a certain quality of suffering, either physical in the body, or material in wealth, declaring that such only will satisfy His justice, plainly no other can be thought sufficient. Next, it cannot be termed 'Eucharistic.' For this it should be pleasing, and *ex hypothesi*, it is sinful. Thirdly, it is not 'impetratory.' The Creator does not answer prayers stained, as in this case, with disobedience. Lastly, can we say it is 'Latreutical'? We think not, especially if the prohibited matter be deliberately assumed. In such a case two signs, as it were, collide. One, that which has all the necessary conditions for a sacrificial symbol—the presentation of man's life on the altar, and the consequent destruction thereof in figure; the other, and more powerful, the actual performance of a ceremony gravely sinful from an express command of God. To every mind this latter expresses a practical denial of God's all-embracing power and jurisdiction, and the worshipper's total dependence, far more strongly than any results connected with it could manifest the admission of these two truths. The denial extinguishes the affirmation, and with it the sacrifice; nor can the person offering, by any means in his power, render the latter element triumphant.

The same positions may be held regarding the second question, as to the necessity of an individual from amongst the designated priesthood. Just as in the case discussed at the close of the preceding paragraph we had two conflicting symbols, one yielding to the other's greater force, so we should have a similar contradiction and a like result where a person would deliberately arrogate to himself, against the ordinance of God, an office which the Divinity, mediately through a superior, had entrusted exclusively to some favoured race or class of individuals. In any state, moreover, it is quite natural, nay more, most requisite that the worship of the Most High should be duly regulated, for terrible confusion would result, were each individual permitted to use his own materials, or his own place, and be himself the minister of sacrifice. In such a sense, then, and such only, the necessity of a priest is easily admitted, though it may be added that a representative of this class is ever necessary if we define him to be 'one who worships God sacrificially.'

One of his functions, however we describe his qualities, is, as we have seen, to destroy the victim offered; and here to complete our exposition of his duties it may be asked:—How far is it required that he should be the immediate physical cause of the complete change in question; or would it be enough if he bore to it a real but somewhat more removed relation? It appears that something of this latter kind suffices, for in the Old Law the priest was not always the actual immolator of the victims. The lamb or ox was frequently slain by the hands of the lay worshipper, and then the blood was poured forth upon the altar by the minister and the sacrifice consummated. On Calvary, too, the Jews were they who impiously caused the wounds that, of their nature, led to death. But here it was Christ, we know, who offered Himself, and satisfied for a world's sin. However, the latter case is scarcely an argument for our position. Since our Divine Lord was the only real and necessary cause of His own death, He could not be slain by wounds inflicted on His sacred body. All such, therefore, were in a sense useless. By an act of the Divine

or even human will He could retain His soul in spite of all change. Only by His will then could He die, and by a free act of it he offered Himself for our iniquities. Such was evidently not the case with the martyrs whose death as a result could not be attributed to them in the sense required by sacrifice. On the other hand, in the example from the Old Law, by the action of the priest, merely the metaphysical and necessary form was added. Up to the moment at which the blood was so poured out the worshipper, good Jew that he was, had not the absolute intention of manifesting by the material wounds the adoration of his soul. To have it would be sinful. But when the priest performed his part the necessary condition was fulfilled and the sweet odour of the offering ascended to Jehovah.

One last point now demands attention, and with it we shall conclude this long and, to our readers, we fear, wearisome essay. Frequently in the preceding pages we have spoken of sacrifice as an action, at other times we have described it as a sign composed of matter and form, physical as well as metaphysical. The former designation is that assumed by Suarez as most appropriate; sacrifice, he argues, is the making sacred—*sacrificatio*—of some object animate or inanimate, and by an action alone is such effect produced. Suitable as the appellation undoubtedly is, it may be safely said that it is not adequate. Sacrifice is not an action merely. This is, certainly, its chiefest element, and the form being that which gives all the physical or moral *esse* to the composite substance, from this worthier constituent the whole may be denominated. But there is plainly and essentially something more. Destruction indiscriminately exercised would be the same act, as such, but it would not be sacrifice. Then only, when the matter speaks of, and symbolizes man's life, does true sacrifice arise, and to constitute it there must ever be added this reality that comes from the undefined matter alone.

Such, at some length, though by no means fully, is our idea of the nature of the act we study, and its essential characteristics. We have seen that it is primarily a sign to manifest the highest thought of the Almighty's perfection,

We have glanced at its necessity arising from man's proneness to use something more than mere words in all circumstances. We have gathered the nature of the honour and worship, which it offers to our Maker. We have learned how, from its chief end, there may arise other and subordinate effects, 'eucharistic,' from the pleasure such an oblation gives to our Creator, 'impetratory' from the moving power consequent on this pleasing efficacy; and, lastly, satisfaction and propitiation from the sufferings or losses, physical or otherwise, the worshipper may endure. We have explained in what sense, and for what reason, destruction is required and the necessity of immediate causality thereof by the person consummating the oblation. We have examined the question of institution, and, dividing its many significations, have endeavoured to discriminate circumstances in which the nature of sacrifice requires it from those where it needs it not at all. Where a particular class is set apart to perform the sacrificial ceremonies, we have investigated how far, without their intervention, such worship can exist.

And here, at length, we are in a position to accomplish the most useful and practical portion of this essay—the solution of the difficulties proposed on opening. The first, as to how the death of any creature honours God, needs no further amplification. The body of the paper is occupied with the explanation of that question, in the various phases it can and does assume when all its various parts are analysed and examined. How such an act excels all others in giving glory to God, has also been abundantly set forth.

One point alone remains—that obscurity which we referred to at the beginning of our work, and with an attempt at its elucidation we conclude.

A person by sacrificing declares that all his goods and his soul with all its powers are God's; and that, moreover, were they, every one of them, destroyed, He would still be all-glorious, and all-perfect. Evidently, then, the nobler and more powerful the man who so worships, the greater the honour given to the Most High, for the higher is the excellence of His being declared to be both positively and negatively. The former, positively, because He is confessed

Lord of faculties more exalted than those of a different worshipper ; the latter, negatively, for the more elaborate and extensive those goods are of which the Godhead is thus declared quite independent, the mightier is He who needs them in no way at all, who can afford to dispense with them and all their grandeur.

The value of the object offered, also, when increased, in our explanation, is plainly seen to enhance the glory announced thereby. As the destruction of human life would most perfectly manifest the idea of adoration, so the nearer we keep thereto in the value and signification of our selected matter, the worthier our sacrifice shall be. Besides, as among men a high esteem, say of some public personage, is expressed by a proportionately grand testimonial, so, the more exalted the idea we have of our Creator, the more splendid will be the object chosen from among our goods to consecrate to His worship.

Both these capabilities of sacrifice are found employed to their uttermost in the tremendous oblation of the Christian altar. There, the noblest of all mankind, Jesus Christ, true God and true man, protests before heaven and earth the infinitely perfect adoration of His soul. The victim used by Him is no less than His own all-glorious humanity, annihilated before His Father, to testify the source whence it has come, and the majesty of Him who needs not at all its most exalted attributes. The most perfect of worshippers, the most perfect of all possible offerings, are joined in one grand oblation to Him from whom the universe, and its greatness, hath proceeded, before whom the cherubim and seraphim are prostrate in humble adoration, and who yet finds beneath the humble roof of each lowly country church, the one supreme and infinite worship that adequately tells His glory.

P. SEXTON, S.T.L.

THE EPISCOPAL CITY OF FERNS

II.

BISHOP ST. JOHN died in 1243, and it is not a little remarkable that all the subsequent Bishops of Ferns, until the appointment of Bernard O'Donnell, O.S.F., in 1541, were Anglo-Normans. At the close of the same year Geoffrey St. John, Vicar-General of Ferns, was chosen to fill the vacancy, and went to reside in the Castle. In 1250 Ferns was the property of William de Valence, in consequence of the death of John de Monte Caniso without heirs; but, on February 24th, 1252, Henry III. gave orders to Sir John FitzGeoffrey, Viceroy of Ireland, 'not to give seisin of the manors of Ferns and Odon (Hy Duach, near Gorey), or any part thereof, but, till further orders, to take possession of them for the king.' On May 31st of the same year, as we learn from Theiner, Pope Innocent IV. wrote a letter to the Bishop and Chapter of Ferns, 'to confer a canonry on a certain Richard, Chancellor of the said diocese, a learned cleric, and a distinguished student of Paris University.'

On August 23rd, 1255, the appointment of a Dean for the existing Chapter of Ferns was confirmed by Pope Alexander IV. In 1252 Maurice de Rochford, by his marriage with Matilda, daughter and co-heiress of Gerald Prendergast, acquired the lordship of Enniscorthy and the barony of Duffrey (*Dubhthir* = the black turfy land), in which inheritance he was succeeded by his son Maurice. Bishop St. John died early in 1257. The obituary notice of 'Murray, son of Maelbrighde, O'Farrelly, Coarb of Maidoc,' in 1257, by the *Four Masters* has caused some eminent historians to imagine that the entry referred to the see of Ferns, inasmuch as the Bishops of that see were not unfrequently styled 'coarbs of Maidoc;' but, as is evident from subsequent entries in the *Four Masters*, under date of 1330 and 1368, the allusion is to the O'Farrellys, who were hereditary coarbs of Maidoc at Drumlane near

Belturbet, in the diocese of Kilmore. The successor of Bishop St. John was Hugh de Lamport (now generally written Lambert), an English Canon, and Treasurer of Ferns. On July 10th, 1258, the king ordered John FitzThomas and Master William de Bakepus, escheator of Ireland, to receive fealty from Bishop Lambert, and to restore him the temporalities of the see.

By an Inquisition taken in 1272, Geoffrey, son of Sir William Prendergast, was said to have been 'brother and heir to John Prendergast, who owned lands in Ardnasallagh and Ferns.' Bishop Lambert was a courtier prelate, and, under him, the living of Rathmacknee, near Wexford, was confirmed to the Priory of All Hallows, Dublin, in 1276. The see of Dublin was vacant from 1271 to 1279, and the episcopal functions were performed by Robert de Provend, assistant Bishop—the earliest instance we meet with of such an appointment in the Anglo-Norman Irish Church. During the rule of Bishop Lambert the Franciscan Friars of Wexford, in 1260, got the church of St. Bridget and St. John, which had belonged to the Knights Hospitallers. This prelate died May 23rd, 1282; and, in July, the Dean and Chapter elected Richard of Northampton (who had been dispensed by Pope Urban IV., on January 22nd, 1263, in the matter of holding a plurality of benefices), Canon of Killaloe. He was confirmed by the King, and restored his temporalities on October 13th, 1282.

Murtogh MacMurrough, King of Leinster, and Art, his brother, were slain at Arklow by the English, in 1282. A few years later, Sir John Devereux founded a convent for Franciscans at New Ross, which was then the most important town in the diocese of Ferns. Nicholas, Archdeacon of Ferns, petitioned the Chancellor of Ireland, in 1285, seeking redress in the matter of a debt of 86 pounds of silver, for which he had been held responsible as executor to the will of Adam St. John. In this document he describes himself as being then 'blind and infirm,' and that he had 'faithfully administered the chattels of the deceased, 'rendering his final account for same before the Bishop of Ferns.' On June 11th, 1285, Pope Honorius IV. wrote a mandate

to have either the Bishop of Ferns or the Bishop of Leighlin, assisted by two other prelates, consecrate John Saundford as Archbishop of Dublin. From the *Calendar to Christ Church Deeds* we learn that on April 25th, 1289, Richard, Bishop of Ferns, granted an Indulgence of forty days 'to those who, being contrite, and having confessed, hear Mass celebrated by any Canon of the monastery of Holy Trinity, Dublin, or say the Lord's Prayer and the Salutation of the B.V.M., for the benefactors of the said monastery, and for the souls of the faithful departed;' as also, 'to those who by legacy or gift promote the building of Holy Trinity Church.'

Early in 1297 there was a dispute concerning the jurisdiction of the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, *sede vacante*, which was claimed by the Prior of Holy Trinity and the Dean of St. Patrick's on one hand, as against the Bishop of Ferns on the other part; and, on March 7th, 1297, the matter was referred by Pope Boniface VIII. to the decision of the Prior of All Hallows.

There were thirty-three separate sees in Ireland, in 1302, and we have the taxation of them all by command of Boniface VIII., in that year, with the exception of Ferns and Ossory. Bishop Northampton died January 13th, 1304, and was buried in his Cathedral Church. The royal licence for an election was granted on March 12th, and Simon of Evesham was the capitular choice. He was duly consecrated on June 22nd of the same year; but, after a rule of only nine weeks, he died September 1st. His successor was Robert Walrand, Vicar-General of Dublin, who took possession of his see before the close of the year.

In 1305 Gilbert Sutton, Seneschal of Wexford, was slain by the Irish near the village of Hamon *le Gros* [*Clough Hamon*, or Clohamon, a couple of miles from Ferns]; and, in 1313, this Hamon, who, in the previous skirmish is said 'to have fought stoutly, merely escaping by his great valour,' and his neighbour Sir William Prendergast, were slain at Skerries.

Bishop Walrand died at Ferns Castle on November 17th, 1311, and was succeeded by Adam of Northampton,

who was consecrated on Trinity Sunday, 1312. This prelate appropriated the church of St. Fintan, Mayglass, to the Deanery of the Cathedral. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford, who came to Ireland in 1315, gave a charter to Wexford, dated Radcliff-on-Trent, July 25th, 1317, subscribed to, among others, by Sir Maurice Rochford, Lord of Enniscorthy.

The Bishop of Ferns sided with the Irish, on behalf of the Bruces. On January 26th, 1316, Edward Bruce defeated Sir Edmund Butler, Lord Justice, at Ardsclull, Co. Kildare. Robert Bruce joined his brother in February, 1317, and matters looked very inauspicious for the colonists. Sir John Gilbert writes:—‘Important services were also rendered to the Bruces by Adam de Northampton, Bishop of Ferns, who, seated in the midst of the Anglo-Norman settlement, secretly communicated to them, through his brother, the councils and intended movements of the lords of the colony, and also assisted the Scots in obtaining supplies of arms and provisions.’ In January, 1317, Sir Maurice Rochford was one of those who renewed the oath of allegiance. Roger Mortimer landed at Youghal, as Lord Justice, on Easter Thursday, 1317, with thirty-eight knights and a large army, and on August 6th a writ was issued to Mortimer ‘to arrest the Bishop of Ferns, and arraign him for high treason.’ However, his Lordship was subsequently pardoned, and Edward Bruce was slain at the Battle of Faughart, on Sunday, October 14th, 1318.

On the death of Aymer de Valence, in 1323, Sir Maurice Rochford acquired four and a-half knights’ fees in Killealy, near Enniscorthy, ‘which were waste by reason of the wars of the Irish.’ Meantime there was a provincial Chapter of Franciscans held at New Ross on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24th, 1318, when we find a certain Friar Adam as Guardian of that convent. An Augustinian Friary was founded at New Ross by William Roche in 1320. In 1327 Donald MacMurrough was elected by his clan as King of Leinster, but in the same year he was captured by Sir Henry Traherne, who received £100 as a reward. Shortly afterwards Donald escaped through the

connivance of Adam de Nangle. This faithful Anglo-Norman provided the Leinster king with a rope, and by its means he effected his escape from Dublin Castle in the following January, but Nangle was hanged.

In 1326 the differences between Bishop Ledrede of Ossory, Lord Arnold le Poer, Dame Alice le Kyteler, and William Outlagh, in regard to heretical charges, &c., were referred to the Bishops of Kildare, Ferns, Emly, and Lismore, when matters were amicably arranged for the time being. On April 21st, 1331, the English forces defeated the Irish in North Wexford, but, soon after, the O'Tooles took Arklow Castle, which, however, was recaptured by Sir Anthony Lucy, Viceroy of Ireland, in 1332, 'who repaired the same, leaving a strong garrison in it.' Early in August the Irish pillaged and burned the city and castle of Ferns, and the Bishop had to fly.

After a long and stormy episcopate of thirty-four years, Adam of Northampton died on October 29th, 1346.¹ Hugh *de Saltu* of Leixlip, Co. Dublin, Prebendary of St. Patrick's, Dublin, was canonically elected by the Chapter of Ferns in December, and was consecrated on Passion Sunday, 1347. Meantime, Pope Clement VI., *proprio motu*, appointed Geoffrey Groffield (whom Ware calls *Grosseld*), D.D., O.S.A., to the vacant see on the 3rd of the Nones of March, 1347. This same Pontiff deprived Hugh of Leixlip in August, 1347, whereupon the Chapter elected John Esmonde as Bishop of Ferns, who was duly confirmed by his metropolitan and consecrated. However, Dr. Groffield was sent from Rome, and was given the temporalities of the see by King Edward III., on March 26th, 1348. Bishop Esmonde resided in Ferns Castle from October, 1347, to June, 1348, when Bishop Groffield arrived to take up possession, and not only refused to admit the latter, but put the Castle in a state of defence. The Augustinian Bishop then appealed to Rome, but fell sick of the 'Black Death' in October, 1349, and died on October 22nd, without taking possession. The Holy See then

¹ In 1345 the Furlongs gave a foundation for a Carmelite monastery at Horitown, in the diocese of Ferns, and, in 1346, the clergy of Ferns granted the King £10 as a contribution for the defence of the Pale.

appointed William Charnels, a distinguished Dominican Friar, who was confirmed by the King on April 19th, 1350, having been consecrated at Rome. He received the temporalities of the see on October 15th, 1350, and went to take possession of the Castle of Ferns. Yet, Bishop Esmonde, whose family influence was very powerful in Co. Wexford,¹ declined to admit Dr. Charnels, who, in January, 1351, called in the aid of the civil arm. On April 23rd, 1351, a writ was issued by Bishop Charnels directing the Sheriff of County Wexford 'to forthwith remove all lay force from the church and diocese of Ferns raised to disturb the Bishop in the exercise of his spiritual office.' However, we read that 'the Sheriff was unable to execute the writ, inasmuch as John Esmonde, *late* Bishop, William Furlong, and twenty-six others had opposed him,' and had strongly fortified the castle. Finally, the stronghold was taken by strategy, and Dr. Charnels took up his residence therein in August of that year.

In 1352 Bishop Esmonde wrote a long petition to the Holy See, and stated his position. Pope Innocent VI. wrote a most paternal letter to Dr. Esmonde, and as a *solatium* gave him the prebends of Taghmon and Coolstuffe. Previously, on a false report of the death of Robert Walshe, Bishop of Emly, Pope Clement VI., by a brief dated 'third of the Ides of January, 1352,' appointed Esmonde to that see. However, Bishop Walshe lived till 1355, and, finally, on April 27th, 1356, Bishop Esmonde was given the temporalities of the see of Emly.²

On September 15th, 1352, Sir Maurice Rochford of Enniscorthy brought the hostages of the MacMurroughs, the O'Murchoes, or Murphys, of Castle Ellis, and those of the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes to Wexford Castle. In 1354, as

¹ For much of the information concerning Bishop Esmonde, I am indebted to Sir Thomas H. Grattan Esmonde, M.P., who has collected voluminous notes regarding his distinguished ancestor from the Vatican Archives, transcribed from the originals by Father Costelloe, O.P., St. Clements, Rome.

² In 1349 Sir Nicholas Devereux of Balmagir became a surety for the good behaviour of John Esmonde, *late* Bishop of Ferns. Bishop Esmonde ruled over the see of Emly from 1356 till his death on the 4th of April, 1362. In 1370 Thomas Esmonde was Lieutenant to Sir John Blyterly, Constable of Wexford Castle.

we learn from the *Four Masters*, 'MacMurrough was put to death by the English.' Bishop Charnels was appointed Lord Treasurer of Ireland on February 23rd, 1361, but died in July, 1362, and was succeeded by Thomas Denn, Archdeacon of Ferns, who was provided to the See by Pope Urban V. on February 20th, 1363, being consecrated in the same year on Trinity Sunday. Under date of 1361 the *Four Masters* have the following entry: 'Art MacMurrough and Donnell *Rough*, heir apparent to the kingship of Leinster, were treacherously captured by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and imprisoned. They afterwards died in prison.'

In 1368 Dermot *Larderg* MacMurrough, King of Leinster, was taken prisoner by the English; and, in the following year, he and his son Gerald 'were put to death by the English.' Sir William Windsor carried on a vigorous campaign throughout Wicklow and North Wexford, in 1370, but with no decided result. The name of Martin John Barron, Archdeacon of Ferns, appears in many deeds of this period. In 1376, Gilbert Sutton, Precentor of Ferns, received pardon for his political leanings. From this date Art MacMurrough Kavanagh, King of Leinster, continued to be paid an annual subsidy by the Crown of 80 marks,¹ and, in 1377, he recovered Enniscorthy and the Duffrey district from the Rochfords. In 1380 he founded the Augustinian Friary of Clonmines, which was completed by Nicholas the Clerk in 1385. In 1379 Richard Sutton of Clonard received a grant of various lands from the Bishop of Ferns. Art MacMurrough, heir presumptive to the kingdom of Leinster, was slain by the English of County Wexford, in 1383, in which year a fifth plague devastated Ireland.

After a long interval we find mention of Ferns Abbey in 1389, in which year the monks acquired possession of 'the tithes of the Island of Barry [the sear of Barrystown] on the sea coast.' This inlet of the sea, which marks the boundary

¹ Donogh MacMurrough, King of Leinster, was treacherously slain in 1375 by the English of Carow, 'among whom he had often before spread desolation.' In the Close Roll of 1379, under date of October 19th, there is reference made to this subsidy of 80 marks 'payable out of the Irish Exchequer half-quarterly, by ten marks at a time.' In 1381 Donnell O'Murphy, chief of Hy Felimy (Barony of Ballaghkeen) was slain by the Hy Kinsellagh.

between the parishes of Tintirn and Bannow, 'is about three miles long and about one mile wide, narrowing gradually as it recedes from the sea.' From a deed dated July 26th, 1392, Thomas Denn, Bishop of Ferns, and Johanna Devereux, were appointed custodians of the lands of Nicholas Devereux of Balmagir.

Art MacMurrough, who killed numbers of the English of Ossory in 1386, burned New Ross in 1394, the rectory of which belonged to the Austin Canons of St. John's, Kilkenny. From the year 1395 Ferns Castle was held by Constables, and the whole country was in a ferment owing to the raids of MacMurrough, who took Carlow Castle early in 1397. On July 20th, 1398, at the battle of Kells. Co. Kilkenny, Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and all his army, were defeated by the Irish of Leinster. Richard II. landed, for the second time, at Waterford on June 1st, 1399, with an army of about 30,000 troops; but, *en route* to Dublin, the troops were sorely harassed in Carlow and Wicklow, and all readers are familiar with the tragic end of the unfortunate monarch four months later.

Bishop Denn died on the 27th of August, 1400, after an episcopate of thirty-seven years, and was succeeded by Patrick Barret, a learned Austin Canon of Kells, who was consecrated at Rome, in December, 1400, and received restitution of temporalities on the 11th of April, 1401. Dr. Barret transferred the see of Ferns to New Ross, as being more populous and less free from the attacks of the Leinster septs. On June 16th, 1402, King Henry IV. granted a licence whereby the Bishop appropriated the Church of Ardcolm to Selskar Abbey, Wexford. The Castle of Ballyteige was burned by MacMurrough 'on Tuesday, the morrow of the Feast of St. Barnabas,' *i.e.*, June 12th, 1408, but was rebuilt by Sir Richard Whitty.

On June 11th, 1410, the Bishop of Ferns was appointed Chancellor of Ireland, vacant by the resignation of Archbishop Cranley of Dublin, and he built the stately Castle of Mountgarret, near New Ross, where he resided. He also built 'Bishop's Gate,' through which he was wont to enter when pontificating at St. Mary's Church, and he

beautified the church itself, of which he completed the south transept.¹ Three years later the Bishop retired from the Chancellorship, which was again resumed by Archbishop Cranley, and devoted himself to the care of his diocese. He compiled a *Registry of the See of Ferns*, with memoirs of his predecessors—a work which, alas! has disappeared. He died November 10th, 1415, and was interred, by his own desire, in the Priory of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, of which he had been a Regular Canon.

In 1416 Art MacMurrough made a great raid on Wexford, 'and took 340 prisoners in one day.' This was his last exploit, as he was poisoned at New Ross on the 12th of January, 1417, and was buried at St. Mullins, being succeeded in the kingship of Leinster by his son Gerald. His son Donald MacArt was taken prisoner by Sir John Talbot, Lord Furnivall, Lord of Wexford, on May 4th, 1419, and sent to the Tower of London, where he remained for nine years.

The see of Ferns was vacant for over two years, and, at length, on February 17th, 1418, Robert Whitty of Ballyteige Castle, Precentor of the diocese, was 'provided' by the Holy See. In 1418 Sir John Talbot gave the monks of Selskar Abbey the Chapel of St. Nicholas of Carrick. On September 13th, 1423, Pope Martin V. wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester to the effect that they should threaten with excommunication the Archbishop of Dublin (Richard Talbot, Lord Justice) and the Bishop of Ferns for favouring schismatics, as also for other ecclesiastical irregularities. In 1425 Lord Furnivall² obtained a promise from Donogh O'Byrne to protect the loyalists in County Wexford. Bishop Whitty lived mostly at Ballyteige Castle, and, in 1425, he gave the Church of Ardkevan, or Kilkevan, to Selskar Abbey.

¹ Bishop's Gate has long since disappeared, and in 1845 Aldgate or Bewley Gate, better known as Three Bullet Gate, was pulled down by the Corporation, who took care to let posterity know the fact by inserting a stone in the wall of an adjacent corn store, with the following inscription: 'This is the west side of Bewley Gate, taken down in the year 1845, by consent of the Town Commissioners.'

² On June 18th, 1429, Lord Talbot de Furnivall was made prisoner at the Battle of Patay, but was released by order of the Venerable Jeanne d'Arc, *vulgo* Joan of Arc. He was created Earl of Shrewsbury on May 20th, 1442.

Donal MacArt, generally called *Reagh* or *Fuscus* (the brown or the swarthy-complexioned), 'was ransomed by his own province' in 1428. Sir John Grey, who was sworn in Viceroy on August 1st, 1427, 'had to disburse much of his own proper gold' to provide troops for the defence of Leinster against the MacMurroughs and others; and he returned to England, in 1428, without accomplishing anything in particular. The Lord Deputyship of Lord Dudley, in 1429, and of Sir Thomas Strange, in 1430, did not materially extend the Pale. On the death of Gerald Kavanagh, in 1431, 'a man illustrious for hospitality and prowess,' the Leinster clans chose Donal MacArt as sovereign, who, soon after, took up his residence in Enniscorthy Castle, and joined the O'Tooles against the English.

In 1435 the Colonial Privy Council addressed a letter to the King, through the Viceroy, Sir Thomas Stanley, stating that one hundred and forty-eight castles and forts in County Carlow, within the previous nine years, had been destroyed or taken possession of by the 'Irish enemy,' especially the MacMurroughs. A plague raged throughout Leinster in 1439. To such an ebb had the fortunes of the Palesmen been reduced at this period, that, in 1441, James Cornwalsh, Chief Baron, was seized in his own house at Baggotrath and murdered by William FitzWilliam of Dundrum. In 1442 the English troops of Wexford killed the son and heir of Donald *Fuscus* Kavanagh, and took seven of his chief warriors prisoners near Ferns; but shortly afterwards the King of Leinster attacked Wexford, and compelled the Governor to deliver up the seven prisoners, 'as also to pay 800 marks *eric* (blood money) for the murder of his son Murty.' Early in 1443 Archbishop Talbot of Dublin, and John White, Abbot of St. Mary's, were sent to represent to the King 'the miserable estate and condition of Ireland,' the public revenue being, as Cox writes, 'so low, that it was less than the necessary charge of keeping the kingdom by one thousand four hundred and fifty-six pounds per annum.'

WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

DOCUMENTS

DOUBTS REGARDING OCTAVES

MEXICANA

DUBIUM CIRCA OCTAVAS

Rinus Dnus Prosper Josephus Maria Alarcon Archiepiscopus Mexicanus a S. Rituum Congregatione sequentium dubiorum resolutionem humiliter efflagitavit, nimirum :

Quum in Mexicana Archidioecesi ex benigna concessione Pii Papae VI. d. d. 5 Martii an. 1776 Octava Solemnitatis Corporis Christi eodem gaudeat privilegio, quo Octava Epiphaniae Domini, et ex altera apostolica concessione Gregorii Papae XVI, per Decretum S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide d. d. 20 Februarii an. 1831, Festum SSmae Trinitatis sub ritu duplici primae classis cum Octava celebretur ; quaeritur : An attentis supradictis concessionibus RR. PP. Pii VI et Gregorii XVI. in Archidioecesi Mexicana cessare debeat Octava SSmae Trinitatis, adveniente festo cum Octava SSini Corporis Christi ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, proposito dubio respondendum censuit : *Affirmative*. Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit. Die 5 Martii 1898.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praen. S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

DIOMEDES PANIGI, *Secret.*

MEXICANA

DUBIUM CIRCA OCTAVAS

Rinus Archiepiscopus Mexicanus ad componendam quandam controversiam inter nonnullos Sacerdotes suae Archidioecesis, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione sequentis dubii solutionem humiliter postulavit, nimirum :

An in Archidioecesi Mexicana, Dominica infra Octavam privilegiatam SS. Corporis Christi dicenda sit Praefatio de SS. ma Trinitate, prouti ex benigna concessione Gregorii Papae XVI tum Festi de SS. Trinitate cum Octava, tum Praefationis de eodem Mysterio recitandae supradicta Dominica infra Octavam Corporis Christi : quae tamen concessio facta fuit absque ulla

mentione, sive in supplicii libello sive in rescripto, concessionis de altero privilegio anteriori a Pio Papa VI eidem Archidioecesi collato super Octava SS. Corporis Christi privilegiata ad instar Epiphaniae?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, proposito dubio respondendum censuit: *Negative*, iuxta decretum in una *Mexicana* diei 5 Martii 1898. Atque ita rescripsit, die 26 iisdem mense et anno.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praen. S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *Secret.*

THE MASSES UNDERTAKEN BY THE ADMINISTRATOR OF ST. JOACHIM'S

E. SACRA CONGREGATIONE VISITATIONIS APOSTOLICAE

LITTERA CIRCULARIS, QUA NOTIFICATUR FUISSE ULTRO SUSCEPTA ET ADIMPLETA, A VIRIS CATHOLICIS, GALLIS PRAESENTIM, ONERA 260,000 MISSARUM QUAE AB ADMINISTRATORE ECCLESIAE A S. JOACHIM DE URBE, SUPERERANT CELEBRANDA ¹

Appena divulgatasi la notizia, che a carico del Santo Padre colla rivendicazione della Chiesa di San Gioacchino rimaneva l'adempimento di 260,000 Messe, trascurato della cessata Azienda Brugidou, venerandi Vescovi si nostrani, che esteri, principalmente della Francia, mossi da filiale amore con nobile pensiero, invitarono il Clero tanto secolare, quanto regolare di unirsi ad essi nel rilevare Sua Santità da sì grave peso colla gratuita applicazione di Messe, o con corrispondenti offerte.

Collo stesso intendimento, giornali cattolici fecero caldo appello ai loro abbonati.

All'invito fu corrisposto con tanta sollecitae generosa gara, che nel giro di un quadrimestre presso la S. Congregazione della Visita Apostolica fu registrato tale numero di Messe, tra celebrate e in corso di celebrazione, da supplire interamente a quello non soddisfatto.

Raggiuntosi pertanto con felicissimo esito lo scopo prefisso, si rende noto, che da ora innanzi rimane sospeso ogni ulteriore impegno per Messe; facendosi tuttavia obbligo a quelli, che ne assunsero il carico fino al presente, di non ometterne l'esatto

¹ Huius legendi casus non est cur originem, vicissitudinesque recolamus, quum notae satis superque sint.

adempimento, e di trasmetterne alla S. Visita a suo tempo il relativo certificato vidimato dalla propria Curia.

Sua Santità, a cui è riuscito di sommo aggradimento questa nuova dimostrazione di filiale attaccamento e devoto omaggio, profondamente commossa e consolata nel rendere vive grazie a tutti quelli, che hanno preso parte all'opera generosa, in auspicio di ogni celeste favore, ed a pegno di benevolenza, impartisce di vero cuore la Benedizione Apostolica.

Roma, li 20 Aprile, 1898,

L. M. CARD. VICARIO,

Presidente della S. Visita Apostolica.

THE BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF THE VENERABLE SERVANT OF GOD IGNATIUS JENNACO, SECULAR PRIEST OF THE DIOCESE OF NAPLES

NEAPOLITANA. BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SEIŖI DEI IGNATHI IENNACO SACERDOTIS SÆCULARIS IN ARCHIDIOECESI NEAPOLITANA

Mirabilis et misericors Deus opportune seligit ac mittit suos fideles servos, benedicens eis benedictionibus propriis in Christo haerede universorum, cuius meritis et gratia adiuti, in exemplum ac praesidium virtutis singulis hominum statibus ipsi praelucent. Temporibus etiam a nostra aetate haud dissitis florentissima, Italia ac praesertim regio Neapolitana plures vidit eiusmodi Dei famulos atque ex iis laeta adhuc commemorat servum Dei anno Ignatium Iennaco sacerdotem saecularem. Ille die 30 Aprilis 1752 in civitate Turri Annuntiata, Archidioeceseos Neapolitanæ ortus, die sequenti in Ecclesia parochiali Spiritus Sancti baptismo regeneratus fuit. Boni parentes Nicolaus et Caecilia Salvatore christianam pueruli educationem suscipientes, in eo suavem docilemque indolem invenerunt. In ipsâ prima aetate vocationis ecclesiastica indicia portndebat, erigendo domi parva altaria ac quotidiana pietatis exercitia et ad annua festa religiosa peragenda. Erga Beatissimam Virginem suam devotionem pandebat, tum per mariale rosarium, tum per ieiunium in sabbato. Dietis parentum obediens, si quid pecuniae ab eis vel ab aliis in praemium recipiebat, praeter morem puerorum et adolescentium, illud in Dei cultum et in hominum levamen expendebat; atque animas defunctorum piacularibus flammis addictas, stipe sacerdotibus oblata, ut sacra litarent, sublevabat. Ignatius domi, ecclesiae ac scholæ amantissimus cum esset parvulus non parvuli

speciem, sed viri formam induisse videbatur. Inde accidit ut clericali statu ac veste dignus habitus sit, unanimi cleri et populi consensione. Ob progressus in studiis et in christiana catechesi inter alumnos Seminarii Urbani Neapolitani meruit cooperari, locum tenens gratuitum. Ex actibus processualibus liquet Ignatium peculiarem finem a Sacrosancto Concilio Tridentino alumni in spem Ecclesiae succrescentibus propositum, plane assequutum fuisse. Eius pietas, modestia, obedientia et litteras ac scientiam addiscendi ardor ab ipso Ephebei Rectore ceteris clericis indicabatur. Quamvis vero, ut citius ad sacros ordines promoveretur optimum haberet testimonium, ipse tamen prae-tulit servare tempora singulis sacris ordinibus praefinita, alienum se ostendens a dispensationibus impetrandis. Adhuc iuvenis et vix diaconus ad humaniores litteras edocendas in praedicto Seminario electus fuit, et deinceps linguae hebraicae magister renunciatus eam maxima cum laude usque ad vitae exitum tradidit. Ad sacerdotalem dignitatem evectus sacris quotidie et devote operabatur, praedicationi verbi Dei naviter incumbere, et pari sedulitate ac discretione confessiones fidelium excipiebat, praecipue sequens S. Alphonsi de Ligorio doctrinam. Quod sacrum ministerium exercuit tum Neapoli praesertim in Seminario urbano, directoris spiritualis munere fungens et simul sanctuarii candidatos iuxta regulam SS. Patrum ad sacri textus intelligentiam instituens, tum in civitate Turri Annuntiata penes ecclesiam Congregationis SSⁿⁱ Rosarii et paroeciam Spiritus Sancti. In confratres marialis rosarii, quibus erat magister pietatis atque in suos concives fervidum suum amorem, quo Eucharistiae Sacramentum atque Deiparam Perdolentem amplectebatur, transfundebat. Inde ibidem instituta ab eo tridnana expositio Ss. Eucharistiae in Maiori Hebdomada a dominica palmarum ad feriam III., et pium exercitium feriae VI. in Parasceve ad Beatissimae Mariae Virginis inexplicabiles dolores recolendos; atque illa duo opuscula eius sapientiam ac pietatem redolentia, primum super modo et ratione audiendi Missam, alterum super Virgine Matre Desolata. Decorem domus Dei dilexit atque promovit, eleemosynis etiam a fidelibus ad hunc finem collectis; insuper ut sacrae functiones rite peragerentur, ipse cantum ecclesiasticum in quo erat peritus, saepe dirigebat. Hisce aliisque operibus in Dei gloriam et in proximorum utilitatem intentus, studio et laboribus fractus; sed animo fortis et patiens dum extremo insanabili morbo afflictabatur, et sacramentis ecclesiae roboratus, die quam praedixerat 22 Decembris anno 1828,

mortem occubuit. Corpus Servi Dei in sacello Seminarii Neapolitani prius expositum ac deinceps ad civitatem natalem delatum, ultra tres dies mansit insepultum, concivibus aliquid ex veste vel ex capillis, devotionis causa, sibi diripientibus. Exequiis rite peractis, in sepultura congregationis SSmi Rosarii, tunc conditum fuit et post octodecim annos, auctoritate ecclesiastica approbante translatum in sacrarium eiusdem congregationis, sub pavimento tumulatum est. Interim fama sanctitatis quam Dei Famulus vivens acquisierat, post obitum magis inclaruit : et super ea in ecclesiastica curia neapolitana rite adornatus fuit Processus Ordinarius in Alman Urbem iam delatus, in Actis Sacrae Rituum Congregationis exhibitus et legitime apertus. Hinc rogante Rmo Dño Cosimo Stornajolo huius Causae Postulatore, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., per decreta 8 Iulii, 1891, 13 Martii, 1894 et 29 Martii, 1895, et sententiam probavit ipsius Sacri Consilii super revisione peracta scriptorum Servi Dei, et veniam indulisit proponendi, etiam ante lapsum decennii, absque interventu et voto Consultorum in Congregatione Ordinaria dubium de signanda commissione introductionis eiusdem Causae. Quare, instante praefato Postulatore, attentisque Litteris Postulatoriis aliquorum Emorum S. R. E. Cardinalium, plurium Rmorum Antistitum, nec non Rmi Capituli Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Neapolitanae, una cum clero et populo civitatis Turris Annuntiatae praesertim e sodalibus SSmi Rosarii, Emus et Rmus Dñus Card. Vincentius Vannutelli, ipsius Causae Ponens seu Relator, in Ordinariis Comitiis, subsignata die, ad Vaticanum coadunatis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit : ‘An sit signanda Commissio introductionis Causae in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?’ Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, post relationem Rmi Ponentis, audito etiam R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, omnibusque rite expensis, rescribendum censuit : ‘Affirmative, seu signandam esse Commissionem, si Sanctissimo Domino placuerit.’ Die 7 Decembris, 1897.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationis Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habens, propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Venerabilis Servi Dei Ignatii Iennaco, die undecima iisdem mense et anno.

CAMILLUS CARD. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

GENESIS AND SCIENCE : INSPIRATION OF THE MOSAIC IDEAS OF CREATIVE WORK. By John Smith. 1898. London : Burns & Oates, Ltd.

WITHIN the past few months our greatest living commentator on Genesis, Father Hummelauer, S.J., felt it incumbent on him to issue a *brochure*, deprecating the misguided zeal with which new-fangled theories for the reconciliation of science and the Bible are being created and turned loose on the world by a number of irresponsible and unauthoritative writers. Having this fact before our minds, we confessed to some misgivings when, on taking up the above work, a slender octavo volume of some eighty odd pages, we found it declare the end of its existence to be 'to reconcile the discoveries of geology with the first chapter of Genesis.' Moreover, the name of John Smith did not strike us as a familiar one in the domain of this or any other branch of literature, and our suspicions deepened accordingly.

We are glad to say they were unfounded. Our author is not one of those exasperating individuals who, like the new stars that occasionally set astronomers in a flutter, blaze out with a grand light which is to revolutionize apologetics, only to subside as quickly into their normal obscurity. A harmony of Genesis and science is a laudable work, indeed, but a work for able heads only and fluent pens. We think that Mr. Smith, albeit a new arrival, may, as far as he has gone, be fairly credited with the possession of both.

With a touch of scholastic method, the opening chapter marshals, in a double row of theses, the apparently hostile forces of reason and Revelation. Seven succeeding chapters are then devoted to the overthrow of misrepresentation, and the establishment of harmony. A brief but masterly summary of the physical history of the universe, followed by detailed discussion of such subjects as the production of light, the dividing of light from darkness, the formation of the firmament and solar system, the order and succession of organic life-forms, the duration of the Mosaic day—such, in brief, is the substance of the book. Taking the nebular hypothesis as the ultimatum of science, the author

contrasts and harmonizes, one by one, the salient stages through which, in that theory, the universe passed, with those which are disposed of 'in a few pithy sentences' by the inspired writer of Genesis. Whoever the latter was, he does not, it is true, formally base his narrative on the nebular theory. But if the ideas and events described, stripped of that technical word-clothing so dear to the scientific heart, are precisely the same in both, what right has man to grumble if the inspired writer spoke not learnedly of primordial fire-mist, of nebulae and star-clusters, of aqueous rocks and glacial epochs, of moneron and mammals? His work was to be, not the scientific treatise of a Geikie or a Sir Robert Ball, but the 'Book of Ages.'

To most, if not to all, of the usual points of difficulty our author gives the customary solution, clothed, however, with a certain freshness and vigour which stamps it as the sterling truth, 'ever ancient, yet ever new.' Nevertheless, the perfections of his work are not wholly unmingled. As far as we can see, he has, in some instances, quite unnecessarily adopted a line of argument which is calculated to leave the sacred narrative, if we may be pardoned the expression, 'in a corner.' It was quite sufficient for his purpose to show that there is nothing in Genesis irreconcilable with the nebular hypothesis; but the beauty of perfect harmony lured him on to maintain that the events described in the first chapter of Genesis are identical with the cardinal points of that theory. Now, identicals stand and fall together; and while Genesis is a record of facts, the nebular theory is—just what it is. Suppose it should some day succumb to age and infirmity, what is to become of the historical authority of Genesis? Mr. Smith may have a firm and lively faith in the nebular theory—indeed, he holds it to be 'no speculation, but a truth actually fortified by Revelation'—but so the whole world for ages swore by the Ptolemaic system; and who knows but an enlightened generation, in the thirtieth century, may read with indulgent pity of those benighted days when the best that science could offer to the world was the nebular hypothesis!

Again, Mr. Smith's chapter on that question of questions, the duration of the Mosaic day, possesses a startling interest. Hitherto we had possessed our souls in the comfortable conviction that in this matter there were three more or less respectable opinions to choose from. Now, however, we are assured that both the literal and period theories are 'not only without authority, but

erroneous and misleading,' thus leaving the allegorical interpretation the only possible. The Mosaic days are simply mental pictures of the universe at select stages of its evolution. 'Through one interminable day, divisible into any number of convenient intellectual views (for purposes of exposition), the primitive world unfolded its own development, and the inspired writer describes it accordingly.'

We have no objection to the author's choice, and nothing but praise for his able exposition of it; but we see no grounds for stigmatizing all other interpretations as 'grave errors,' and we believe it not less in accord with the interests of Genesis than with the unanimous opinion of contemporary Catholic writers, that apologists should not be reduced to one bare opinion on a question still probably in its infancy.

Five plates are inserted in the work. Three of these are ideal pictures of the probable state of our solar system at intervals during the Hexaemeron; the others are very fair representations of 'the great Nebula in Orion and the 'Ring (spiral?) Nebula iubanes Venatici,' two corners of creation where the history of our Genesis is supposed by astronomers to be slowly repeating itself. Seeing that the book is published at the rate of about a penny per leaf, an appendix of a few pages, or even an occasional allusion explanatory of these plates (at present left to introduce themselves) would be more useful for the average reader than the appended forty-page catalogue of the publishers, which can be had for a post-card.

Of course, Mr. Smith can scarcely claim to have made more than a fragmentary contribution to the literature of the subject; and one prefatory remark, that 'in the following pages abundant proof is given that the several phenomena recorded in the first chapter of Genesis are scientifically certain,' surely savours somewhat of exaggeration. Still brevity is the soul as well of wisdom as of wit; and we feel justified in saying that the average quality of this modest booklet is inversely proportional to its quantity. It offers to the educated Catholic (or Christian, for that matter) a reliable key to the solution of those 'difficulties' against the Mosaic Cosmogony which, if they do not voluntarily present themselves to the believing scientist, are sure to be triumphantly shaken in his face by the votary of pure reason.'

J. W. B.

THE COMMANDMENTS EXPLAINED, ACCORDING TO THE
TEACHING AND DOCTRINES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.
By the Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist, Author of
The Creed Explained, &c. London: R. Washbourne,
18 Paternoster-row. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago:
Benziger Brothers.

WE have no hesitation in saying that this volume will prove an immense boon to many missionary priests. There is no duty that falls to the lot of the minister of Christ of more abiding importance than that of nourishing the souls committed to his charge with the sacred food of Christian doctrine, and teaching them the nature of the moral obligations by which they are bound towards their Creator so that they may walk securely in the path of His commandments. It is in the faithful observance of these that their future happiness is made to depend by our Lord Himself, and it is clearly the lips of the pastor that, to a great extent, must enlighten them with regard to what is opposed to divine law, and what is not. Now, of course, there are numerous treatises that deal with this branch of theology. These are the manuals that are in every student's hand in college, and there are many more besides. But all these tomes are, as a rule, written in Latin, and we doubt whether the ordinary missionary priest would not prefer to consult some book written in a language which he can, at least, better appreciate, when he wants information on a given subject. It may be easy to read Gury, for instance, to prepare for a call in class, but it is not so easy to translate his terse terminology into English that would be intelligible to average congregations. This, then, to our minds, is obviously one of the great advantages of the book before us, that it gives us, ready at hand, a clear, intelligible, and exhaustive exposition of each of the principal moral obligations that devolve upon us as Christians and members of the society of the world.

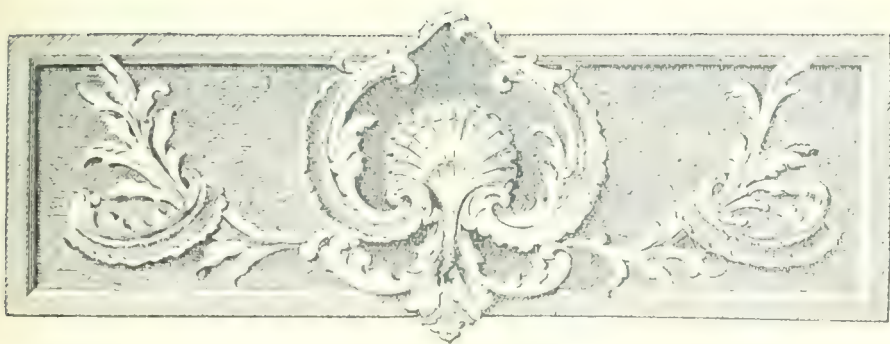
Father Devine has spared neither labour nor research with a view to arrive at the soundest judgment on every question he has treated of. He has not only consulted the ordinary standard works on theology, but he has also gone into unbeaten tracks, and introduced to us the most up-to-date as well as the most reliable views on those scores of interesting problems that are to be met with at every step in the social and moral ethics of the

day. The result is most pleasing, for he has thus made his book at once authoritative and interesting.

The method followed is closely allied to that pursued in most theologies. In some instances we were inclined to find fault, because, in our opinion, he delayed too long over questions that were not of a very practical aspect, and overlooked others of a more practical character ; but cases of such a kind are very rare. In general, every question comes in for its due share of treatment. The style of the author is very readable ; in fact, it is exceptionally good, when we consider how difficult a thing it is to clothe technical theological expressions in suitable English dress.

We trust, now that this very valuable treatise has been brought under the notice of our readers, that it will meet with the share of patronage which it so well deserves.

P. M.



‘HELBECK OF BANNISDALE’: AN IMPRESSION

What do you mean by ‘soul?’ Have I a soul? And what do you suppose is going to happen to it?¹

IN the foremost rank of the novelists of the day stands the figure of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, a writer of great power, freshness, and originality. Her bent of mind and training are such that social and religious questions, the doubts and cravings of the human mind and heart, possess for her a well-nigh irresistible attraction; and it is with such subjects that her novels are mainly concerned. Any ordinary writer would naturally shrink from introducing such questions into his works, and that not so much from lack of appreciation of their importance, as from a certain diffidence of being able to treat of them in such a way as to render them acceptable to his readers; or to subordinate them to the exigencies of the plot of his story. Herein lies Mrs. Ward’s opportunity. By sheer force of intellect, allied to imaginative powers of much brilliancy, and wielding a style which rivets the attention of the reader, she carries even the most inobservant along the current of her story, and compels him to realise the vastness and the importance of the questions she is debating through the mouths of her characters. There is a living actuality about her works which no one can fail to apprehend; and her mental outlook is broad enough to embrace almost everything which is

¹ *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, p. 328.

deemed worthy of consideration by the thinkers and philosophers of our time. Such as have read *Robert Elsmere*, *David Grieve*, *Marcella*, and *Sir George Tressady*, will understand the drift of my remarks; and all who have read the foregoing works are sure to find a rare intellectual treat in Mrs. Ward's latest publication—*Helbeck of Bannisdale*.

This book, in my opinion, is one of her best; nay, I would even go so far as to say her very best, under certain aspects. It is sure to be read far and wide. In fact, at the present moment one hears of little else in educated circles; and from what most of us know concerning the unspeakable amount of ignorance and prejudice existing in England, even to-day, respecting the Catholic religion and what it really inculcates, I am persuaded that this book will be the means of doing a vast amount of good. Its author may not have intended this. But the fact remains that she has put before the world a picture of Catholic life and feeling; not, of course, without a certain element of indistinctness, but in the main correct and even sympathetic, which cannot fail to make a profound and lasting impression on thousands of minds to which the Catholic Church so far has stood for narrowness of mind, falsity of ethical principle, corruption, and sordidness. For this we have all reason to feel grateful. Just now the Protestant Establishment in this country is face to face with a crisis which no amount of trimming and compromise on the part of her rulers can turn aside; and which may be the means, under God, of bringing thousands of our separated brethren into the barque of Peter. At such a juncture anything and everything that helps to put the Catholic Church in a favourable light before the minds of the people of this great country, ought to be welcomed and looked upon in the light of an ally in the unrelenting contest between the powers of truth and error.

The scene of this story is laid in Westmoreland, a county with which Mrs. Humphrey Ward seems to be as well acquainted as Kingsley was in his day with Devonshire. The result of this intimate knowledge is that we are treated to descriptions rich in local colouring, and introduced to quaintly interesting characters, drawn from the stable and

cow-shed, who stand vividly before us in all their native *gaucherie* and breadth of accent; full of wise saws and shrewd observations which import no small amount of piquancy and picturesqueness to the narrative.

The hero of the story is one Alan Helbeck, a Catholic squire, with the blood of thirty generations of Papists coursing in his veins, and residing at Bannisdale, upon the remnant of what was once a large and profitable estate, in a mansion upon which the hand of time has rudely printed the traces of its progress. The country round about is greatly diversified:—

Slopes and scars, and wooded fells, a medley of lovely lines, of pastures and copses, of villages clinging to the hills, each with its church tower and its white, spreading farms—a land of homely charm and comfort, gently bounding the marsh below it, and cut off by the seething clouds in the north-west from the mountains towards which it climbed.

Helbeck is an ideal Catholic, with scarcely a thought for himself or his own wants; devoting all his time, his energies, and his wealth to the sacred cause of Holy Church, and that from a deep-rooted sense of duty which rendered him equal to almost any sacrifice. At the time the novel opens he is thirty-five years of age, a solitary inhabitant of the mansion which had sheltered many a priest in the dark and bitter days of persecution. In person he is described for us as being a remarkably tall man with a dark head, and short frizzled beard, holding himself very erect as a soldier holds himself, though he had never been a soldier. He is full of dignity; distant, reserved, yet showing no trace of pride, and of charming manners, as becomes the descendant of a noble stock. The only immediate relation Helbeck possesses is his sister Augustina, who had been taken to wife, *en secondes nocces*, by an atheistical Cambridge Professor named Stephen Fountain. The father of this man Fountain was the son of a small farmer who lived in the hill country above Bannisdale. Endowed by nature more richly than his fellows he left home and entered on a small situation at Newcastle. His son, Stephen, inherited his talent, and, by dint of hard study and determination to succeed, ultimately

found himself in the enjoyment of a small chair in Cambridge University. When spending his holidays at a small sea-side resort near his native Westmoreland, a widower with his only child, a girl of eight, he comes across Augustina Helbeck, and, moved to pity by the loneliness of her life, he proposes marriage and is accepted. Fountain has an interview with his future brother-in-law at Bannisdale, and is deeply impressed by the squire's superb good looks and courteous reserve of manner :—

‘I am one of those people,’ said the Professor, ‘who don’t trouble themselves about the affairs of another world, and I can’t present myself in church, even for Augustina.’

The result is that, notwithstanding the powerful pleading of her brother, Augustina marries Fountain without a dispensation, and in a Registry Office. She practically ceases to be a Catholic. After some uneventful years of married life her health began to fail. Fountain himself is brought to an early grave full of bitterness and disappointment. When on his death-bed he was greatly troubled for the future of Augustina, and earnestly recommended her to the care of his daughter :—

‘Take care of her, Laura,’ he said, ‘till she gets strong.’ Look after her. But you can’t sacrifice your life. It may be Christian, ‘he added, in a murmur, but it isn’t sense.’

The shock of her husband’s death, and her own indifferent health, moved Augustina to sincere repentance. She made her peace with the Church, and at the same time with her brother, who forgives her everything and offers her a home in Bannisdale. This offer is accepted ; and the arrival of Augustina with her step-daughter, Laura Fountain, at the ancient home of the Helbecks is chronicled in the opening chapter of the novel. This is the first meeting of the hero and heroine of the book—Helbeck and Laura.

I can safely aver that the whole range of fiction may be searched for two characters more essentially dissimilar and antagonistic than these two. At first sight there would seem to be an impassable gulf separating them. Helbeck is thirty-five, a man of marked austerity of life, a Franciscan tertiary,

bound to the Church by a thousand claims of love and service ; rigorous in his own regard, indulgent to others. In fine, a character of singular charm and irresistible pathos. He represents, as the author makes someone say, Catholicism at its best—'a type sprung from the best English blood, disciplined by heroic memories, by the persecutions and hardships of the Penal Laws.'

But Laura ! How do justice to such a complex character ! Mrs. Ward describes her as 'the pure product of an environment.' A product, if I may add, which received a fatal bias at a time when feeling was more potent in her than reason. She loved her father with an intense love. From hearing scraps of his conversation she came gradually to imbibe his spirit. She felt instinctively that he had failed, that the world had refused him a hearing, and this sense of failure served only to draw her the more closely to him. She shares his likes and dislikes, his hatreds, his contempts without being able to explain why or wherefore. In a word, she is dominated by *feeling*. Though baptized as an infant in the Church of England, she is now, at the age of twenty, absolutely destitute of all religious belief, and filled with a sense of unutterable loathing for all that Catholics hold most sacred. When referring to Fountain's influence over his daughter, Mrs. Ward makes Dr. Friedland, who is heard for a few too brief moments in the book, say of him :—

'He makes Laura a child of knowledge, a child of freedom, a child of revolution - without an ounce of training to fit her for the part. It is like an heir flung to the gypsies. Then you put her to the test—sorely—conspicuously, and she stands fast—she does not yield—it is not in her blood, scarcely in her power to yield.'

The domain of poetry was the only one into which Fountain introduced his daughter. She taught herself German to taste the delight of reading Heine and Goethe with him : and it astonished him now and then to note what capacity she had, not only for the feeling, but for the sensuous pleasure of poetry. 'Lines, sounds, haunted her for days, the beauty of them would make her start and tremble. Added to this there was her love for music, 'the only study

which ever conquered her indolence.' Brahms, Wagner, and Chopin ruled her in the domain of music with the same potency as Shelley and Rossetti did in poetry.

We can hardly say that she was endowed with the *dono infelice della bellezza*. When Helbeck first cast eyes on her he noticed that 'she was very small and slight, her hair made a spot of gold against the oak panelling of the walls ;' and then the auther tells us of 'the brilliance of her eyes—large and greenish-grey, with a marked black line round the iris.'

Such is the young creature who now takes up her abode in Bannisdale, coming daily into contact with Alan Helbeck. She observes him closely ; noticing the strict fashion in which he carries out the Lenten observance. She sees him starting in the early morning without breakfast on his long walk to the nearest Catholic Church in the neighbouring town. She comes to know of the great sacrifices he has made to build churches and orphanages. Yet all this tends but to intensify her dislike of all things Catholic. There is a private chapel at Bannisdale with the privilege of reserving the Blessed Sacrament. Laura dreads the idea of entering it. Once she crosses its threshold. It is her first glimpse of a Catholic Church. She stares at the altar with a scornful repugnance. 'God, the Christ of Calvary, in that gilt box upon the altar!' At the mere thought of this her whole being is swept by a wave of passionate repulsion.

An important incident in the story is Laura's visit to her father's cousins, the Masons, whose farm is situated in the hill country above Bannisdale. She goes there for the first time on a Sunday, to find Mrs. Mason and her daughter away at church. The only son of the family, Hubert Mason, a lout by nature, coarse and sensual, but broad-shouldered and athletic, is at home. The contrast between this man and Helbeck is finely brought out, and serves, no doubt, a very useful purpose in the hands of the author. Mrs. Mason is one of the most ignorant and narrow-minded provincial Church of England Protestants conceivable. Her hatred of Catholics is increased a hundred-fold by the weekly diatribes of a creature named Bailey, the local curate. The thought

of Laura, a blood-relation of hers, being under the one roof with Helbeck is almost enough to give the good woman a fit of apoplexy :—

'Why art tha not at church on t' Lord's day?' she demands of Laura.

'Because,' comes the ready response, 'I'm not of your sort either. I don't believe in your church or your ministers. Father didn't, and I'm like him.'

Mrs. Mason persists :—

'Dost tha hate Alan Helbeck?'

The girl hesitates. The bluntness of the question almost unbalances her; she experiences a strange inward feeling, and then wildly answers :—

'Yes!—No, no!—that's silly. I haven't had time to hate him. But I don't like him, anyway. I'm nearly sure I *shall* hate him.'

Hate him, however, she does not—cannot. In fact, she feels herself gradually drawn towards him by some overmastering influence against which her innate antipathies are almost powerless. Helbeck, too, feels himself strangely influenced in her regard. Is it pity; is it compassion for her isolation; her want of spiritual perception? The scene in the chapel when the children from the orphanage assist at Rosary and Benediction—Laura, too, being present—is very touching. He glances in her direction, and notices the varying impressions that fill her mind, half in awe, half in rebellion. He prays for her :—

The words falling slow and deliberate within his consciousness. And she could not resent it or stop it. It was an aggression before which she was helpless; it struck down the protest of her pale look.

Helbeck is greatly perturbed by the frequency of Laura's visits to the Masons. He knows what an evil reputation Hubert Mason has won for himself, and shudders at the idea of Laura's coming in contact with such a character. When he sees the real nature of his own feelings towards this little pagan, he takes considerable pains to keep aloof from her society, and frequently absents himself from

Bannisdale on the plea of business. He recognises what a union with Laura would mean to him :—

‘It would be the betrayal of great trusts, the abandonment of great opportunities. My life would centre in her. She would come first—the Church second. Her nature would work on mine—not mine on hers. Could I ever speak to her even of what I believe?—the very alphabet of it is unknown to her. I shrink from proselytism. God forgive me!—it is her wild pagan self that I love—that I desire.’

The visit of Laura with Polly Mason to Froswick to meet Herbert Mason and another leads up to the chief crisis in the work. The chapters in which the incidents of this visit are described are probably the finest in the work. The horribly sudden accident in the steel works serves a very useful purpose, and is magnificently described. Laura misses her train, and is able to get only part of the way towards Bannisdale by midnight. She is alarmed to find that young Mason has followed her; but she eludes him, and elects to spend the night in a quarry alone and unprotected. Helbeck meanwhile awaits her arrival at Bannisdale, almost beside himself with dread for the girl’s reputation, not, perhaps, without a suspicion of jealousy. All through the night he paces his study in an agony of suspense. Laura reaches Bannisdale shortly after dawn, quite overcome with fatigue. Helbeck, when he has heard the account of her adventures, declares his love, which he finds reciprocated to the fullest.

‘It’s the strangest thing in the world,’ says Laura, ‘that we should love each other. What can it mean? I hated you when I came, and meant to hate you, and I can never, never be a Catholic.’

The news of Helbeck’s engagement causes no small amount of surprise to friends and foes; some are even scandalized by the announcement. Laura spends much time in earnest conversation with her future husband. We feel as we follow them the full truth of the author’s description of Laura as ‘a creature of excess, of poignant and indelible impressions.’ At one moment she shrinks ‘bewildered before the fancied bliss of yielding,’ whilst on

another occasion she plainly tells Helbeck that there is something in her 'that fears nothing—not even the breaking of both our hearts.' She cannot bring herself to understand the motive which induces Helbeck to make so many and so great sacrifices for the Church. She dips into the lives of the saints, and comes across a passage in the life of St. Francis Borgia which brings to the front all her old instincts of repulsion and contempt:—

'It is, she declares, that horrible egotism of religion that poisons everything . . . What can one do but hate—hate—hate it!'

This leads up to that magnificent scene in which Helbeck puts before her the story of his life:—

'I will tell you,' he cries out, 'the only story that a man truly knows—the story of his own soul. You shall know—what you hate.'

This is probably one of the finest touches in the whole novel. It effects a revolution in the mind of Laura. 'The woman had suddenly blossomed from the girl.' She recognises clearly the grandeur, the nobility, of Helbeck's character. 'It would be a crime to marry him,' she said, with a dull resolve that was beyond weeping.

The better to put this resolve into effect, and to preserve herself from all risk of relapse, Laura flies from Bannisdale, and betakes herself to Cambridge, where she is welcomed by Dr. Friedland, an old and valued friend of her father's. Helbeck follows her, and pleads his cause with all the passion and tenderness of which he is capable. In vain. He is forced to return to Bannisdale alone, with an added weight to the burden of his lonesome, desolate life. The end, however, is not yet. Augustina becomes suddenly worse; and Laura is summoned to her side. She notices the change that has come over Helbeck, who treats her as he would a mere acquaintance. Augustina implores Laura, as a dying request, to come to some understanding with her brother. A relic of St. John of the Cross is brought to the dying Augustina by a Carmelite Father. The sight of it fills Laura with a sensation of horror. She shows this

so unmistakably that Helbeck is almost rude to her. An interview follows—this time of Laura's seeking—during which their old affection re-asserts itself, even more intensely. Laura asks if she may receive instruction as to the Catholic religion. Helbeck warns her of the gravity of the step she proposes taking, and begs of her not to do so from a motive of pity for Augustina, or from a wish to give her comfort in dying :—

'Are there not many motives,' asks Laura, 'many ways? I want to give Augustina happiness—and—and to satisfy many questions of my own.'

The old leaven is still so strong in her that she will even stipulate the manner and the way in which she is to be instructed in the mysteries of the faith. As she puts it :—

'Not "Lives of the Saints," I think, and not "Catechisms," or "Outlines;" just a building up from the beginning by somebody who found it hard, *very* hard, to believe, and yet did believe.'

Helbeck is beside himself with delight at hearing this. He cries out :—

'Laura, what does it mean?—my head turns.'

'It means, came the reply, 'that either you must love me or—well—I must die.'

Laura anticipates the pleasure that Augustina will feel when she hears the good news. But even as she and Helbeck are exchanging confidences a sudden cry is heard, loud and piercing. They fly to the sick chamber to find Mrs. Fountain on the point of expiring : 'Receive Thy servant, O Lord, into the place of salvation she hopes from Thy mercy.' Laura craves for one look from the dying woman. But even that is denied her. How cruel of Providence to snatch this frail life away ere she had heard the good tidings for which she had so ardently prayed and yearned. Laura remains alone with the dead. She takes the cold hand of Augustina in hers, and then the thought of the step she is about to take seizes hold of her. She imagines it is her father's hand that is clasped in hers, and hears him say distinctly, 'Laura, you cannot do it—you cannot do it.' What is she to do? To open all the old

wounds again; to strike and leave Helbeck again; or to remain and live a lie. There is but one escape from this intolerable situation—suicide. 'Oh! if God hears, may He forgive me.' Early next morning Helbeck found her in the bosom of the 'tyrant river,' and in the long agony which ensued his 'soul parted for ever with the first fresh pang to suffer. Neither life nor death could ever stab in such wise again.' He ends his life as a Jesuit. 'Have I a soul?' she had once asked him, 'and what do you suppose is going to happen to it?' To that question Helbeck vouchsafed no answer; and from a close study of her character and motives it is not easy to reply to it. For my part, Helbeck's infatuation from beginning to end gives me the impression of being unreal and improbable.

Of the other characters which pass before us in this remarkable book old Father Bowles is not the least original, with his hatred of blue-bottle flies, and his love for the smell of burning wax. We are told that he

Disliked Jesuits, and religious generally, if the truth were known. He had no love for modern innovations, or modern devotions; there was a hidden Gallican strain in him; and he firmly believed that in the old days before Catholic Emancipation, and before the Oxford movement, the Church had made more converts than she did now.

A different and finer type of priest is the Jesuit, Leadham. He is a convert, and a distinguished Cambridge man. Needless to say, he has nothing in common with the old priest of whom he has heard, 'who thanked God he had never received anyone into the Church;' on the contrary, he sharply reminds Helbeck in the course of conversation, that 'England is a baptized nation, and is therefore in a supernatural state.'

He gave a strong inward assent to the judgment that—

'The older Catholic priests of this country are, as a rule, lamentably unfit for their work. Our chance in England is broadening every year,' he said to himself. 'How are we to seize it with such tools? But all round we want *men*. Oh! for a few more of those who were out in forty-five!'

He clearly recognises the 'thorny charm' that was Laura's peculiar possession, and anticipated its probable

effect on Helbeck. There is one disagreeable excrescence in this otherwise homogeneous work, and that is Williams, the Jesuit scholastic. One fails utterly to see what right he has to make his appearance at all. But probably Mrs. Ward used him to show her acquaintance with the details of what to most well-informed people is an unknown system.

Daffaday, Mrs. Mason's farm labourer, is another character who cannot fail to interest and amuse the reader. He is a Wesleyan, and, like most others of that ilk, addicted to preaching. He sometimes gives his mistress an unpleasant *quart d'heure* by his allusions to paid ministers and other Anglican institutions. He has a marked prejudice, like most humble folk, to a poor 'buryin.' Referring to such a case, he speaks contemptuously of the viands put before the mourners:—

'Nowt but tay, an sic-like. Wal, I've buried three childer—an I'm nobbut a labrin mon—but a thank the Lord I ha buried tham aw—wi' ham.'

On one occasion he tells Laura—

'We'd a deal to larn from Romanists i' soom ways. Noo, their noshun o' Purgatory—I daurna say a word for 't when t' minister's taakin—but I'll uphod yo, its juist handy? Heaven an hell are verra well fort' foak as are ower good, or ower bad—but t' moast o' foak are juist a mish-mash.'

As I have already said the Catholic Church fills the book, and on the whole the author represents her claims and her position fairly and intelligently. Many a Protestant who reads it must tremble, as Laura did, 'before the claims of this great visible system.' We read again that—

The figure of the Church, spouse or captive, bride or martyr, as she has become personified in Catholic imagination, is surely among the greatest, the most ravishing of human conceptions.

Few Protestants will care to read what Mrs. Ward has to say of the Catholic doctrine of the Mass. 'Marvellous, indestructible belief!—that brings God to man, that satisfies the deepest emotions of the human heart.' 'What,' we are asked, 'will the religion of the free mind discover to put in its place?' Nothing; and hence its failure; hence that

turning towards the teaching Church which wields an authority not of this world, which is evident on all sides to-day.

'I often think,' says Dr. Friedland, 'we should be the better for some chair of 'The Inner Life' at an English university. What does the ordinary Protestant know of all these treasures of spiritual experiences which Catholicism has secreted for centuries? *There* is the debt of debts that we all owe to the Catholic Church.'

Catholics, in turn, owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Ward for this book taken as a whole. It is being read at the present moment by thousands, and from the little I know of the English Protestant mind, its prejudices, its moral outlook, I have no hesitation in declaring it will make for truth and righteousness.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN, O.S.A.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

VIII.

UP to this we have been listening to what the greatest authority on Scripture has to tell us about the meaning of God's words, as those words are reported by the prophet Isaias to whom they were spoken. So much for the exegetical explanation of the passage—now for the dogmatic. As St. Jerome is *par excellence* the Church's commentator, so is St. Thomas her theologian. To him, therefore, we now turn. All that are conversant with his works know that in biblical interpretation, his vast erudition embracing everything treated of up to his own time and his all-penetrating theological acumen frequently lead him to precisely the same results as are obtained to-day by the best modern means and methods. He has an article in the *Summa*¹ which is the best theological commentary on the twin passages of Exodus and of Isaias that ever was written. The article is too long for insertion, but we will quote a part of it :—

Excaecatio et obduratio duo important. Quorum unum est motus animi humani inhacrentis malo, et aversi a divino lumine; et quantum ad hoc Deus non est causa excaecationis et obdurationis, sicut non est causa peccati. Aliud autem est subtractio gratiae, ex qua sequitur quod mens divinitus non illuminetur ad recte vivendum, et cor hominis non emolliatur ad recte vivendum; et quantum ad hoc Deus est causa excaecationis et obdurationis. Unde causa subtractionis gratiae est non solum ille qui ponit obstaculum gratiae, sed etiam Deus qui suo iudicio gratiam non apponit. Et per hunc modum Deus est causa excaecationis, et aggravationis aurium, et obdurationis cordis; quae quidem distinguuntur secundum effectus gratiae, quae et perficit intellectum dono sapientiae, et affectum emollit igne charitatis. Et quia ad cognitionem intellectus maxime deservunt duo sensus, scilicet visus et auditus, quorum unus deservit inventioni, scilicet visus, alius disciplinae, scilicet auditus ideo quantum ad visum, ponitur excaecatio; quantum ad auditum, aurium aggravatio; quantum ad affectum, obduratio.

¹ 1^a 2^a, q. lxxix., art. 3.

But God is not the cause, absolutely speaking, of spiritual blindness or the privation of grace, in the sense just now explained; He is its negative cause, and that only in the hypothesis of man's being unwilling to receive grace or to be enlightened:—

Hominem carere gratia ex duobus contingit, tum quia iste non vult recipere, tum quia Deus non sibi (i.e. *isti*) infundit vel non vult sibi (i.e. *isti*) infundere. Horum autem duorum talis est ordo, ut secundum non sit nisi ex suppositione primi. Cum enim Deus non velit nisi bonum, non vult istum carere gratia, nisi secundum quod bonum est; sed quod iste careat gratia, non est bonum simpliciter, unde hoc absolute consideratum non est volitum a Deo. Est tamen bonum ut careat gratia, si eam habere non vult vel si ad eam habendam negligenter se preparat, quia justum est, et hoc modo est volitum a Deo. Patet ergo quod hujus defectus absolute prima causa est ex parte hominis qui gratia caret; sed ex parte Dei non est causa hujus defectus nisi ex suppositione illius, quod est ex parte hominis.¹

God, in thus withholding His grace, is the just and all-righteous cause of reprobation:—

Hoc ipsum quod aliquis non ponit obstaculum gratiae, ex gratia procedit; unde si aliquis ponat, et tamen moveatur cor ejus ad removendum illud, hoc est ex dono gratiae Dei. Quod ergo a quibusdam removetur istud obstaculum, hoc est ex misericordia Dei; quod autem non removetur, hoc est ex justitia ejus.²

In no sense is God the cause of sin. For His own all-wise ends He does not hinder its commission:—

Aliter se habet reprobatio in causando quam praedestinatio. Nam praedestinatio est causa, et ejus quod expectatur in futura vita a praedestinis, scilicet gloriae, et ejus quod percipitur in praesenti, scilicet gratiae. Reprobatio vero non est causa ejus quod est in praesenti, scilicet culpa; sed est causa derelictionis a Deo.³

Licet mala fieri, et mala non fieri contradictorie opponuntur, tamen *velle mala fieri*, et *velle mala non fieri* non opponuntur contradictorie, cum utrumque sit affirmativum. Deus igitur neque vult mala fieri, neque vult mala non fieri, sed vult *permittere mala fieri*. Et hoc est bonum.⁴

¹ 1 Dist. 40, q. 4, art. 2.

² In Ep. ad Heb. cap. 12.

³ 1^a p. q. xxiii., art. 3, ad. 2.

⁴ *Ib.* q. xix., art. 9, ad. 3.

In these passages St. Thomas¹ has developed the doctrine as no other could, of his great compeer, St. Augustine, who says :—

Nec obdurat Deus impertiendo malitiam, sed non impertiendo misericordiam.

*And,*² Nemo igitur quaerat causam efficientem malae voluntatis quia nec illa est effectio, sed defectio.

Deus induravit Pharaonem per justum judicium, et ipse se Pharao per liberum arbitrium.

Hic apparet non illas tantum fuisse causas obdurationis cordis Pharaonis, quod incantatores ejus similia faciebant; verum etiam ipsam Dei patientiam, qua parcebat. Patientia Dei secundum corda hominum, quibusdam utilis ad penitendum, quibusdam inutilis ad resistendum Deo et in malo perseverandum, non tamen per se ipsam inutilis est, sed secundum cor malum.³

Sic intelligendum est, ac si diceret, Ego enim patiens fui super eum et servos ejus, ut non eos auferrem, ut ordine superveniant signa mea super eos. Quia enim patientia Dei obstinator fiebat malus animus, ideo pro eo quod est, Patiens in eum fui, dicitur, *Gravavi cor ejus*.

Ut obduratio Dei sit, *nolle misereri*, ut non ab illo irrogetur aliquid quo homo sit deterior, sed tantum quo sit melior non irrogatur.

St. Augustine did not write on Isaias, nor, as it seems after a careful examination, did he even once quote St. Jerome's translation of chap. vi. 9, 10. That translation appeared about A.D. 390; but, so far as we can see, in none of all St. Augustine's numerous works, written subsequently to that period, is any use made of St. Jerome's rendering of our passage. As is well known, he was at first strongly

¹ St. Thomas in his commentary on Isaias says:—‘*Audite audientes. Hic ponitur sententia: et primo ponitur sententia obdurationis. Non obdurat autem immitendo malitiam, sed non impertiendo gratiam; et quia non se volunt ad gratiam convertere.*’ But as an alternative explanation, he afterwards remarks: ‘*Vel est verbum Domini, et est sensus, Excaeca, id est excaecatum praedica.*’ However, in his commentary on the place in St. Matthew, where the words are quoted from Isaias, he reverts to the true interpretation. He writes thus: ‘*In ista obduratione causa per se est homo, Deus vero non indurat nisi in non impertiendo gratiam. Deus ergo indurat, quia non dat gratiam; sed homo, quia imponit sibi impedimentum luminis; ideo istis imputatur quod oculos clausurunt.*’ St. Thomas is more scientific in his theology than in his exegesis; nevertheless the conclusions are the same. This appears clearly when his commentaries are compared with the article in the *Summa* (1st 8th, q. lxxix. 3), a part of which was quoted above. The text of the article is ‘*Excaeca cor populi hujus, et aures ejus aggravata.*’

² De Civitate Dei, lib. xii. c. 7.

³ Quaest. in Exodum, q. xxiv.

opposed to St. Jerome's undertaking, but as time went on he learned to appreciate its value. He, indeed, speaks repeatedly of the rejection of the Jews, but almost always it is about those who refused to believe in our Lord. In his *Quaestiones in Matthaeum* (written about A.D. 400), he explains our passage as it is quoted there (according to the Septuagint); in his *Tractatus in Joannem* (written about A.D. 416), he comments on it as it appears there (in agreement with the Hebrew), without, however, making any remark on the cause of the difference, or even alluding to St. Jerome's version. The *Itala* or old Latin version of Isaias, of which St. Augustine was always so fond from the time he commenced to read it at St. Ambrose's suggestion, was a translation of the Septuagint (so called). As regards the true interpretation of our passage, therefore, St. Augustine was apparently at a disadvantage. For his *Quaestiones in Erodum*, St. Augustine had in the *Itala* a translation which showed him both sides of the picture, or the twofold origin of Pharaoh's obduracy; but as regards Isaias vi. 9, 10, he appears to have been much in the same position as the Greek fathers that had only the Septuagint (*so called*), or a version agreeing with it.¹

Eusebius, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyr, and Procopius of Gaza, all of whom were dependent on Greek translations, regard the passage as prophetic, and speak exclusively of the obstinacy and wilful blindness of the Jews. Origen, indeed, had every exegetical means at his command, but we do not know how he explained the passage in his commentary, for it is no longer extant. In his sixth homily on Isaias—perhaps because it was a homily—he follows the Septuagint reading, and then interprets it about the unbelieving Jews of our Lord's time.

¹ As is well known, only the Pentateuch was at first translated into Greek. It alone can justly claim to be the 'Septuagint.' St. Jerome says:—'*Josephus enim scribit et Hebraei tradunt quinque tantum libros Moysi ab eis (lxx.) translatos et Ptolomaeo regi contraditos.*' The remaining portions of the Hebrew Bible were afterwards translated, and the translations are apparently the work of several persons. They have not much in common, and though they are very different from the Pentateuch, nevertheless, the name 'Septuagint' as being a suitable designation was in course of time extended to them all.

From the fathers let us pass to the Catholic commentators on Isaias of more recent date, until we reach those of our own day. It must be said that they are not unanimous as regards the interpretation of the passage. Foreiro,¹ one of the most learned, takes the verbs (*make dull*, &c.) as imperatives, and agrees with the exposition given above. Estius does the same, both here and in his *scholia* on Exodus ix. Mariana says very little about verse 10, and not one word about the theological difficulty it contains; but he admits that the verbs are imperatives. Malvenda prefers to take them as imperatives. Bade, who goes into the whole matter thoroughly, shows that the imperatives must be explained so as to preserve their own essential meaning, and all the more so on account of the presence of the final particles '*al*' and '*pen.*' Schegg also agrees completely with what has been said in these pages, and the remarks he makes on the manifestation of God's deliberate purpose leave nothing to be desired. Le Hir, Fillion, Loch, and Reischl all say that God gave the Prophet Isaias a command to blind the Jews of his own time. Knabenbauer also holds this to be the true meaning, and indeed his commentary on the passage is by far the best that has come under the notice of the present writer.

On the other side, A Lapide prefers to explain the words in the sense of an announcement regarding the future. Calmet also discourses at great length about the verbal differences between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, without going deep enough into the matter; then mistakes the meaning of the Hebrew, and concludes by saying that the whole passage is nothing more than a simple prediction. Sa follows the Septuagint as his guide to the meaning of the original, and consequently takes the imperatives to be in reality future

¹ Francis Foreiro, O.P., was one of the greatest theologians in the Council of Trent. The text of the decrees is his work. He was also entrusted with the final preparation of the Catechism of the Council, his fellow-workers being Leonardo Marini, Archbishop of Lanciano, and Egidio Foscarari, Bishop of Modena, both Dominicans. All three were held in the highest esteem by St. Charles Borromeo. Foreiro's reputation as a commentator of Scripture is as great as his fame as a theologian, though of his numerous commentaries that on Isaias is the only one published. It has been reprinted in Migne (*Cursus S. Scripturæ*), as being the best Catholic commentary.

indicatives. Menochius thinks that the verbs in verse 9 must be understood as futures, and also those in verse 10, as far as Isaias is concerned, unless they are explained as denoting the result of his preaching. Tirinus is also in favour of the future; *i.e.*, of interpreting the passage as if it were a prophetic description. Gordon manages, in a way, to unite both explanations. However, in a note he shows that he prefers the latter, for he paraphrases the Hebrew imperatives by future indicatives. Reinke's exposition also is peculiar. He holds that the verbs are in the imperative mood, but remarks that the future is sometimes represented as if it were the result of external agency; and so in this way the obduracy of the people is spoken of as if it were caused by God, whereas in reality God only foretells it, though by so doing it is true that He is the occasion of more notice being taken of it when it does come to pass. Lastly, Dr. G. K. Mayer, Bamberg, 1861, declares against the Hebrew text and its Vulgate version, '*because they have no sense.*'

72. Several of these writers content themselves with making a passing remark, or, at most, with employing the arguments that we have spoken of above; but Maldonatus brings forward some other ones.¹ He says that the entire passage is nothing more than a description; that Isaias merely foretells the obduracy of the Jews. In proof of these assertions, Maldonatus refers to the following 'facts': in the first place, God wishes all men to be saved; in the second, it is not God, but Isaias, that is said to blind the people. Maldonatus adds that, even if God were said to cause the blindness, the meaning would only be (as it actually is here, in the case of Isaias), that God predicted it.

But, surely, this betrays very weak theology. It is in itself

¹ 'Verba sunt Dei ad Prophetam, quem jubet excæcare populum, id est futuram ejus cæcitatem prænuntiare. Itaque inepte hæretici hoc loco abutuntur, ut probent Deum non solum permittendo sed etiam efficiendo indurare. Neque enim Deus hic excæcare dicitur, sed Prophetæ; et si diceretur, eodem modo excæcare intelligeretur quo Prophetæ. Cum autem dicit, *ne forte videntur oculis, etc.*, non significatur causa ex parte Dei, sed ex parte ipsorum, quasi dicat: Denuntia illis fore, ut studio nolint intelligere, ne convertantur et sanentur, ut Ps. xxxi, 4. Deus enim vult omnes ad se converti atque sanari.' (*Comm. in Isaiam*).

nothing else than a superficial remark, an evasion quite unworthy of the justly renowned commentator. As a matter of fact, all men are not saved. The will of God, which St. Paul speaks of, is, therefore, not the 'voluntas consequens' which is always fulfilled, but the 'voluntas antecedens,' which regards the abstract, and is purely conditional.³ A real will regarding a *bonum in se*, or an object in itself considered apart from circumstances, is alluded to by St. Paul. On the other hand, an absolute decree, taking every circumstance of a particular case into account, is spoken of in Isaias. Hence the text that is brought forward as a proof by Maldonatus is quite irrelevant.

In his second remark, on the contrary, he omits some texts that are relevant, and others that are indispensable. He does not mention that in Exodus, Deuteronomy, and Josue, God is expressly said to harden the heart of man. Neither does he appear to remember that both St. John (xii. 39, 40) and St. Paul (Rom. xi. 8) quote these very words of Isaias, as proving beyond doubt that God did cause the blindness and obduracy of the Jews. All that can in fairness be maintained about the subject of Maldonatus' second assertion is, that in the Septuagint version, and consequently in St. Matthew's Gospel, where Isaias is quoted according to it, God is not said to blind the people. But that is very different from what, as it seems, Maldonatus would fain persuade his readers to think, viz., that God did not blind the people. It is one thing *not* to say, another thing to say '*not*.' It is one thing not to say that the Jews' wilful obduracy was also the result of God's action, and quite another to state that God did not produce it. Nowhere in Scripture is the latter proposition to be found; but, on the contrary, in this very text of Isaias, which Maldonatus professes to explain, the very opposite is affirmed.

Maldonatus is, indeed, endeavouring to combat the Calvinist doctrine of reprobation; but this is not the way to do it. His intention is laudable, but his arguments are worthless. So far from defending Catholic truth, in fact

¹ See St. Thomas, *Summa*, 1a p., q. xix. art. 6 ad 1.

he exposes himself to defeat. He lays himself open to an unanswerable rejoinder from any learned and skilful adversary. But, apart from the consideration of the requirements of controversy, it is but too evident that the laws of exegesis have not been observed. One text of Scripture cannot be preferred to another, nor, when they both treat of the same subject, can an interpretation of the one be profitably made, regardless of the other. Electicism in philosophy is bad, but in exegesis it is inexcusable. A commentator must collect and compare all parallel texts (especially when engaged on such a difficult subject as this), and not commit himself irrevocably to an interpretation before he is sure that his theory about one text is borne out by all the others. Maldonatus' explanation of Isaias vi. 9, 10, fails to comply with this fundamental rule. It is not in accord with the teaching of four inspired historians in the Old Testament, and it contradicts the express statement of two inspired apostles in the New.

As regards Maldonatus' next remark, namely, that Isaias, and not God, is said to blind the Jews, it must be observed that Isaias was told to do so by Almighty God. 'Qui facit per alium, facit per se.' Nor was the divine command an empty, inefficient sound. It is utterly impossible that God should give a commission to His prophet, without *ipso facto* enabling him to fulfil it. The words of Isaias, taken in themselves, were, of course, incapable of producing the awful effect on the souls of his hearers. Hence, unless Maldonatus is prepared to prove that God was not in earnest, and that His command had no meaning, he must grant that the words of the prophet were to be endowed with supernatural efficacy. To take a parallel instance. If the fire of purgatory—though according to a well-founded belief it is corporeal, nevertheless—inflicts pain on disembodied souls, it must have received a power far above that of its own nature. We cannot believe that Almighty God would bid material fire to punish spirits, or that He would employ it for the purpose, without imparting to it a 'vis mirabiliter penetrativa.' If, however, a Greek objected to the teaching of the Latin or Western Church about purgatory, and Maldonatus

wished to explain and defend it, he might as well reply, forsooth, 'that in some text it was, indeed, said that fire (but not said that God) caused agony to souls,' as make the apologetic remark we are referring to. He might also continue in the same strain: 'If in any passage of a Latin father, &c., God were said to punish by fire, the meaning was, that He punished in the sense in which fire of itself might be said to punish;' *i.e., not at all*. This method of interpretation would, of course, relieve him from the obligation of answering the objection that 'material fire cannot affect a spirit,' but it does so at the cost of giving up the *sententia communis* altogether. It is an explanation that explains away everything. It may be said that Maldonatus would not have recourse to it. Presumably he would not; but why, then, employ it in his commentary on Isaias? Why play fast and loose? We, of course, do not for a moment think that Maldonatus would talk in that strain about purgatory; we are simply showing that, if he were consistent, he should do so. It is not the man, but the wrong method of interpretation, we find fault with. If the true system had been followed, there would have been no breakdown. It will be said in his defence, perhaps, that the fire of purgatory is miraculous. No doubt it is; but so, too, and far more certainly were the prophet's words of denunciation. This seems to have escaped Maldonatus' recollection, or to have been unknown to him. It is, however, clearly taught in Isaias xxix. 14: 'Therefore, behold, I will proceed to cause an admiration in this people by a great and wonderful miracle: for wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.' 'For the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of a deep sleep; he will shut up your eyes, he will cover your prophets, and your princes that see visions.'¹

73. Unless Isaias had been the recipient of supernatural power, he would never be sent on such a mission. One might as reasonably imagine that God would command man to perceive a mystery without revealing it to him, or bid man

¹ *Ib.*, v. 10.

to write Scripture and not bestow inspiration on him. God never demands impossibilities. Even, though He should not raise man so high as to make him His own instrument, yet, whenever He commands His creature to perform an act surpassing the power of nature, His omnipotent word makes that act feasible. St. Peter could walk on the waves when Christ bade him come. *A fortiori*, Isaias was enabled to fulfil the divine behest. We do not, indeed, know for certain whether he was to take to the letter God's awful words:— 'Go and say to this people: *Seeing see ye, and perceive not,*' &c., and to deliver this sentence of condemnation in public, or whether those evils were to be the dire consequence of the prophet's unheeded warnings, such as we find them recorded in his book; but, in either case, the outcome is the same. It may be that vi. 9, contains the proscribed form of obduration, or it may only indicate that the eloquent exhortations to do penance, the prophetic denunciations, the predictions of deliverance, &c.; in one word, the contents of the inspired book as they remain to the present day would, by the decree of divine justice, result in the spiritual blindness of the Jews. Whichever explanation be the true one, the irresistible power of the inspired message remains undiminished. Part of the mission of Isaias was to curse the unbelieving; and the words of God's wrath lost nothing of their dread might, because they were uttered by the lips of His prophet. Theology shows that where there is a subject to work on, the Almighty can do by means of His creature as much as He can do alone. As the use of His creature does not help, so neither does it hinder the Creator. If He can produce spiritual blindness or obduracy of heart without an instrument, He can produce it with one. He revealed to Moses that He would be the *immediate* cause of the Pharaoh's obduracy, and He now gives Isaias to understand that He intended to be the *mediate* cause of the Jews' blindness.

As, however, in the blinding, God's part was indirect and negative, of course, Isaias could not be His instrument in the sense in which saints when working miracles or priests when conferring sacraments are so called. But the

words of Isaias were to be the cause of the fearful result which Divine Justice had decreed. The prophet was to proclaim the whole of that message which would be revealed to him, and he was shown what a fatal effect his preaching would have on his own people; yet, nevertheless, that effect as the minister of heaven's vengeance he was commanded to produce. Well might he tremble and draw back when the vision of Judea's woe opened on his prophetic sight; with good reason might he in anguish of spirit exclaim:—'How long, O Lord!' He knew well that once his inspired words of denunciation went forth, it would be impossible to recall them, or to prevent them taking effect. Whatever he would bind on earth was to be bound also in heaven. In this respect the words, 'Seeing see ye, but understand not,' are sacramental; *efficiunt quod significant*. Such was the mission of Isaias to the impenitent Jews.

We experience in our daily lives so many and so wonderful benefits bestowed on us by means of our fellow-men, that we are apt unconsciously to regard all God's messengers as ministers of mercy, and to forget that He has ministers of justice too. Isaias was such to the majority of his own people. It could not be otherwise. In God's plan for the salvation of the elect, as St. Paul shows, the rejection of the Jews was the admission of the Gentiles, hence the 'propheta vocationis et illuminationis Gentium' must also be the 'propheta reprobationis et excaecationis Judaeorum.' His predictions, so luminous and clear to the eye of faith, would, as regards the unbelieving Jews, be covered with impenetrable darkness. How many times in his inspired utterances did he foretell the captivity, yet how few of the people heeded him, or ceased to add sin to sin. In their obdurate blindness the people filled to overflowing the cup of divine vengeance, and brought down on themselves the most fearful of all maledictions. Their cry of mingled bewilderment and remorse shows that the fearful denunciation of God's minister at length took effect. 'Why hast Thou made us to err, O Lord, from Thy ways: why hast Thou hardened our heart, that we should not fear Thee; return for the sake of Thy servants, the tribes of Thy inheri-

tance. They have possessed Thy holy people as nothing, our enemies have trodden down Thy sanctuary. We are become as in the beginning when Thou didst not rule over us, and when we were not called by Thy name.'

The Jews were made to feel the difference between 'My people' and 'this people.' Calamity brought home to them the sad conviction that they no longer belonged to God. In all God's dealings with the sinful race of Adam; in all the many examples of His avenging justice which this world has witnessed, the rejection of what had once been His beloved and chosen people stands alone in its unsparing severity. It commenced with the captivity. Isaias, who received his prophetic vocation in the year Ozias died (A.D. 758), lived to see the inhabitants of the northern kingdom (Israel) led into captivity—first, in 734, and, finally, in 721. He, of course, did not behold the similar fate of Juda, but he foretold it. And from the words which form the subject of this article, we see that the immediate object of his mission was that the unbelieving might become obdurate or spiritually blind, and, in punishment thereof, be sent into captivity. This is evident from the immediate context of our passage.

It appears thus in our Douay version:—'And I said: How long, O Lord? And He said: Until the city be without inhabitants, and the houses without man, and the land shall be left desolate. And the Lord shall remove men far away, and she shall be multiplied that was left in the midst of the earth. And there shall be a tithing therein, and she shall turn, and shall be made a show, as a turpentine-tree and as an oak that spreadeth its branches: that which shall stand therein shall be a holy seed.'² We may remark that in the original the end of verse 12 means that there will be great solitude and desolation in the land. Verse 13 is thus translated in the Revised Version (Anglican):—'And if there should be yet a tenth in it, this shall again be consumed; yet as the terebinth and the oak, though cut down, have their stock remaining [*even so*], a

¹ Isaias lxiii. 17-19.

² vv. 11-13.

sacred seed shall be the stock thereof.' St. Jerome's version too, has 'et adhuc in ea erit decimatio et rursum erit in depredationem.' The sense of this is evident. 'The tree, or stock of the Jewish people may again put forth its branches, but they will be lopped off. God will decimate the people repeatedly, and reduce it to the last extremity; nevertheless, the people shall not be destroyed.'

It was for this that the lips of Isaias were consecrated by the fiery symbol of God's all-consuming wrath. It was for this that the most solemn and impressive ordination-ceremony recorded in Scripture took place. It was for this that the prophet was privileged to behold the Most High—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—seated on His throne, and arrayed in all His dread majesty as Judge.

Many centuries before Moses had declared to the people that disobedience would be punished by banishment from the Holy Land.¹ At length the threat was fulfilled. Spiritual darkness fell on them, and they were driven forth into exile. Jeremias testifies to it in words which sound as the echo of those spoken to Isaias:—'Declare ye this to the house of Jacob, and publish it in Juda, saying: Hear, O foolish people and without understanding; who have eyes, and see not; and ears, and hear not . . . But the heart of this people is become hard of belief, and provoking.'² These words, too, have direct reference to the captivity, and imply that it was the punishment of persistent unbelief and of obduracy.³ See also Ezechiel xii. 2, & ff., where the captivity is referred to, and Zach. vii. 11, 12, 14. On the other hand, the restoration of intelligence and the return from captivity are mentioned together in Isaias xliii. 6-8, and in Baruch ii. 31-34.

So much for the literal meaning of the words quoted by our Lord, in St. Matthew. It was necessary to treat of it at great length owing to its intrinsic difficulty and to the incorrect interpretations of it proposed by even some celebrated commentators, and to treat of it in the first place, because the mystical sense cannot be understood but by

¹ Levit, xxvi, 31-33,

² Jeremias v. 20, 21, 23.

³ *Ib.*, v. 19.

means of it. But the explanation of it in this article has taken up so much of the valuable space of the I. E. RECORD, that what remains to be said on the mystical sense of the words: 'Seeing see ye, but perceive not,' &c., must be reserved for a future number.

To be continued.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

A PROBABLE ADDITION TO THE WORKS OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

THE devotion and the study of Catholics in regard to St. Thomas Aquinas are so widespread and so intense, that an explanation should hardly be necessary in the case of an article such as this. It is written with the purpose of showing that according to a reasonable probability we possess works of that doctor which are still unpublished, and which, if published, would materially increase the stock of his writings in print. On the one hand, the study of the teaching of St. Thomas has been made of universal precept by Leo. XIII. in an act which must be counted among the most notable and characteristic acts of his reign; and devotion has moved apace with the progress of intellectual homage; while, on the other hand, there exists a multitude of reasons why every latter-day addition to the writings of the Angelical must be of singular, great, intrinsic, and also permanent interest and value. Not the least of these reasons is supplied by the innumerable moot-points to which the teaching of St. Thomas lies subject. Everyone who has studied his works knows how condensed is their style, and that in so terse a rendering of answers has been found the source of indefinite and interminable questioning anew. The meaning of phrases has to be understood, either absolutely or with the help of relative *criteria*; the reply may, or may not, connote or touch a controverted point; the existence on the part of the writer of the knowledge of a discussion will have to be settled by a purely chronological

examination ; the query whether the saint wrote early, and changed his opinion later, must always be kept in view. Whether an authority be final, or almost final, the nicest points of interpretation must necessarily arise. The authority of the Angelical is almost final in the Catholic schools of theology and philosophy.

Such weight and well-nigh compelling force of authority as belong to the Angelical are, indeed, unequalled in the intellectual spheres of the present age. Probably no parallel has been presented since the diffusion of printing widened the sphere of disciples possessed by every master of science. Possibly no intellectual influence was so compelling, even in the days when teachers taught by the living voice, inevitably enforcing reason with authority ; for though Plato and Aristotle swayed the minds of scholars in their lifetime, their works do not stand now as the accepted oracles of two hundred and fifty millions of listeners. Speaking of the liberty of discussion in the schools, Cardinal Newman said that 'the intellect had a licentious revel in the Middle Ages.' St. Thomas led in the revel. Dante has spoken of Aristotle as 'the master of those that know.' St. Thomas superseded Aristotle. To-day he still reigns in the schools, and the schoolmen, formed on his books, instruct Catholic Christendom.

An example of the jealousy with which is hoarded every crumb from his table is presented by the publication of his works in Rome. Here an *editio princeps* is being prepared by the saint's religious brethren, the Dominicans. A body of the most scholarly of these friars is totally engaged in publishing, after the most accurate examination and with the most critical elaboration, every portion and fragment of his extant writings. They have published only a few volumes in upwards of twenty years. These considerations form my justification for setting forth the grounds of probability that exist for the belief that the archives of the Abbey of Santa Scolastica, at Subiaco, contain unpublished and unknown writings on doctrinal and philosophical subjects from his pen.

Visiting the abbey in the month of May, 1897, I decided

to offer to the Catholic University of America ten volumes of photographic *fac-similes* of these manuscripts. A *fac-simile* of the famous *Bible of Viterbo* suggested and afforded a comparison between the credited penmanship of the saint at Viterbo and that of the Subiaco manuscripts.¹ The Press, both religious and secular, and in both continents, has published notices of these volumes, together with an index of their contents, which may be reprinted here for clearness of understanding :—

1, Prefixed is the *Vera Effigies* of St. Thomas from Viterbo ; 2, Also a *Fac-simile* of the Bible of Viterbo, with his annotations ; 3, Idem of idem ; 4, *Fac-simile* of the Subiaco Codex XXXVII, with his annotations ; 5, Idem of Codex LXXXIX, with Idem ; 6, Idem of Codex LXXXIX, with idem ; 7, Idem of Codex CXIV, with idem ; 8, Idem of Codex CCDXII, with idem ; 9, Idem of Codex XCIV, with idem ; 10, Idem of Codex XCIV, with idem (in part) ; 11, Idem of Codex XCIV, without annotations ; 12, Idem of Codex XCIV, with annotations ; 13, Idem of Codex CCXCIX, and four others, all in his hand ; 14, *Fac-simile* of Codex CCCXIII in his hand ; 15, *Fac-simile* of Codex of CLXIX, with his annotations ; 16, 17, and 18, *Fac-simile* of Codex CCCI, partly in his hand ; 19, Autograph from the same ; 20, Idem.

All the manuscripts at Subiaco which present any claim to be considered, wholly or partly, as autographs of the saint are reproduced by *fac-simile* in the photographic collection. The claims of the manuscripts are not equal, nor are the manuscripts of certain character or general recognition. They are unknown to the public. This is sufficient to show that they have not received general recognition as autographs. Such a specialist as Professor Uccelli declined to recognise the writing as the autograph of St. Thomas. This is sufficient to show that they do not present an easily recognisable intrinsic character as authentic autographs of the saint. As will appear, however, in the course of this article, they possess characteristics which give them a probable qualification as such, and in such a degree as to merit

¹ The *Bible of Viterbo* is regarded, with probability, as having been the property of the saint. See p. 64 *Guida della Città di Viterbo e Dintorni*. Viterbo, 1889.

for them the attentive examination of critics. This was the literary purpose of my presenting the *fac-similes* to the University, and it is also the purpose of this article. It is clear beyond a doubt that they are authentic mediæval manuscripts of, or of about, the period of St. Thomas Aquinas. They offer every palaeographic claim for this antiquity, nor is there discoverable in them any trace of fraud.¹ They are manuscripts written and used for purposes of study. Now, it is a matter outside of the limits of ordinary probability, one of the merest probability of conjecture, and unsupported by concrete argument, that scientific treatises of the kind should have been spuriously put together at that age, and with such a scope as these manuscripts reveal.

The archives known as those of Subiaco are composed of manuscripts belonging to the two monasteries of the Sacro Speco and of Santa Scolastica. There is, of course, no detailed history of their origin; but the *lacuna*, if there is one, is filled by our knowledge of mediæval monastic life. There were no printing-presses, and books were necessary for the ordinary and extraordinary studies of the community. The books, if occasion arose, were expressly copied in other monasteries for, or by, the monks of that which had need of them. Hence it would not be surprising to discover autographs of St. Thomas in a place where he is not known to have been. The monks were often permitted to keep the books in their cells, and this was particularly the case with manuscripts which individual members had copied for private use. At the death of the possessor the manuscripts reverted to the common stock. Thus, and by the ordinary labour of transcription, were the archives formed. With this knowledge of the origin and destination of manuscripts, and of

¹ As an evidence of the uncertainty attaching to all simply caligraphic criticism of mediæval manuscripts, we have the fact that the famous letter at Monte Cassino, attributed to St. Thomas, is still under controversy. In the concluding portion of this article I submit that no expert testimony *a la Dreyfus* is necessary as a sole means of deciding the authorship of these manuscripts. I hold that geography has not received sufficient consideration in the studies of experts in mediæval caligraphy. There is even now a national style for Italy, as for France and for America. It is clear that a style generally ranged for a long period of years, or over a large tract of country, and then changed. For the rest, decision as to the personal and individual penmanship of mediæval writers and copyists is almost impossible.

the slight participation of monks in scholastic education,¹ it is not easy to divine a reason for deliberate falsification in the case of anonymous manuscripts such as are the Subiaco manuscripts attributed to the pen of St. Thomas Aquinas. The tendency to falsify or to forge might apply to the earlier centuries, to the East, and to the works of the primitive fathers and writers in every place ; but, in the absence of positive reason to that effect, it should hardly be supposed to have extended to the works of a living master ; in no case to one unborn. Such positive reason, or presumption, is not displayed here. The manuscripts in question are, apparently, contemporaneous in their making with St. Thomas Aquinas in some cases, and earlier in other instances. If a diploma, or imperial, or Papal deed of grant was needed, human and monastic insincerity might have tempted to its fabrication ;² but inducement seems to be wanting in the case of the manuscripts under discussion. Though partially or totally attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, they have always been neglected ; they have formed no history, and they have enjoyed no public reputation.

In the absence of any historical testimony as to the origin of the manuscripts, and of any explanation of their presence in the archives of Subiaco, we must have recourse, in the first place, for any account of them to the probabilities which may attach to the coming of St. Thomas to the abbey. His devotion to St. Benedict is well known to all those who have studied his works, and at Subiaco were the cave of St. Benedict and the cradle of his magnificent legislation. The compulsion used on the Angelical in order to make him a Benedictine does not seem to have turned his equable mind against the order during his after-life ; and, putting aside the question whether he was a Benedictine himself,³ there are evidences of his pleasant relations with the *Ordo*

¹ Especially in the Golden Age of Scholasticism.

² It is most probable, however, as Trombelli seems to believe, than these acts of falsification were done in perfectly good faith, after the devastation of a monastery, or other similar accidents.

³ See the question treated in his *Life and Times*, &c., by Mgr. Vaughan, the late Archbishop of Sydney. The Dominican editors of his works have treated the question in a serious biographical study prefixed to the first volume, as has also Abbot Testi in his well-known life of St. Benedict.

Monasticus which received so large a place in his study. The great abbeys were the halting-places of friars on travel, and St. Thomas was a much-travelled friar. Subiaco was near the region where he is known to have travelled. His holidays were not infrequent, and he may have rested at Subiaco, as he rested with Cardinal Annibaldi at La Molara, where he passed his Christmas disputing with, confuting, and convincing two rabbis, whom he succeeded in converting. He closed his life at Fossanova Abbey.

Whether we admit, or reject, the probability of a sojourn of the saint at Subiaco,¹ the genuineness of the manuscripts as writings mediæval in date, of scientific character and enriched with explanatory marginal notes, necessitates their explanation as the products of study. The supposition that they are probably to be associated with the life-work of Aquinas is thus made possible.

First, about their former character. The mediæval books of study were manuscripts. The texts were freely used for the reception of comments. The comments were written on the spaces of the parchment, and the words : *quod est extra non scribatur* were set to deter future copyists from inserting the comments in the text. Were the teacher present, he would be consulted. A great authority, or an illustrious scholar, would be consulted about the difficulties in standard works. Had St. Thomas been at Subiaco, he would have been asked by studious monks to expound the difficulties in the *Morals* of St. Gregory or the *Sermons* of the fathers. His explanations would go to enrich the margins. Commentary was so much in the order of work that the commenting on the *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard was the basis of scholastic study. The enrichment of previously existing volumes by St. Thomas during his stay at Subiaco (which, once conjecturally admitted, would seem to have

¹ In the absence of direct and explicit evidence, only probability, and a vague probability, can attach to any such conjecture. Nor do I know that anyone has hitherto ventured to make the conjecture. But the similar claims for possession of his manuscripts by Monte Cassino should be remembered and put side by side with the claims of Viterbo and Naples. At Viterbo and Naples he certainly resided. Is not, then, the claim for a possession of his autograph works, especially in considerable numbers, to be associated, in every speculation, with the probability of his residence ?

been lengthy from the number of comments) would explain the care which, despite the mutilations of the Archives of Subiaco, has preserved these manuscripts until our day. But were his presence at Subiaco inadmissible, no difficulty would be created.

And now for the direct proofs of the claim made for the genuineness of one part of these manuscripts as the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas.¹ A very acceptable criterion of this would be found if what is wanting in the manuscripts were supplied or completed in the printed works of the saint, and *vice versa*. St. Thomas divides his sermons, just as his 'articles,' into three or four points. If it chances that one of these points has been previously explained, he makes a reference to his other works. Now some of the references in the manuscripts may be verified in his printed works, while others given in the latter are to be verified in the former.²

This argument would seem to be conclusive at first sight. If anything might be urged against it, this would be the practice of disciples of such a teacher. Availing themselves of notes taken at his lectures, they wrote works which, through fraud or ignorance, came to be accepted as his. But there would be a necessity for a concrete form to this objection, if it were to be put, and it is not easy to imagine where this circumstantial form might be found. The doubts affecting the works of St. Thomas Aquinas touch even his treatise, *De Regimine Principum*. While discreet criticism avoids discrediting a number of such writings passing under his name and conformed to his methods of work and principles of teaching, as may be seen by the inclusion of these compositions of assailed authenticity in every edition of his *Opera Omnia*, it bears in mind the fact that his use of amanuenses was so extensive that he is stated to have dictated to three or four of them simultaneously. Where, then, we may ask, are these works which he dictated so numerous? and if they are to be identified as included

¹ In conformity with what I have stated above on pages 6 and 7, I exclude the necessity of attributing the manuscripts to the saint as autographs.

² I defer in this to the statement made to me by the learned Archivist of Subiaco, Don Leone Allodi, O.S.B., the editor of the *Chronicon Subiacense*.

amongst his writings, where is the reason for the exclusion of those existing at Subiaco.¹

Impressed with the conviction of one scholar, who has carried the results of his long and assiduous study to the grave,² I have wished to at least call the attention of other technical scholars and of all the students of the Angelical to the provableness of the claim which Subiaco can make to the possession of unpublished and unknown works of St. Thomas Aquinas, whereby it may be given them to find further fields of speculation, the solution of some doubts, the exposition of theories, and the presentment of new theses by the unequalled teacher.

WILLIAM J. D. CROKE, LL.D.

THE PEMBROKE TOMBS: WESTMINSTER ABBEY

II.

FROM an Irish point of view the Pembroke memorials in Westminster are, perhaps, of less interest than those monuments over which we have lingered in our description of the Temple Church. The tombs in the Abbey to which we refer in this paper are those of William de Valence and of Aymer, his son, the last representatives of the earldom of Pembroke in the ill-fated line of Marshall. These find places among the array of sepulchres that group round the shrine of Edward the Confessor. Their occupants were accorded that meed of *post mortem* glory—the greatest earthly ambition may covet or the nation can bestow—that of sepulture within those gilded thresholds of death, where the ashes of the subject are allowed to mingle with the dust of the king. Over those tombs of the Pembrokes in Westminster Abbey the casual visitor often lingers, but it is only

¹ I refer, of course, to the supposed entire autographs. The annotated manuscripts may be judged dependently on these.

² Don Paolino Manciana, O.S.B.

in the spell-bound admiration of the artist for the triumph of genius they illustrate, since they are considered the finest examples of memorials of the Edwardian period. About the lives or personalities of the last of the Pembrokes few trouble themselves now, they are figures grown faint and indistinct, far adown the shadowy bye-ways that lead off the main thoroughfare of mediæval history. However, from their connection with the half-Irish house of Pembroke there are some associations linked with their names which are interesting even still.

Between that April day in 1231 when the grave closed over the remains of William Marshall the Younger within his abbey of Kilkenny, and the year 1247, when his title devolved on William de Valence, disasters had fallen thick and fast on the house of Marshall. Within the brief space of sixteen years his four brothers—Richard, Walter, Gilbert, and Anselm had successively worn the dual coronet of Leinster and Pembroke. All had met untimely ends, and almost all violent deaths. They left no issue.

On the death of Anselm, in 1245, the palatinate of Leinster was divided among his five sisters. In the allotment of territory, Joane, the wife of Warren de Montchensi, received *Werford*; Matilda, *Carlow*; Isabella, *Kilkenny*; Sibilla, *Kildare*; while to Eva fell the joint districts of *Donamese and Leix*, at present called the Queen's County.

William de Valence was half-brother of Henry III. After the death of King John, Isabella his queen retired to her native France, where after a brief widowhood she espoused her former lover, Hugh le Brune, Earl of Marches and Poitiers. Of the issue of this marriage were Aymer and William de Valence, so called from the place of their birth. On the death of their mother when the fortunes of their house declined both came to England and were prominent among the unwelcome crowd of 'hungry Poitevins,' as they were styled, who filled the court of Henry, and became eventually the source of so much discontent and civil strife in the kingdom. The Plantagenet king received his brothers with open arms. Both were clerics at the time. Aymer was quickly advanced to the important bishopric of

Winchester, much to the disgust of the English clergy and the displeasure of the people. He died, however, before his consecration took place. William, who had laid aside the breviary for the sword, was bethrothed through the connivance of his royal brother to Joane, the daughter and heiress of Joane de Monchensi, with whom on his subsequent marriage he attained the lordship of Wexford and the earldom and titles of Pembroke. Here we are again in touch with that strange thread of matrimonial connections that still ran on between the race of Dermot M'Murrough and the royal family of England, and which as we previously noted lends such a peculiar aspect to the Plantagenet conquest of Ireland.

If we go back a little and unravel the tangled web, we shall find the sister, the brother, and the half-brother of the English sovereign had now married respectively—the Younger Marshall (representative of Leinster's last king)—his sister, and his niece. No one can gainsay that this treble alliance will not have been an important factor in the destinies of Ireland, in so far as the English occupation of the country had yet been promoted.

The career of the Earl of Pembroke in whom for the present we are interested was shorn of much of the importance and extent of power enjoyed by his predecessors. The Irish territory he attained was but a fragment of the ancestral kingdom over which the Marshalls once held sway. The lordship of Wexford comprised little more than the area of the present county, being in reality, the older Celtic kingdom of Kinsellagh which included within its boundaries small portions of Wicklow and Carlow.

William de Valence left few congenial memories on the pages of English history. He shared alternately the love and hatred of the vacillating king, and was ever a thorn in the side of the barons and nobles of the kingdom. However, among the terse fragments of history and tradition left us relating to Wexford at the period, we find a grateful record of De Valence.

The capital of his little kingdom was still almost wholly a Danish settlement. After the defeat of the Danes

at Clontarf, and their expulsion from Ireland, Wexford was one of the seaports in which Norse colonies were suffered to remain, owing to the immense taxes they were able and willing to pay from their extensive maritime commerce. They were, however, debarred from certain civil rights and privileges enjoyed by the native race. In virtue of his power as Lord of Wexford, De Valence removed these disabilities, and freed, we are told, the Wexford Danes from many galling taxes that pressed upon them. He allotted to them a certain district between Wexford and the sea—another Ostmanstown, in fact—whither those who willed might withdraw and enjoy with impunity the customs and social rites of their migratory race.

To these wise provisions the after importance of the south-eastern seaport of Ireland was largely due. Industry and commerce were fostered under his rule—and the beneficent administration of William de Valence became a source of prosperity, not only to the sea-faring capital, but to the whole shire of Wexford for long after his day.

The military career of this Earl of Pembroke was a chequered one. After the victory of the English barons at Lewes (1264), De Valence, who fought on the Royalist side, fled to France. His estates were seized by the triumphant barons, and his wife, who was then residing at Windsor Castle, was forced to seek sanctuary in a monastery. The battle of Evesham in the following year again changed the fortunes of war, and the power of the king was restored. The Earl was at once recalled, and re-instated in his possessions, which were increased by large grants from the Crown. Subsequently, De Valence took part in the French wars, and was slain at Bayonne, in 1296. His remains were immediately conveyed to England, and interred in Westminster Abbey. He was Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford for just fifty years.

The tomb of William de Valence may be seen in the Chapel of St. Edmund the Martyr, Westminster, a spot second only in its sacredness to the Chapel of the Confessor King. The effigy of the Earl rests on a marble sarcophagus. The figure is of wood, encased in copper,

beautifully inlaid with Limoges enamel. In its style and treatment the tomb is entirely French, and is an admirable instance of the adaptation of metal work in this department of art. The arms of Valence and other heraldic devices on the shield are wrought in the same exquisite blending of imperishable colour that pervades the entire work. Strange, an indulgence of one hundred days was granted by Boniface VIII. for the recital of certain prayers or suffrages at this tomb.

The monument of Aymer de Valence, the last of the Pembrokes, is one of the most impressive in the abbey. Its position at the left side of the sacrarium, as we face the altar, and opposite the tomb of Anne of Cleves, reveals the splendour of its details to great advantage. The tomb of Aymer stands in line, between those of Edward of Lancaster (his uncle) and that of the Countess Aveline. The traceried canopy and the richly-sculptured sarcophagus on which the figure reclines, occupy an entire bay, of which the lofty pillars and acute-pointed arch form a lovely framework for the whole. It is difficult to conceive a finer example of sculpture of the period than this tomb affords. The Earl rests as if in the calm repose of death, while at his head a group of angels with wings outspread are represented bearing his soul heavenwards. In the niches below are figures representing the relatives of the deceased. The principal statue impresses one with the solemn stillness of death, while the attendant figures seem full of life and emotion.

Here we can touch but briefly on the life-story of the last Earl of Pembroke. Aymer, so called from his grandfather the Duke of Angoulême, was third son of William de Valence, and, having survived his elder brothers, succeeded to the ill-starred title of Pembroke on his father's death. He fought in the Scottish wars under Edward I. and Edward II. Being one of those who sat in judgment upon Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and condemned that prince (who was deemed a saint) to death, he earned the execration of posterity.

As Lord of Wexford it was Aymer de Valence who granted the Norman Charter associated with his name to his Irish capital in 1317. He also built, for a second time, the bridge connecting the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny

at the seaport town of New Ross in 1313. For this latter undertaking, we learn from the Rolls of Edward II., he was awarded the *pontage*¹ of the bridge for twenty years.

Once again the course of our sketch leads our pen to the Temple Church. On the suppression of the Templars, in 1312, their church with other common property of the knights was conferred on Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, cousin of the King and first prince of blood. On the memorable attainder and execution of that unfortunate prince his estates reverted to the Crown, when the King bestowed the Temple and its belongings on the Earl of Pembroke. Aymer did not long enjoy his gifts.

Soon afterwards, on the occasion of his marriage with Mary, daughter of Guy de Chatillon, Earl of St. Paul, he was killed in a tournament at Paris, on his wedding day (1323). His wife, who acquired the tragic fame of having 'been maid, wife, and widow in a day,' built the Pembroke College, Cambridge, in his memory. About a mile from Cambridge may be seen the ruins of Denney Abbey, founded also by her for the nuns of St. Clare. Here, within a tomb erected in her lifetime, were laid the remains of the widowed bride of Aymer de Valence, last Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Wexford, with whom the title in the line of Marshall became extinct.²

In this side-sketch of Anglo-Irish history, the characters who have passed before us afford striking illustrations of the philosophy of the poet who tells us:—

The evil that men do, lives after them ;
The good is often interred with their bones.

With the narrative of the life-close of the seven earls of Pembroke, whose careers we have touched upon, comes successively the melancholy refrain telling of their untimely deaths. This, one of the saddest and most serious of human disasters, is attributed in their case to the curse and excom-

¹ Ferry tolls.

² The title was afterwards revived in the Herbert family, but was exchanged in the reign of Edward IV. for that of Huntingdon, when the King conferred it on his son, Edward. The present earldom is a creation of Edward VI., who gave the title to William Herbert, brother-in-law of Queen Catherine Parr.

munication pronounced by Albinus O'Molloy, Bishop of Ferns, against William Marshall the Elder. The sequence of events, no doubt, goes far to sustain the statement of the chronicler of St. Albans, on whose authority the fact, with all its details, is founded. But in the light of collateral history, can the excommunication have ever taken place?

Assuming that we were to take exception to the narrative of Matthew of Paris, would there not be some reasonable grounds to go on? Even at the risk of repeating ourselves, let us take, for the sake of defensive argument, the constitutions of the Templars as a point, and then examine the action of the sons of the Earl Marshall with regard to the Church; and, finally, let us understand something of the Bishop of Ferns, the prominent figure in the episode.

The Elder Marshall and his five sons were members of the Order of the Knights of the Temple, otherwise their graves or monuments could never have had the places they occupy in the Round of the Temple Church. As we have previously remarked, the Knights Templar were an independent religious Order—independent in the widest sense the Church would admit of. Their rule was drawn up by St. Bernard, and based on an absolute system of self-government. The whole spirit of their discipline implied that the Templars were the military bodyguard of the Church, and as such were subject to the Pope, and to the Pope alone. Their constitutions, which embodied most extensive privileges, were hedged round by securities and immunities of the most potent kinds. No ecclesiastic, save the Pope, could interfere with them. When on one or two occasions bishops sought to bring their authority to bear on individual Templars, the Pope issued a more stringent Bull the better to protect the privileges of the Order.

In the matter of excommunication, or the event of interdict, their position was made most exceptional. It is recorded that when a Templar passing on business from one place to another, happened to rest or stay in a town or district which lay under the ban of interdict, the spiritual penalties were for the time suspended, the bells rang out,

the Divine mysteries were celebrated, the sacraments administered, and the dead interred with the rites of Christian burial. When he departed and passed on his journey, the dread prohibitions of the Church again prevailed with all their appalling sadness. In a word, it was the fact of the Templars owing allegiance to no power, spiritual or secular, save that of the Sovereign Pontiff, that primarily excited the jealousies and revengeful intrigues that culminated in their overthrow. This being so, is it probable that the Bishop of Ferns would have taken the step with which he is credited in the case of the Elder Marshall?

Then, in the attitude of successive earls of Pembroke towards the Church, we can trace nothing resentful, or any subsequent want of fervour or enthusiasm in its cause. On the contrary, the proofs of their continued devotedness may be found on every side. Besides the Dominican Abbey of Kilkenny, that city owed its not less beautiful Franciscan Priory to Richard Marshall, who was laid to rest within its walls in 1234. Walter, his successor, built the collegiate church of St. Mary's,¹ New Ross, confirmed the existing grants of Dunbrody Abbey, and defined the disputed boundaries of Tintern Abbey by an encircling system of roadways, which exist to this day. The Charter of Glendalough, originally granted by Eva and Strongbow to their cousin, the Abbot Thomas, nephew of St. Laurence O'Toole, were ratified by the same Pembroke whose name is not unfamiliar in many of the monastic charters of the Church of Leinster. Therefore, we must conclude that the Marshalls, whatever else may have been their faults and follies, were ever generous in bestowing their patronage on the Church, and forwarding its interests and welfare by their influence and power.

However, the chief question which we are anxious to solve is the part stated by the chronicler to have been acted by the aggrieved prelate—the Bishop of Ferns. From the

¹ The beautiful ruins of this church of the canons regular still remains. It was used as a cathedral during the episcopacy of Patrick Barrett, who resided in the parish of New Ross.

materials of his life which are available, it is evident that Albinus O'Molloy was one of the ablest churchmen of his time. Although the roll of the episcopacy of Ferns contains the names of many learned bishops, and counts a Lord Chancellor¹ of Ireland among the rest, it is doubtful if any can be pointed to so distinguished as the last Celtic bishop of that see. Albinus O'Molloy presided over Ferns for thirty-seven years. His diocese was full of Templars. None better than he had reason to be acquainted with the exact relations that existed between the bishops of the Church and the Order of the Temple. His experience as an ecclesiastic was of the vastest kind. This Irish bishop mingled much in the affairs of England as well as of Ireland in his time, and he was in constant communication with Rome during the Pontificates of Innocent III. and Honorius III.

For our purpose it is necessary to touch on the outline of his life. Previous to the appointment of Albinus to the bishopric of Ferns, he was Abbot of the Royal Abbey of Baltinglass, founded by Dermot M'Murrough for the Cistercians, in 1151. The sermon, or rather the invective, pronounced by him in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in Lent, 1185, in reply to the charges made against the Irish clergy by Giraldus Cambrensis, is a well-known fact of history. On the death of his predecessor, Joseph O'Heth, an effort was made through Norman influence to have the see of Ferns conferred on Giraldus. The opposition of the native clergy, however, prevailed, and the Abbot of Baltinglass was appointed. Cambrensis subsequently became bishop of St. David's, Wales.

If the life of Albinus O'Molloy ever comes to be written, an impartial biographer would probably say he temporized, or, perhaps, better said, would describe him as a unionist prelate, according to modern ideas. As bishop he took part in many important functions and ceremonies of the English Church, and as well in the royal pageants of the Plantagenet court. He assisted at the coronation of Richard I., and shared in the deliberations of the first council of that

¹ Patrick Barrett, Bishop of Ferns, 1400-1415.

monarch. When the Abbey of Waverley, the parent house of the English Cistercians, was founded, Albinus was chosen to consecrate its first chapel in the year 1201. Again, we find him at Waverley at the close the same year, when he came to bless the cemetery where those had been buried who died during the interdict under which England had been laid by Innocent III., in the reign of King John. And when the great Church of the Abbey was completed, in 1214, it was the same distinguished prelate who was selected to consecrate its five altars in presence of the famous Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, who was Regent of the kingdom of England during the minority of Henry III.

At home in Ireland the career of Albinus O'Molloy was not less remarkable. Many letters are extant addressed to him by the Holy See on the affairs of the Irish Church. In 1208 he was entrusted with a commission of negotiation between the Court of England and the King of Connaught. Previous to the appointment of Donagh O'Lonergan (1206) he was recommended by the King to the Chapter of Cashel for the vacant archbishopric. And among the Irish bishops who attended the fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, the last act of the pontificate of Innocent III., the name of Albinus of Ferns appears. He travelled thither at the expense, and under the protection of the Crown. In the following year we find by royal grant the Bishop of Ferns received the custody (*i.e.*, revenues) of the bishopric of Killaloe 'for his better support.'

We have summed up, perhaps lengthily for these pages, yet briefly as we could, those few prominent events of the episcopate of Albinus O'Molloy that our readers may better understand the manner of man he was and the circumstances that surrounded his life. With the impression they give it is difficult to reconcile the penal action ascribed him in regard to the first Earl Marshall, who was, doubtless, the noblest benefactor at his diocesan church and the bosom friend of the English king. That there was a difference, and

¹ Bishop O'Molloy died 1288, and is interred in the ruined chancel of Selskar Abbey, Wexford.

a grave one, between the Bishop and the Earl we can have no doubt, since we find that in April of the year 1218 Honorius III. wrote to Albinus directing him not to 'persist in his plea against William Marshall;' and in the June of the same year the Pope directed Henry de Loundres, Archbishop of Dublin and Legate of the Holy See, to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties.

It remains only to emphasize the conclusion this aggregate of circumstances forces upon us. It is necessarily not a very doubtful one, since we find it hard to conceive that a bishop of Albinus O'Molloy's experience would have become a party to inflicting a spiritual sentence which in the light of history would seem so inopportune, not to say wholly inoperative.

A distinguished English ecclesiastic when recently alluding to the benefit being conferred on the student-world by the publication of the State papers in the Rolls Series, concludes that from many facts now brought to light the history of England must needs be written over again. In his estimation too the chronicles of Matthew of Paris can no longer be considered altogether safe to rely on. We entirely concur in the opinion of the English Jesuit, adding that the history of mediæval Ireland even more than that of the sister country sadly needs to be revised.

For much of the material on which we have drawn for this sketch we are indebted to the courtesy of the Dean of Westminster, who, on the occasion of our last visit to London, enabled us to visit the Abbey, its tombs and treasures, at any hour we wished, and as often and for as long as it pleased us to remain.

JOHN B. CULLEN.

TWO HISTORICAL FICTIONS

OUR allusion¹ to Gibbon's hypothesis of a wholesale apostasy in Africa, imposes on us a certain obligation to lay before our readers a summary of the real facts, many of which have come to light since Gibbon's time. He often alludes to the subject, but his views are fully given in the following passage² :—

The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts which had been taught by Carthage and Rome were involved in a cloud of ignorance ; the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustine was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The Zealand numbers of the clergy declined ; and the people, without discipline or knowledge or hope, submissively sunk under the yoke of the Arabian prophet. Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the Caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion ; and though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretence was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mahomedan faith.

The Caliph here alluded to was the usurper Abbas ; the lieutenant was Abdulrahman, whose letter was written A.D. 750. The Hegira begins A.D. 622 ; Mahomet died in 632 ; the Medina or ' orthodox ' Caliphs reigned from 632 to 661 ; the Ommiade Caliphs reigned at Damascus from 661 to 750 ; the Abbasside Caliphs reigned at Bagdad from 750 to 1258. Arabia was subdued by Mahomet ; Syria, Palestine, and Egypt had submitted to the Caliphs before 640 ; Africa was invaded in 647, but not completely subdued before 710 ; Spain was subdued in 711. Attention to these dates will greatly facilitate our inquiries. The Ommiade empire reached from the Indus to the Atlantic and the Pyrenees.

¹ I. E. RECORD, Aug., 1898.

² Ch. li.

³ I. E. RECORD, June, July, 1898.

Our readers have already seen how gloriously the African Church emerged from the Donatist and the Vandal periods ; we may, therefore, confine our inquiries altogether to the Moorish period.² Gibbon, as we have seen, very properly rejects the evidence of Abdulrahman ; but this is the only positive evidence that was ever quoted for the apostasy ; and against it we have positive evidence of the existence of numerous Christian congregations at that very time and long after. Barbary was an unknown land until the conquest of Algiers, in 1830 ; but since that period its internal history has been diligently explored. Two learned bishops of Algiers, Monseigneur Pavy (1846-1866) and Cardinal Lavigerie (1866-1892), made a special study of our present subject. They both came to the same conclusion, which is thus stated by the Cardinal in a special pastoral³ :—‘ Christianity did not disappear all at once from Africa after the Moslem invasion ; though the Roman cities were for the most part destroyed and the inhabitants slain or sold into slavery in Egypt and Arabia ; the Church, according to the most probable accounts, stood its ground for six centuries.’ He then says that the contrary error arose from the almost complete absence of records relating to that period, the complete isolation of the country even as regards commerce until about the twelfth century, and its distance from all the pilgrim routes to the Holy Land. Quoting the Arab historian, Ibn-Khaldoun, he says :—‘ Driven fourteen times to apostasy, the Christians returned to Christianity each time.’ To appreciate the force of this statement we must bear in mind that by Moslem law these Christians incurred the penalty of death, no matter how imaginary the compliance may have been. M. Pavy³ says :—

It would be a great error to suppose that the African Church perished by apostasy. A great number of Christians suffered martyrdom during a struggle of half a century *pro aris et focis*, against eight Moslem invasions ; and hundreds of thousands,

¹ Until the Turkish domination Moslems were called indifferently Arabs Saracens, or Moors, and *Islam* meant Moslem doctrine or the Moslem people according to the context.

² *Œuvres choisies*, vol. i.

³ Vol. i.

according to Arab historians, were led captives to the East for having rejected the Moslem religion. The emigration of the Roman population had also diminished the number of Christians.'

He then goes on to say how, after all this, numerous Christian congregations were to be found in the country. He quotes El-Becri for the fact that Christians had churches at the great city of Tlemcen in the tenth century.

But it is from the letters of the Popes both writers derive their most authentic information. In 892, Pope Formosus had to regulate a dispute between African bishops of different provinces. In 1053 Pope Leo IX. had to decide between the Bishop of Carthage and four of his suffragans. All this supposes the existence of considerable bodies of Christians three hundred years after the celebrated letter of Abdulrahman. Gibbon quotes these letters of the Popes, but fails to see their import.

From three letters written by Pope Gregory VII. in 1076, we learn that the Bishop of Carthage, Cyriacus, had no suffragan—at least in his own province; and that Servandus, bishop-elect of Hippo Zarytus (Biserta), had to be sent to Rome for consecration. The Pope requests that another priest be sent to Rome for consecration in order to perpetuate the hierarchy; Ebn-Zeir, the Moslem prince of that region, was quite willing; but whether any attempt was made to carry out the suggestion we know not. Just at this time the country was disturbed by the arrival of a fresh horde of Arabs who took possession of the great plains from Egypt to the Atlantic, driving the Berbers to the mountain fastnesses where they remain to this day. At this time the country was divided among a number of petty princes at war with each other, and having no common policy.

All these letters of the Popes are given under their proper dates by Baronius, Rohrbacher, and Darras. Carthage was a mere village at this time, and yet all these Popes insist upon the ancient privileges of its bishop; an object lesson for our Anglican friends, who are never tired of reminding their followers that the Popes were always opposed to 'the original constitution of the Church.'

The African Church consisted of six ecclesiastical provinces, covering seven civil provinces; Tingitana, the present Morocco, having so few sees—only six—that it was included in the ecclesiastical province of Mauritania Cosariensis. The extreme eastern province, Tripolitana, had only five bishops: so that nearly the whole Christian population was confined to the five central provinces now occupied by Algeria and Tunisia; for there were at least five hundred episcopal sees in the six provinces, and we must assume that they were distributed in proportion to the Christian population. Had the Christians accepted the Koran, as Gibbon pretends, the Moslems of Algeria and Tunisia ought to be at least forty millions at present; well, according to the last census, they number exactly four million, five hundred and ninety-one thousand, six hundred.

What, then, became of the vast Christian population of Roman times? Well, strange to say, Gibbon himself furnishes a sufficient answer, without perceiving it; the emigrations, deportations, and massacres, which he records, fully account for the disappearance of the Christians. To understand this we must keep in mind the rules followed in Moslem conquests. They pretended to have an order from Allah to subject the world to Islam, giving pagans the option of the Koran or the sword; and to Christians, the Koran, the sword, or the tribute. They gave terms more or less favourable, called *capitulations*, to Christian cities or countries that submitted to tribute without a contest; but where resistance was encountered, no mercy was shown; the men were slaughtered or sent off to the slave markets; the women and children formed part of the booty to be divided between the Caliph and the army, and had no liberty of conscience. Thus, Gibbon tells us, that after the siege of Amorium, in 838, thirty thousand Christians were slaughtered, and as many more carried into captivity; and that after the conquest of Sicily, fifteen thousand Christian

boys were circumcised on the same day as the Caliph's son. He also tells us¹—

That in a field of battle, the forfeit-lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of *Islam* . . . By the repetition of a sentence, the subject or the slave, the captive or the criminal, arose in a moment the free and equal companion of the victorious Moslems.

To understand the conquest of Africa we must form some idea of the state of things before the arrival of the Arabs. The Africo-Romans lived in walled cities, and cultivated their lands by means of slaves or native tenants. Each city had its own municipal guard, but there was no such thing as a national militia; they paid their taxes to the Emperor, and relied on him for protection. The Berbers (Moors, Getulians, &c.) were a constant danger on the southern frontier; they had never embraced the Gospel;² they had been greatly favoured by the Vandals, and allowed to occupy immense tracts of Roman territory, which they refused to give up to the Greeks; hence the constant state of civil war during the whole Greek period (534-665). Gibbon, quoting Procopius, tells us³ that between 535 and 560, five millions of the population disappeared in the ravages caused by these civil wars. The Christian population had greatly diminished by emigration under the Vandals; but at the end of this Greek period, it was probably reduced to a third of what it had been. In a synod held in 646, we find⁴ that there were only forty-three bishops in the province of Byzacene, instead of one hundred and twenty even in Vandal times. Still there was no welcome for the Arabs in Africa, such as they had met in Syria and Egypt from the Nestorians and the Monophysites, as Gibbon tells us.⁵ He says the Monophysites were ten to one in Egypt, and called the Catholics Melchites (Royalists) in derision. They gave up their country without a struggle, and got most liberal *capitulations*; but they soon tired of

¹ Ch. li.

² August, Ep. 199, n. 46.

³ Ch. xliii.

⁴ Rohrbacher, vol. x.

⁵ Chaps. xlvii-li.

the tribute, and generally accepted the Koran, thus reducing the Christian Copts to what Gibbon calls 'a handfull of illiterate beggars.' These Syrian and Egyptian renegades swelled the Moslem armies in all their subsequent wars of conquest. Egypt was the base of operations for all the invasions of Africa.

The first of these invasions took place in 647, in the reign of the wretched Emperor Constant II. (641-668), his Exarch Gregorius, being then in open rebellion with the aid of the Berbers. The Arabs came with an army of forty thousand men, defeated and slew the Exarch, returned to Egypt with immense booty, and left the country in a state of complete anarchy, and at the mercy of the Berbers.

The next invasion took place in 665, and this time the Arabs came to stay and built their celebrated capital, Cairouan, about fifty miles south of Carthage, all the maritime and most of the strong inland cities being still held by the Greeks. Terrified by the defeat of the Greek army of thirty thousand men, and the seizure of eighty thousand captives, the Christians offered tribute, and the Berbers accepted the Koran. Unable to protect his Christian subjects, the Emperor imposed on them a tax equal to that promised to the Arabs.¹ This persistence of the Greeks rendered the *capitulations* null and void in the eyes of the Arabs, and deprived the Christians of all protection. In a series of invasions city after city was taken, plundered, and demolished; Carthage was sacked and burned in 698, but its inhabitants escaped by sea to Sicily and Spain. Before 710 all the cities were destroyed, and the country is still covered with their ruins; with only our *Murray's Hand-Book* we can see that their number was enormous,² and that many of them

¹ Gibbon says (ch. li) that the Bishop of Carthage by extorting this fine 'provoked the avarices and even the Catholics to abjure the religion as well as the authority of their tyrants.' He quotes no authority for this—a sure sign that he had none—for he prided himself above all things on his references. Rohrbacher (vol. x., p. 296) mentioned this fine, but not a word about the Bishop. Constant was a Monothelite, the persecutor and murderer of Pope Martin, and so detested by his subjects that he was at this very time a fugitive from his capital. Is it credible that a great Catholic bishop would make himself the tool of such a man?

² The Vandals, in the invasion of 430, spared the cities of the eastern provinces where they intended to establish their empire. The Greeks and Romans rebuilt most of the ruined cities of the western provinces.

were scarcely inferior to Carthage itself. Arab historians attribute this Vandalism chiefly to the Berbers; but it is certain that the Arabs themselves were the Vandals of at least the great maritime cities.

The Berbers, though nominal Moslems, had no idea of relinquishing their lands or their tribal independence; the Emirs of Cairouan had to put down revolts in 682, 689, 692, 698, 710; but the most serious of all was the one carried on by the prophetess-queen, Cahina, who united the Berber tribes into one great confederacy, drove back the Arabs towards Egypt for five years, and laid waste not only the cities, but even the cultivated land, as a measure of warfare and defence. Musa became governor in 702, and before the end of 710 the rebellion was put down and Cahina slain. Musa had also to contend all this time with the Greeks, and so great was his success, that in 710 the Greek territory was reduced to the single fortress of Septem (Ceuta).¹ The captives numbered three hundred thousand—all, of course, Christians; and Gibbon tells us² ‘that thirty thousand of the barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and the pious labours of Musa to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the apostle of God and the commander of the faithful.’ The Berbers are to this day among the most fanatical Moslems in the world. Such confidence had Musa now in his pious Berbers, that he sent them to conquer Spain in 711, under their own General Tarik.

These facts, related by Gibbon himself, occurred within the first half century of Arab rule, and to any unprejudiced reader must seem quite sufficient to account for the ruin of the African Church without the gratuitous fiction of a wholesale apostasy. No imagination could exaggerate the sufferings of the Christians during this short period from Greeks, Arabs, and Berbers. The few that survived the massacres and deportations, or were unable to emigrate, probably enjoyed some sort of peace during the remainder of the eighth century; but after that the authority of the Caliphs ceased.

¹ Though garrisoned by Spanish Goths, it still belonged nominally to the Greeks.

² Ch. li.

and the country never more enjoyed the blessings of stable government ; it fell into the hands of a series of usurpers, founders of new dynasties, Fatimites, Aglabites, Edrisides, Ifrenides, Zirides, Hammadites, Almoravides, Almohades, &c. ; some of these founded their claims expressly on their hatred of Christians. No revival, no permanent survival of Christianity, was possible in such a country.

*Quis cognovit sensum Domini ?*¹ What would have been the ultimate fate of the African Church had the country remained subject to the Greeks ? Would she have been able to resist the corrupting influence, the schismatical fury, the erastian tyranny of Constantinople ? These are questions which God alone could answer.

We now come to the second fiction—viz., that from the eighth to the eleventh century, ‘the dark ages,’ Christians were buried in ignorance and barbarism, from which they were only rescued by the Saracens.

Maitland, the learned librarian at Lambeth, did much to expose the fiction of Christian ignorance ;² but his complaint (p 48) about ‘the way in which the errors of popular writers are copied and dribbled down in minor publications’ is still almost as true as ever in England. In the daily and weekly press, in periodicals, in novels and popular manuals, the same fiction is repeated.

The author of the *Moors in Spain*³ tells us that :—

In the two-thirds of the peninsula the Moors organized that wonderful Kingdom of Cordova which was the marvel of the Middle Ages, and which, when all Europe was plunged in barbaric ignorance and strife, alone held the torch of learning and civilization bright and shining before the Western world.

What wonder that minor publications should disseminate the fable, when it is thus repeated by learned writers like the above. In these countries we have not yet arrived at the state of opinion thus described by Montalembert :—⁴

These outeries now come only from that lowest stratum of the mob where error and falsehood survive long after they have

¹ Rom. xi.

² *The Dark Ages*, 2nd Ed., 1845.

³ ‘The Story of the Nations’ series, 4th Ed., 1890, p. 48.

⁴ *Monks of the West*, Book xviii., ch. iv.

been abandoned by those who at first believed in them. Men capable of judging—even those most superficially versed in historic knowledge—are aware by this time that to speak of monkish ignorance would be only to proclaim their own . . . And then say whether these productions of tenth century monasteries do not show a development of mental culture entirely incompatible with the idea which modern ignorance has rendered popular of the night of the middle ages.

Maitland exposed the dishonesty of those who had invented the catchword of the 'dark ages;' but Montalembert demonstrated their ignorance in these six volumes of authentic history.¹ As the monks were the chief teachers from the eighth to the eleventh century, their history is inseparable from the literary history of their time.

No one has ever accused Mahomet or the 'orthodox' Caliphs of having done anything to encourage learning or culture; the great Omar would turn in his grave if accused of any such weakness. The Omniades reigned over an empire which reached from the Indus to the Atlantic, and yet here is what Gibbon has to say about their encouragement of learning²:—

Under the reign of the Omniades the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue . . . After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the Caliph Almansor (754-775) who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamoun, the seventh of the Abassides, he completed (A.D. 813-

¹ No epitome could give an idea of the overwhelming array of facts contained even in the single chapter from which the above extract has been taken. He names (p. 105) nine great monasteries, 'which were homes of enlightenment, centres of intellectual life, such as have never since been seen in the world;' and this without counting St. Gall, Monte Casino, Lerins, Wearmouth, St. Albans, or a single Irish monastery, although we had in some of them as many scholars as Fleury, with its five thousand. He enumerates (p. 133) thirty-eight of these great monasteries which were the 'universities of Christian Europe.' After enumerating the authors, taught and copied for their libraries, he says (p. 147), 'that perhaps classic writers were more generally known and admired in France then than they are now.' The reader should see for himself his list of learned monastic teachers and historians in those 'dark ages.'

833) the designs of his grandfather, and invited the Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science ; at his command they were translated into the Arabic language, and his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings.

But we must not forget that all this took place only at the end of the second century of the Hegira, and that the Arabs had been nearly all that time in possession of the most learned and civilized regions on earth. Their contributions to learning during the whole time consisted in the destruction of Christian schools and libraries, and the conversion of learned men into camel-drivers and cowherds. Only for the numerous monasteries that survived the general wreck, the learning of those regions should have completely perished. Monasteries with no treasure but their books, were beneath the notice of these Arabs ; and Gibbon tells us¹ that even in the Greek empire at this period ‘ the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries.’² His estimate regarding the ignorance of the Arabs at this time has been confirmed by all subsequent writers. Even the sympathetic author of *The Saracens* in the ‘ Story of the Nations ’ series, can claim for them nothing but poetry. Rohrbacher³ tells us that Caliph Walid (705-715) endeavoured to get rid of the Christians who kept the public accounts, but could find no Arabs with sufficient knowledge of arithmetic to replace them. He adds⁴ that the same attempt was repeated at Bagdad in 759, but failed for the very same reason. This occurred under Almansor. Would it be too much to suspect that it had something to do with the *awakening* mentioned by Gibbon? One thing is certain, the Christian schools were closed, and Arab schools henceforth encouraged. This movement continued under the next five Caliphs, until the golden age of Moslem learning

¹ Ch. liii.

² This was under the reign of the Iconoclasts--720-840—who were nearly as hostile to learning as to sacred images. There was a *renaissance* after their time.

³ *Hist.*, 2 Ed., vol. xi., p. 51.

⁴ Page 120.

was reached under Almamoun, near the middle of the ninth century. Soon after this time the power of the Caliphs and the patronage of learning began to wane, but to the end Bagdad remained the chief centre of learning in the East.

Cordova was the great centre of Moslem learning in the West, and the origin of the *awakening* there is better known. Spain was conquered in 711, and Cordova made the centre of government, the residence of the Emir appointed by the Caliph at Damascus. The Omniade dynasty came to an end in 750, when the Abassides made Bagdad the capital, and sentenced to death every member of the Omniade family. Only one male, Abder-Rahman, escaped; he made his way to Spain, where the Emir and the other officials appointed by his family were still in power. He was young, handsome, intelligent, pious, athletic, brave—everything that captivates the Moslem imagination. In a few months, and with only slight opposition, he found himself seated on the throne of Cordova, in 756, where he reigned thirty-two years, and established an independent dynasty which lasted nearly three hundred years. Spain had been in the full and undisturbed possession of the Moors during the forty-five preceding years, but there was not the slightest official move in favour of learning or culture; everything of this kind dates from the advent of Abder-Rahman. How the taste had got into his family is thus related by Rohrbacher¹ :—

The father of St. John Damascene was Councillor of State to the Caliph of Damascus, and spent much of his wealth in redeeming Christian captives. Among those exposed for sale he found one named Cosmas, an Italian monk, whom he immediately obtained from the Caliph, and made tutor to his son, John. He turned out to be a most learned man, and from him John learned grammar, dialectics, the arithmetic of Diophantus (algebra), geometry, music, poetry, astronomy, and theology. On the death of his father, John occupied his position under the Caliph. How remarkable! It is a poor Italian monk, a captive condemned to death, that introduces the sciences of Greece and Rome to the court of Damascus, and through the son of the Visir succeeds in naturalizing them among those Moslems who had despised them.

I have abridged somewhat, but the next quotation is so

¹ Vol. x., p. 503.

important that it must be given in full; the Lenormant here quoted by Rohrbacher was a man of European reputation, the colleague of Guizot in the Chair of History at the College de France:—

This fact, one of the most curious in history, has been recently established by French *savants*. With whom, asks Lenormant, commences the list of those leading spirits who have inspired the Arab genius? With a father of the Church. It was St. John Damascene that initiated the Arabs into Greek philosophy . . . In alleging here the influence of St. John Damascene on the first developments of philosophy among the Arabs, I do not speak from myself; I have for me the sure and incontestable evidence of my learned colleague, M. Reinaud, from whose unpublished researches we have the certain proof that this illustrious father who enjoyed such consideration at the Court of the Ommiade Caliphs, who left it to embrace the religious life, and who was certainly the most distinguished man of his time in the East, was the initiator of the Arabs into the domain of the Aristotelian philosophy . . . As regards the influence of the West on the East at the time of the Crusades, I will merely affirm on the same authority and that of all the Orientalists and Arabists of our time, that there is a fundamental difference in genius, information, and critical ability, between those who preceded and those who followed these famous expeditions. All that is most exact and critical in Arab literature is posterior to the Crusades. I need only mention Aboulfeda, Ibn-Alatir, Ibn-Kaldoun, Abdallattif; and the earliest of all, Edrisi, who found an asylum with Roger, King of Sicily.

Rohrbacher says in conclusion:—

According to these remarkable facts, it was the Christians that imparted the human sciences to the Moslems, not the Moslems to the Christians, as some gentlemen pretend.

Apart altogether from the testimony of these learned experts, the mere dates and facts already mentioned would force any unprejudiced reader to the same conclusion.¹

The reader will naturally ask, if the Ommiade Caliph's had this taste for learning, why did they not try to establish schools at Damascus? Well, all these Caliphs were absolute rulers, with unlimited wealth and power, and yet they could not always safely indulge their tastes in opposition to

Reinaud was a great Orientalist; he published in 1829 his *Extraits des Historiens Arabes*.

the zealots. Gibbon tells us¹ 'that these were alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamoun.'

Almamoun was a strong Caliph who could defy the Zealots; he set a Christian over a college at Damascus, and merely answered that 'he had selected him for his learning, not for his religion.' And yet he was far from being a friend of the Christians. The Ommiades at Damascus were neither strong nor popular, and yet they encouraged learning in various indirect ways, and never interfered with the Christian schools. We may remark that the Abassides came from Syria, and must have brought with them to Bagdad some traces of that literary taste which had reached the upper classes of Moslems.²

To return to Spain. Abder-Rahman was soon attacked by an Abasside army, and during most of his reign the Arabs and Berbers gave him trouble; he had, therefore, little leisure to promote learning; but he surrounded his son with learned men; schools were opened; books were collected; a vast library was furnished; Emir after Emir poured out his wealth in the cause, until at last under the Great Caliph (911-961) Cordova rivalled, if it did not eclipse, Bagdad.³

It is admitted on all hands that Cordova and Bagdad were the richest and most celebrated centres of learning in their time; and that similar centres, though on a smaller scale, arose in various provinces of the Moslem Empire. Let us now see what was taught in these schools. Gibbon tells us:—⁴

The works of speculative science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic . . . The science of Algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs themselves . . .

¹ Ch. lii.

² The author of *The Moors in Spain* tells us that under Hakam, the second successor of Abder Rahman, there were revolts of the Zealots in 806 and 815; and that later on another revolt was averted by the simple expedient of burning publicly all the philosophical books objected to by the Zealots.

³ In 923 the Emirs of Cordova assumed the higher title of Caliph.

⁴ Ch. lii.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought . . . The Greek interpreters were chosen from their Christian subjects . . . There is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being made to speak the language of the Saracens. The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of these stern fanatics . . . The history of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings . . . The heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion.

This is the testimony of a sincere friend, and no one has been ever since able to add anything to it, although we have had plenty of vague declamation like the following :—¹

Every branch of science was seriously studied there [Cordova] . . . Music, oratory, as well as the severer pursuits of science seemed to come naturally to this brilliant people; and they possessed in a high degree that quality of critical perception and appreciation of the finer shades of expression which in the present day we associate with the French nation.

This writer informs us that the library of Hakam II.—960-974—contained four hundred thousand volumes; and other writers tell us of six hundred thousand volumes at Bagdad; but Gibbon, who examined the catalogues, tells us the books were for the most part mere rubbish, commentaries on the Koran, local chronicles, amatory poems, traditions, and tales, &c.

The Arabs do not claim the credit of the notation now called Arabic; they say it came to them from India. As to astronomy, they valued it chiefly for its supposed connection with astrology, as Gibbon admits.² We have already seen how they were driven to learn arithmetic. And thus we come at last to the two subjects on which their undoubted superiority must rest—the philosophy of Aristotle, and medicine, with its subsidiary sciences of botany and chemistry. In these sciences they were as far ahead of the Christians of the West as these were ahead of them in every other science, human and divine. We have seen how recklessly Arab learning has been exaggerated; we need

¹ *The Moors in Spain*, pp. 114-190.

² Ch. lii.

only read the fifth volume of Montalembert's great work to see how shamelessly the Christian schools and scholars of those times have been calumniated.

The author of *The Moors in Spain* states two or three facts very much to our purpose. He says¹ that in the kingdom of Cordova the Spaniards formed the bulk of the population; and² that they were better off under the Moors than they had been before, and just as free to practise their religion. I may observe that this state of things lasted only to the end of the Omniade dynasty, A.D. 1028. Now, this same writer tells us³:—

The Arabs, rough tribesmen as they had been at their first arrival, had softened by contact with the Andalusians, and by their natural disposition to enjoyment and luxury, into a highly civilized people, delighting in poetry and literature, &c.

And yet we are constantly reminded of Moorish *light* and Christian *darkness*!

The intellectual, moral, and religious state of Spain at the time of the conquest, has been grossly misrepresented by English writers. No province of the empire had been more thoroughly Romanised and studded with great cities. The Vandal domination lasted only twenty years—410-430—and produced no permanent effect. Under the Goths—430-711—the change amounted—for the mass of the people—to only a change of masters; their condition was no worse than it had been under the Romans, and the Catholic Church was very little molested by the Arian kings. After their conversion, in 587, they assisted regularly at the great national synods of Toledo, and gave the full weight of their authority to the disciplinary decrees there enacted. Sixteen of these great synods were held between 589 and 701, with an average attendance of forty bishops, to say nothing of the annual synods in each of the six provinces.⁴ And what men some of these bishops were! St. Leander, St. Isidore, St. Martin of Dume, St. Pructuosus, St. Ildefonsus, St. Julian,

¹ Page 169.

² Page 44.

³ Page 189.

⁴ See Rohrbacher, vol. x.; Hefele, *Councils*, vols. iii., iv. Even Gibbon (ch. xxxviii) has to admit the high-class character and great influence of these Spanish bishops.

St. Eugene of Toledo, &c. And as to the Catholic kings, most of them stand out in striking contrast to the Greek emperors, and the Moslem Caliphs of the time. St. Isidore of Seville died in 636, having been bishop of that see for nearly forty years. St. Braulio of Saragossa (626-646) regarded him as a man raised up by God to adorn the Church of Spain. His *Etymologies*, in twenty books, are a veritable encyclopedia of all the learning of his time; grammar, history, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, medicine, chronology, geography, natural history, &c., to say nothing of his voluminous writings on ecclesiastical and sacred subjects.¹ The second synod of Toledo, in 531, ordered the establishment of cathedral schools; there were also numerous monastic schools; and yet, in spite of kings, bishops, synods, and schools, the Arabs found Spain 'buried in moral and intellectual darkness!'

Balmez² says:—

The archives of Spain contain, in documents relating to the dominion of the Saracens, riches, the examination of which may be said not yet to be commenced; perhaps they will throw some light on this point (their indebtedness to the monasteries).

Perhaps some reader of the I. E. RECORD may be in a position to tell us how far this hope has been realised.

Christian students were not ashamed to cross the Pyrenees to study Galen and Aristotle;³ but no Moor ever crossed them to study Tacitus or Livy, Horace or Virgil, or the other classics so diligently read in the Christian schools. Christians have always advanced, while Moslems have relapsed into their original ignorance. In Islam, learning was an exotic forced by wealthy and ambitious rulers; the wealth has vanished, and with it the learning and culture. It never was so in Christian countries.

¹ See Rohrbacher, vol. x., p. 102.

² *European Civilization*, ch. xli.

³ Many English writers tell us that the celebrated Gerbert (Sylvester II.) and Peter the venerable, studied at Cordova; they are quite mistaken; for Gerbert studied under Hatton, Bishop of Vich in Catalonia—a fact which proves that Spanish learning was not confined to the Arabs: Peter went to Spain, but not at all as a student, got the Koran translated into Latin, and composed a most solid refutation of it, which we still possess in great part. (See Rohrbacher, vol. xiii., p. 229; vol. xv., p. 483.)

In describing Moorish culture, English writers look only at the surface, forgetting its hideous moral conditions. For instance, Moslem women were condemned by law and custom to perpetual ignorance, loss of personal liberty, and to all the degradation resulting from polygamy and arbitrary divorce. A learned, or even an educated woman, was so rare in Islam, that we scarcely ever hear of one, even during the golden age of Moorish learning and culture. But, during all that period, the Christian wife was the equal, not the slave, of her husband: Christian girls were educated in convents; and learned nuns taught not only sacred but profane literature, as Montalembert has fully proved.¹ The nuns had their *scriptoria*, too: and some of the most beautiful MSS. still in existence are from their hands.²

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¹ Vol. v., ch. 4.

² The monks and nuns regarded transcribing as a pious work: their *scriptoria* were regularly blessed in the following formula: 'Benedicere digneris, Domine, hoc scriptorium famulorum tuorum, ut quicquid scriptum fuerit, sensu capiant, opere perficiant.'

HOW TO BUILD OUR CHURCHES

ARCHITECTURE is the fine art by which ideas are expressed in a structure; and if that structure is erected to accommodate a number of persons who congregate in it, not for the purpose of gratifying physical needs only, but *in obedience to an idea*, such a structure is called a *monument* of that idea. Therefore Christian architecture must be expressive of Christian ideas; and monuments to deserve the name of Christian must express the doctrine and discipline of the Christian Church. The full exposition of this principle of Church building would lead us into a lengthy but most interesting disquisition opening out large vistas where the natural and supernatural intertwine and mutually reflect the light; and if shadows there be imperious to human sight, this but enhances and in a sense perfects the finished picture. The result of such an inquiry, as far as it bears upon our present subject, could be expressed in these few words ‘Christian architecture is the symbolical language of the Church as expressed in her material fabrics.’ Before one had examined the actual structures one could premise by an *a priori* argument that they will express theological, doctrinal, Catholic and exclusive ideas; aiming not only at accommodating a congregation but at elevating their devotions and informing their minds; attaching them to the spiritual Church, of which the earthly building is the symbol, and leading them on to that heavenly Jerusalem of which the material fabric is, as it were, the vestibule.

A meeting-house containing nothing but closely-packed sittings, wherein men and women are stowed with economy of space to listen to a discourse from a pulpit crowded against a wall is not a work of fine art; for the position of the audience does not indicate an emotion, say the worship of God. Structures of this class, indeed, perform an act of sheltering men from the inclemencies of the weather, but do not express an act which is the result of an idea. On

the contrary, such a structure is merely the result of a physical necessity: for the meeting-house, like the bar-room, is constructed for the mere purpose of human storage, without reference to any possible act of the audience beyond mere existence, and is strictly prohibitory in form and expression of any demonstration which is the result of an emotion. When the men who feed and drink and listen to the discourse make any motion it must be to leave the building. The limits of the structure forbid any method of grouping other than that of a series of equal human quantities which have but one desire, viz., to be accommodated without being crowded, and to be protected from the sun and rain. But when, on the other hand, we see a structure providing for a combination of groupings various in magnitude, elegance, dignity—which combination, in part or as a whole, represents certain acts of these groups—say, prayer, praise, confession of sins, exhortation, the partaking of Communion, baptism, marriages, funerals, processions of various kinds, such as we find embodied in the nave, aisle, choir, cloisters, chapel, chapter-house and baptistery of a mediæval cathedral—we may then say that such a structure denotes acts which are the result of ideas, and that it assists the congregation within it in the performance of these acts, and is therefore architecture, *i. e.*, the expression of ideas in a structure.¹

This primary, true principle of ecclesiastical building, viz., ‘symbolism,’ is that which has been followed in the construction of the grand mediæval specimens of *pointed* architecture. When fitness is found with this symbolism there arises an expression which is the true cause of all artistic effect: and, inasmuch as works of art deviate from these principles of symbolism, fitness, and expression, in the same proportion do they depart from excellence. Then by an easy deduction we can assert that inasmuch as we are ignorant of these principles, in the same ratio are we incapable of understanding or of appreciating the works which are based upon them.

¹ *Nature and Function of Art*.—Leopold Eidlitz. London: Simpson, Low, 1881.

Christianity presents a religious system which brings forward the exaltation of God and the humiliation of man. To exalt God, to humble ourselves, become almost convertible terms. God is all in all, man nothing. Man's virtue *ut sic* is not now an element of acceptance in the eyes of God, not even his faith, excepting in the sense of mercy, not of desert. To encourage us in the effort to attain virtue, to nerve us with hope when we have long neglected our duty, to ascetically mortify ourselves that we may obtain mercy, is the faith of those who built the cathedrals of the Middle Ages; and this because Christ was poor and lowly as His Apostles and those who followed in their path. This Christianity was architecturally expressed in the structures of the ages of faith; and that it was executed in a sublime manner, superior to all efforts in art creation, no man who fully understands architecture will doubt; and, moreover, that the development of doctrine found true and adequate expression in those monuments, no one needs to be convinced. All this was the result of a religion based on the grandeur and omnipotence of the Deity and the humility and nothingness of man. If we were asked to point out a noble theological poem we should not instance the *Divina Commedia*, much as we admire the poetry of Dante, but rather the sublime Cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, or Notre Dame. These are noble hymns of praise continually ascending to the Most High. A Gothic cathedral does, as it were, and scarce by a metaphor, praise God. It is not merely a place wherein, but with which, the Church worships the Almighty.

On entering a Gothic cathedral [says Coleridge] I am filled with devotion, and with awe; I am lost to the actualities which surround me, and my whole being expands into the infinite; earth and air, and nature and art, all swell up into eternity, and the only sensible impression left is, that I am nothing.

The revival of Greek and Roman pagan literature and art by men who frequently had but little sympathy with Christianity, inaugurated a period when even those who did not doubt of the truth of Christianity in the least, but whose minds were full of the ideas of the ante-Christian world—its

philosophy and its physical beauty, all of which contrast with the gloom of an ascetic church—contemplated cathedrals, and came to the conclusion that this sort of art would never do in the light of classic conceptions. Look at a mediæval church, and it suggests more than many years of historical study would impart. The mere sight of a work of art excites feelings which cannot be translated into words. In this way mediæval Christian architecture did not please the men of the *renaissance*. Had you asked these men the question, they would have told you faithfully that they did not doubt the system of Christianity in the least, only they disliked the forms of its monuments as found in the cathedrals of the thirteenth century.¹ The pagan ideas, imbued from a too-absorbing study of antique art and literature, tainted men's minds, and this found expression in the structures of the period. This debased architecture continued until the Gothic revival, which strongly influenced for good the general current of art and architecture (using that word in its most general sense) remotely. We say remotely, because though Gothic odds and ends were copied from ancient buildings, modern works are not founded upon old and true principles which we can plainly perceive consciously or unconsciously guided our forefathers in all their works, and which are as clearly to be discerned in the manor-house or the village church as in the highest efforts of their genius. But in ecclesiastical art the Gothic revival has obtained a firm hold. There is no doubt that in this branch ecclesiastics distance all competitors, and can show some few works which are eminently satisfactory, not as a mere revival of old forms and details—that is a secondary matter—but as genuine works of good art; they show us that there is not merely a copying of mediæval churches, but a revival of the art of mediæval times.

I see Rome writes [Archbishop Uthorne] in altogether a new light from my former visits; it seems to me completely saturated with the blood of the martyrs and the prayers of the saints, at every step. But its fine things, even its finest churches, except the very old ones, do not penetrate the soul like our own Gothic churches.

¹ *Ibid.*

Making a tour in Belgium, His Grace was delighted with the church architecture, and indignant with the modern ornaments added in French and Roman style to their mediæval Gothic. ‘How I should like,’ he says, ‘to grind the noses of the faces of the men who are changing so many of the fine old Gothic fronts of the houses into modern flat ones.’ In his delightful *Autobiography* he writes of the Coventry church :—

After the church was completed it drew numbers of people of all classes to see it when unoccupied. It was a new thing to see a Catholic church, with all its Catholic appointments, just like the old churches as they were furnished in the Middle Ages, and I had a person there to let me know when there were several visitors. I then went in and explained to them both the church and all its symbolism, with which the congregation was made thoroughly acquainted. This sometimes led to interesting conversations on the Catholic religion, and catechisms were accepted.

We have seen that in a general point of view ecclesiastical art is a symbolical language. This has not happened by chance, but is the effect of that solicitude which the Church has ever shown to press everything into her service which could give visible form to the ideas she wished to convey, her mission being that of teacher of mankind. In which course she does not do violence to, but follows the nature of man, whose perceptions begin with the senses. At one time the language of her structures was more generally understood than at present. Hence we will call attention to some examples which have reference to our subject, and in which this language is easily intelligible. We shall find that the works of the ancients more graphically expressed the ideas of the Church, and more and more perfectly, as it were, incorporated her genius than those of the moderns ; that in the simplest and smallest church the true principles of Christian architecture were as perfectly set forth as in the most magnificent cathedral, in proportion to its nature and extent.

From the earliest ages of the Christian Church it was deemed necessary for the due solemnity of religious worship that there should be a marked distinction between the place for the celebration of the sacred mysteries and the place for

the congregation of the worshippers. This feeling gradually produced the *chancel* for the celebration of the sacred mysteries, which was so called from the *cancelli* or *cancellæ*, or rood-screen, which divided it from the nave, or place for the laity. Thus the chancel and nave became the two essential parts of a church, without which the idea of a church cannot be maintained. To show the peculiar sanctity of the *chancel*, and its exclusive appropriation to the solemn services of religion, and the ministers of the altar, the following admonitory text, or some other of the same meaning, was frequently written over the chancel arch or upon the *cancelli* or rood-screen: '*Intra cancellos laicus ne quisque moretur.*' In the cathedral and large conventual churches the chancel received the name of choir, from the circumstance of the *chorus cantorum* who sang the Divine Office, being placed there. A general error hence has arisen from not distinguishing the three great divisions in the church; or, as we usually say, the nave, or body of the church, the choir, and the sanctuary.

It has been the general custom to place the choir between the sanctuary and the nave. In some continental churches, and frequently in the churches of religious Orders, the choir is behind the altar. Reverence requires that the sanctuary should be fenced off from the public part of the church; it was a usual and convenient arrangement that the choir should be included within the rood-screen (*cancelli*) forming the enclosure. This division of the church into nave and chancel may either be marked structurally, or it may be made solely (when necessity demands it) by the dispositions of the fittings without reference to the design of the building. This latter plan is extremely simple. Given a large undivided area of any regular form, whether founded on the circle or the parallelogram, or a combination of the two, we have but to raise the *cancelli* at the eastern part, enclosing sufficient space for the altar and for the choir.

In planning the portion of the church set apart for the people, the problem which is presented to us is, how first we may best provide for a congregation worshipping towards one altar; and how, secondly, may they be so placed that all may hear the words of the preacher. The first point

mainly depends on the arrangement of the *cancelli*; for it is not necessary that everyone present should be able to see the whole of the chancel. The altar, indeed, should be the markedly principal object in the building, and all interest should gravitate towards it. But this effect is brought about not so much by striving to make the altar visible from every corner, as by giving it a dignified appearance when it is seen. If the whole *feeling* of a building leads up to one point, it matters not whether that point is always visible or not. Unless this be allowed it must follow that for centuries and through the ages of faith and of perfect ecclesiastical architecture that our churches were planned on an entirely wrong system. We must give up the placing of the whole congregation on the ground-floor, and even the last century fashion of an oblong room with galleries round three sides will but imperfectly serve our turn. If it be insisted that every member of the congregation should be able to see the altar from his place, architects must look for instruction not to mediæval churches, but to modern theatres, where they will find a similar requirement successfully met.

For the second problem: although ecclesiastics do not hold that instruction from the pulpit is the sole or chief object of churches, there is no property more essential to many of our Irish churches than that they should be well-adapted structures for public teaching. In a sermon it is necessary that every syllable should reach the ears of the auditors. Moreover, the preacher is unable to make use of musical recitation as a help to his voice. One chief aim, therefore, in planning the people's part of the church must be to bring the whole well within the range of the pulpit. Yet the exigencies of the present age and the existing system of preaching may prevent a deeper insight into the meaning and uses of our churches.

It is evident [says a writer in the *Dublin Review*] that the Catholic and Protestant religions have two essentially different principles of worship, and two different standards of proportions, both of which must necessarily influence the form and characteristics of their religious edifices. The worship of the Catholic Church is based upon the belief in rites and practices, endowed

with essential holiness, and capable of communicating that quality to external objects : that of the Protestant, entirely on the uncertain influence of a human agency. Take the clergyman out of his pulpit and reading desk, and there is nothing in the parish church which warns or invites the members of his flock to kneel and pray. But the Catholic peasant goes not past the door of his church without an act of reverence ; the traveller, who enters it through curiosity, kneels for a brief space to pray, before proceeding to examine its paintings or tombs ; and this at a time when no service is actually performing. And why ? because the belief in a sacrament wherein our Blessed Redeemer is ever present, inspires a reverence for the entire temple in which it reposes ; the very celebration of its solemn mysteries leaves a savour of holiness throughout the building, which renders it, through the day and night a holy place. In like manner, if we suppose the Protestant preacher to be indeed in his desk, but one of the congregation placed at such a distance as not to hear a syllable of what he says—for example, just entering at the western door of a cathedral while service is going on beyond the screen—there is no common tie between the two, and the stranger can no more be a partaker of the worship than if he were outside the church-yard. On the other hand, if the Catholic have passed the threshold of the vastest cathedral, and see the Holy Sacrifice offered upon its most distant altar, he will kneel in adoration, sensible that he has come into the presence chamber of the King of kings. Hence it follows that to places of Protestant worship it is the limited faculty of hearing that must suggest proportions ; while the sight almost boundless and quite insatiable, the boldest and divinest of the senses, gives the standard of measure and proportion to the Catholic temple. When our ancestors knelt on the battle-field during the celebration of Mass, there was a sublimity in the simultaneous act of adoration directed by thousands towards one object, which their eye could reach ; whereas were it desired that a modern Protestant army should be made to pray before risking their lives in battle, it would be necessary for each regimental chaplain to read the service separately to his corps, if, indeed, it would not be necessary for each company to have prayers by itself. Wherever Protestants have to build churches or meeting houses, the first object in view has necessarily been that the preacher should be audible in every part. This rule is incompatible with grandeur of dimensions or proportions ; it imposes the necessity of introducing galleries, which destroy the unbroken loftiness of a building, and, what is worse, makes the clergyman instead of the altar the principal object of attention. Where they have overlooked their proper standard, as when they built St. Paul's, or adopted our old cathedrals, they have necessarily reduced the body of the edifice to the degraded condition of a vestibule to the chancel, wherein

alone are performed acts of public worship. But in Catholic countries, as once in our own, every foot of the building, from wall to wall, and from pavement to ceiling, belongs to God, and is consecrated to His worship. The threshold is as secure from profanation as the sanctuary; the sister arts are engaged to decorate the walls which architecture has raised from the door to the altar, though with due subordination of parts; and the eye finds all that it desires—not only grandeur of design, but corresponding magnificence of execution.¹

The position of the chancel or choir seems invariably to have been towards the East. The most ancient churches in Ireland preserve the distinction of parts and *orientation* faithfully. Some of our very small churches, indeed, consist of a simple parallelogram, but these can be considered only as oratories or places of private devotion. That these arrangements of separation and orientation in the ancient churches contained symbolical meaning we have the testimony of many liturgical writers of antiquity, by whom we are informed that the distinction of chancel and nave, besides the self-evident and natural symbolism of the distinction between the sacrifice, priests and people, was also typical of the Church spiritual—the triumphant and militant; that the chancel arch with the representation of the Last Judgment over it, commonly called the ‘doom,’ typified death, by which the triumphant was entered from the militant state.²

The reasons for the orientation of churches, with some remarks upon the beautiful natural effects produced by this position, are thus given by A. W. Pugin:—

A church should be so placed that the faithful face the East while at prayer. Such has been the practice of the Church from the earliest period, and very few are the examples of any deviation from this rule. The chancel should, consequently, be turned towards the East, and all the altars of the church should be so placed that the celebrant while officiating looks towards the same quarter.

Independent of all Christians turning towards the same point being a beautiful figure of the unity of the Church, those learned writers—Durandus, Gaventus, and Cardinal

¹ *Dublin Review*, August, 1877.

² *Catholic Magazine*, Duffy, Dublin, 1847.

Bona, adduced many mystical and pious reasons. But, moreover, the ancient and canonical position is the most judicious that could have been chosen. How beautiful do the rays of the rising sun, streaming through the brilliant eastern windows of the choir or chancel, darting their warm and cheerful light to the very extremity of the nave, correspond to the hymn to be sung at Prime: *Jam lucis orto sidere!* Then, as the day advances, from the whole southern side a flood of light is poured into the building, gradually passing off towards evening, until all the glories of a setting sun, immediately opposite the western window, light up the nave with glowing tints, the rich effects being much increased by the partial obscurity of the choir end at the time.

No [continues Mr. Pugin], this beautiful passage of light from sunrise to sunset, with all its striking and sublime effects, is utterly lost in a church placed in any other than an ancient position. In short, there are both mystical and natural reasons for adhering to antiquity, a departure from which can only be justified under the most urgent necessity.

In the more advanced ages we find the necessity of larger churches producing new efforts in art, guided by the old principles and harmoniously blending symbolism, fitness and expression, with sublime and beautiful effects. Churches were then built in the cruciform and tripartite arrangement, which were symbolical of the great dogmas of the Christian faith—the Redemption of mankind and the Trinity in Unity. Confining ourselves to these principal features, we think few will deny that they were symbolical in spirit and appropriate, inasmuch as they were apt adaptations of the means to the end required—the reception of the faithful within a material fabric to witness the solemn rites of religion, and the elevation of their souls to spiritual things by material agencies. Who can enter one of our primitive Irish churches and not participate in the feelings so eloquently expressed by Dr. Petrie, in reference to their former state:—

Yet in their symmetrical simplicity their dimly-lighted nave, entered by its central west door-way, and terminated on the other side by its chancel arch, affording to the devout worshipper an unimpeded view of the brighter sanctuary in which were celebrated the divine mysteries which afforded him consolation in this life,

and hope in the next—in the total absence of everything that could distract his attention—there is an expression of fitness to their purpose too often wanting in temples of higher pretensions.

Now, an admiration for the sacred architecture of one style must not lay us open to the accusation of condemning every other. Many are unable or unwilling to afford room in their minds for a twofold admiration of objects, each perfect in its kind, because the perfection of principles essentially just, and brought by ages of experience, to a full maturity. As the same writer says, referring to Pugin, 'to our ears the wish that St. Peter's at Rome, or the Cathedral of Pisa had been built in the pointed style, sounds as harsh and absurd, as a regret, were such expressed, that York Cathedral or Westminster Abbey was not erected of the Corinthian order.' The arts of a country are a part of its social growth—they follow step by step the progress of a nation in its advance and decline.

This subject of ecclesiastical architecture recommends itself to all Catholics or Irishmen, but especially to the clergy. It is a subject of both religious and national importance, if we are desirous to prove that we are anxious to show our respect for the solemnities of Divine worship, and to make our churches something more characteristic of their destination than of secular buildings or of conventicles. Let us remember that good taste is a prerogative of our religion, and that architectural knowledge and taste do not come spontaneously; they must be cultivated. And, surely, it is not unreasonable to expect that buildings directed by ignorant men must of necessity be abortions. We cannot be expected to compete with the ages of faith in splendour of dimension or of decoration, but we may imitate them in good taste. Let no individual follow his own caprice in buildings consecrated to God, and belonging to His religion.

In this paper, which is on a subject of great magnitude, and involves many details and accessories, it has not been our intention to criticise, or even peremptorily to assert how we are to build our churches, but rather to call attention to the duty of earnest study how we ought to build them.

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

IRISH MONASTERIES IN GERMANY

HONAU

HONAU or Hohenaugia is an island in the Rhine, not far from Strasburg in which a monastery was established in the year 724. The site of the monastery was granted by the Ethicos, Dukes of Alsace. Adalbert, who is sometimes, though incorrectly, mentioned as its founder, richly endowed it. It was further enriched by grants and privileges from the sons of Adalbert, Luitfrid and Eberhard.¹ The importance of the establishment can be judged from the charters granted to it at various times which are happily preserved by Mabillon.² One of these charters, drawn up by the Abbot Beatus, is signed by eight Irish bishops. It makes over and bequeaths to the monastery and to the 'pauperes et peregrinos gentis Scottorum,' not only the buildings, lands, chattels, and appurtenances of Honau itself, but also the right and title to eight churches that had been erected in different parts of the German Empire by the zeal of those 'Pilgrim fathers.'

The first abbot of the monastery was Benedict, also called Tubanus.³ He dedicated his establishment to St. Michael the Archangel. Unfortunately, we know nothing about his personal history beyond the fact that he was a Scot, and the first abbot of this 'Schottenkloster.' He was succeeded as abbot by Dubanus, Dubanus by Thomas, Thomas by Stephen, Stephen by Beatus. Beatus was the most remarkable of the Abbots of Honau. According to the learned German historian, Friederich, he is the same who evangelized a good part of Switzerland, founded the

¹ Schottlin, *Alsatia Illustrata*, i., p. 737.

² *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom ii., p. 59.

³ Primus Benedictus constructor ejus, cujus nomen hibernicum fuit Tubanus (hodie Tubha-Calanus) secundus Dubanus (hib-Duban-Nigellus). Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. xiv.

monastery of Beromünster, near Lucerne, of Yberg in the Canton of Schwitz, and built up several other establishments in Unterwalden and over the Brünig in the Bernese Oberland, where his name is still commemorated in the famous Beatenhöhle,¹ and in the town of St. Beatenberg, over the Lake of Thun.

Most valuable privileges were granted to Honau by various princes; but the most remarkable of them was the charter of Charlemagne,² which confirmed to the monastery all donations previously made 'by kings or queens or other servants of God,' and exempted it from tolls and several other imposts then in force amongst the people. It furthermore declares that these pilgrim monks are not to be molested or interfered with in any way, and that all these lands and possessions are to belong to them and to their countrymen, to the exclusion of all others: 'an interesting record,' as Dr. Todd remarks, 'of the high esteem and favour in which the Irish of the Continent were held at that time by the greatest monarch of the west.'³

But the most important document that has come down to us in connection with the history of this institution, is the charter, or, rather, the will of the Abbot Beatus.¹ This document, besides the intrinsic value of its contents, is attested and authenticated by the signatures of the abbot (in the first place), and of eight bishops whose names, as

¹ *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, von D. J. Friederich, vol. i., p. 182.

² Si quis unum hoc non fecerit recognoscat se regis præceptum non obaudire. quia reges Francorum libertatem dederunt omnibus peregrinis Scotorum ut nullus rapiat aliquid de rebus eorum nec ulla generatio præter eorum generationem possideat ecclesias eorum. Mabillon, *Annales*, tom ii., Append., p. 698.

³ *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1853-57, vol. vi., p. 546.

¹ Ego itaque Beatus, etsi indignus Abbas, dono pro animae meae remedio totum et integrum quantumeumque acquisivi aut collaboravi; dono hoc totum et integrum ad illum locum prædictum et ad illos sanctos, in quorum honore constructus est et ad pauperes et peregrinos gentis Scotorum. Dono autem primum ecclesiam quam ego construxi in Moguntina civitate: et alteram ecclesiam quae est constructa in Sylva in Marchlichio et etiam ecclesiam Lognau, in curte nuncupata Wisiena; et quartam quae est in Hawenbach, et quintam quae est in Burenheim, et sextam quae est in Rhodanheim, et septimam quae est in Hurmusa, et octavam quae est in Buchonia. *Annales Ord. S. Benedicti*, tom ii., p. 59.

Zeuss has shown,¹ clearly indicate their nationality. The signatures are:—

- ✠ Signum BEATI ABBATIS, qui hanc chartam fieri rogavit.
- ✠ Signum COMGANI Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum ECHOCH Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum SUATHAR Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum MANCUNIGIB Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum CALNCOMRIHC Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum DOILGUSSO Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum ERDOMNACH Episcopi.
- ✠ Signum HEMENI Episcopi.

Dr. Todd endeavoured to make capital out of these signatures, in favour of his contention that there was no such thing as diocesan jurisdiction in Ireland before the twelfth century, and no canonical restriction whatever to the consecration of bishops. According to him the abbot who was not a bishop at all, simply consecrated whomsoever he pleased; and the bishops thus consecrated looked up to the abbot, as the head of a sept, according to the Brehon code, looked up to a chieftain. This theory was developed and formally put forward by Dr. Todd in his *Life of St. Patrick*.² No doubt the early organization of the Celtic Church outside the monasteries is involved in great obscurity. This arises evidently from the fact that the records have perished. Those of the monasteries alone have come down to us, and they deal naturally with the organization of monastic rather than of secular life. The great, and indeed, predominating, part which the monasteries played in the religious life of Ireland may be readily conceded; yet Mgr. Gargan, now happily ruling as President of Maynooth College,³ had little difficulty in showing that the bishops who lived and laboured in the monasteries, under the rule of the abbot, were merely 'Chorepiscopi' subject to the external jurisdiction of the ordinaries who ruled and governed then as they do now. There is no proof worth the least consideration that

¹ *Grammatica Celtica*, p. xviii.

² *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland: A Memoir of His Life and Missions*. By James Henthorn Todd, D.D., pp. 3-30.

³ *The Ancient Church of Ireland*. By Denis Gargan, D.D., pp. 11-44.

such bishops were consecrated by one who was merely an abbot, but not a bishop. The case mentioned by Wasserschleben,¹ of Gregory of Utrecht, is by no means clearly established.

This learned German shows, moreover, in his own work, that the privilege of having resident bishops in the monasteries, ready at any moment to administer the Sacraments of Confirmation and Orders, was derived directly from the Holy See, and was much availed of in countries far distant from the seat of authority, at a time when direct communication with Rome was difficult and uncertain. As an instance he quotes the privilege granted by Pope Adrian I. to the monastery of St. Denis in France, in the year 771.²

The fact that eight different churches are mentioned as having been erected by the monks in different localities in Germany would, on this principle, readily account for the eight bishops who signed the charter. One of these churches was in the city of Mayence, one at Hawenback, one at Bubenheim, one at Rodesheim, one at Bochenn, one at Lognau, one at Hurmusa, and one at what is called Sylvia in Marchlichio.³

Grandidier,⁴ and after him Rettberg,⁵ mention a monastery of Luttenbach to which Abbot Beatus sent eighteen Irish monks, and which subsequently became a flourishing establishment. In some of the Codices of the Charter of Beatus, Luttenbach is mentioned as merely another name for 'Silvia in Marchlichio.'⁶ All these churches founded from Honau were situated according to some in the Palatinate of the Rhine. Others identify Beronia with

¹ *Irische Kannonsammlung*, p. xlii.

² Quapropter auctoritate Beati Petri . . . fulti in jam dicto monasterio statucentes promulgamus ut penitas liceat ibidem habere episcopum sicut a priscis temporibus et usque hactenus fuit, &c., &c. See Wasserschleben, *Irische Kononensammlung*, p. xli.

³ See Mabillon, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Grandidier, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Strasbourg*, tom. i, p. 404, and fol.

⁵ Abt. Beatus schenkt dem Kloster 810 eine menge von ihm erbauter Kirchen, darunter auch eine in Mainz, eine andre in Luttenbach, die nach einer alter notiz von ihm in ein Kloster umgeformt und mit achtzehn Schottenmönchen besetzt ist. Sie ward später ein blühendes Collegiatstift. Rettberg. *Kirchengechichte Deutschlands*, vol. ii., p. 80.

⁶ See Neugart, C.D., ii. 487.

Beromünster, in the diocese of Constance,¹ and find traces of a monastery of Lautenbach in the ancient diocese of Basle. This has led them to the conclusion that Abbot Beatus of Hohenau is the same who is venerated as the Apostle of Switzerland. The dates, however, will scarcely admit such an inference. The question is discussed at great length by Lutolf, the Swiss historian, who regards the Swiss Beatus as an Irishman, no doubt, but advances solid evidence to show that he could not have been the same as Beatus of Honau.

The successor of Beatus as abbot was Egidanus. He was probably the last of the abbots of Honau; in the reign of Charles the Gross the whole establishment was transferred to Rheinau, and afterwards to the Canons Regular of Old St. Peter's in Strasburg, where the Irish abbots of Honau were venerated as saints.² It was a canon of this establishment, named Jean le Laboureur, who communicated to Mabillon the important documents relating to the history of Honau, which have been preserved in the *Annals of the Benedictine Order*.³

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ *Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz vor St. Gallus*, Von Alois Lutolf, pp. 27, and fol.

² Les cinq premiers abbés sont qualifiés de saints dans le calendrier de St. Pierre le Vieux qui prétend même en conserver les reliques. Leurs corps furent retrouvés en 1646 par Gabriel Hauk, évêque de Tripoli. Grandidier, i C., 46.

³ *Annales O.S.B.*, tom ii., p. 59; also Appendix, pp. 695-698.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE
BISHOPS OF SCOTLAND

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD EPISCOPOS SCOTIAE

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS SCOTIAE

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Caritatis studium, quod Nos habet de salute dissidentium fratrum sollicitos, nequaquam cessare Nos patitur, si quos ab unico Christi ovili error varius segregatos tenet, ad complexum Pastoris boni revocare possimus. Vehementius quotidie miseram dolemus vicem hominum tanto numero, quibus christianae fide abest integritas. Itaque et sanctissimi conscientia officii, et amantissimi hominum Sospitatoris, cuius personam nullo merito Nostro gerimus, tamquam suasu et instinctu permoti, contendere ab iis omni ope insistimus, ut instaurare nobiscum unius eiusdemque communionem fidei aliquando velint. Magnum opus, ac de humanis operibus longe difficillimum exitu: quod quidem perficere non nisi eius est, qui omnia potest, Dei. Sed hac ipsa de causa non despondemus animum, nec deterriti a proposito sumus ob magnitudinem difficultatum, quas humana virtus perrumpere sola non potest. 'Nos autem praedicamus Christum crucifixum . . . Et quod infirmum est Dei, fortius est hominibus.'¹ In tanto opinionum errore, in tot malis quae vel premunt vel imminet, monstrare velut digito conamur, unde sit petenda salus, cohortando, monendo universitatem gentium, ut levant 'oculus in montes, unde veniet auxilium. Quod enim Isaias praedixerat futurum, id comprobavit eventus: scilicet Ecclesia Dei ortu divino divinaque dignitate sic eminent, ut se intuentium oculis plane conspiciendam praebeat: 'Et erit in novissimis diebus praeparatus mons domus Domini in vertice montium, et elevabitur super colles.'²

Huiusmodi in curis consiliisque Nostris suum obtinet Scotia locum, quam Apostolicae huic Sedi diu multumque dilectam, Nos

¹ 1 Cor. i. 23, 25.² Is. ii. 2.

ipsi proprio quodam nomine caram habemus. Ante annos viginti, libet enim commemorare, Apostolici ministerii in Scotis dedicavimus primitias, cum altero ab inito Pontificatus die ecclesiasticam apud ipsos hierarchiam restituendam curavimus. Quo ex tempore praeclare vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, vestroque adnidente clero, nunquam non bono studuimus istius gentis, quam quidem sua indoles amplectendae veritati peridoneam facit. Nunc vero quoniam id aetatis sumus, ut propius iam absit humanus exitus, etiam visum est alloqui vos, Venerabiles Fratres, populoque vestro novum Apostolicae providentiae documentum impertire.

Turbulentissima illa tempestas, quae in Ecclesiam saeculo decimo sexto incubuit, sicut alios nimium multos per Europam, ita Scotos maximam partem abstraxit a fide catholica, quam plus mille annis cum gloria retinuerant. Gratum Nobis est cogitatione repetere majorum vestrorum in rem catholicam non exigua promerita: itemque libet eos recordari, nec sane paucos, quorum virtute rebusque gestis Scotiae nomen inclaruit. At vero num hodie cives vestri abnuunt meminisse vicissim, quid Ecclesiae catholicae, quid Apostolicae Sedi debeant? Cognita vobis planeque explorata commemoramus. Est in vetustis annalibus vestris, Ninianum, hominem Scotum, cum ipsum legendis sacris litteris acrius cepisset studium in spiritu proficiendi, dixisse: 'Surgam, circumibo mare et aridam, quaeram veritatem, quam diligit anima mea. Itane tantis opus est? Nonne Petro dictum est: 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalerunt adversus eam?' Igitur in fide Petri nihil minus est, nihil obscurum nihil imperfectum, nihil adversum quod doctrinae nequam sententiaeque perversae, quasi portae inferi, praevalere sufficiant. Et ubi fides Petri nisi in sede Petri? Illuc certe, illuc mihi eundem est, ut exiens de terra mea et de cognatione mea et de domo patris mei merear in terra visionis videre voluntatem Domini et protegi a templo eius.'¹ Itaque Romanus venerabilis properavit; cumque ad sepulera Apostolorum de ipso fonte et capite catholicae veritatis large accepisset, iussu mandatuque Pontificis maximi domum reversus, romanae fidei documentis cives imbuere, Ecclesiamque Gallovidiensem condidit, duobus ante saeculis, quam beatus Augustinus ad Anglos appulit. Hanc fidem S. Columba, hanc ipsam veteres

¹ Excerpta ex historia vitae S. Niniani, Episcopi Crutidae Casae seu Gallovidiae, in Scotia, a S. Aethelwoldo abbate Rievallensi conscripta.

monachi, quorum est Ioensis sedes tam claris nobilitata virtutibus, et ipsi summo servarunt obsequio et alios diligentissime edocuerunt. Quid Margaritam reginam memoremus, non Scotiae tantummodo, sed christiani nominis universi lumen et decus? quae in rerum mortalium collocata fastigio, cum nihil tamen nisi immortale ac divinum in omni vita spectavisset, suarum splendore virtutum orbem terrarum implevit. Iamvero si tantam excellentiam sanctitatis attigit, catholicae fidei afflatu impulsuque attigit. Wallaceem vero Bruceque, lumina vestri generis, nonne constantia catholicae fidei fortissimos patriae propugnatores praestitit? Mittimus innumerabiles alios utilissimos reipublicae cives, quos Ecclesia parens educere numquam destitit. Mittimus adiumenta cetera per ipsam vobis publice importata; eius certe providentia et auctoritate, celeberrima studiis optimis domicilia S. Andreae, Glascuae, Aberdoniae patuerunt, ipsaque est exercendorum iudiciorum civilium constituta ratio. Quamobrem intelligimus satis fuisse causae cur honestissimum nomen 'sanctae Sedis specialis filia' genti Scotorum adhaeserit.

Verum magna ex eo tempore conversio rerum consecuta est, fide avita apud plurimos extincta. Numquamne excitatum iri censebimus? Imo vero certa quaedam apparent indicia rerum, quae spem bonam de Scotis, adiuvante Deo, inchoare iubeant. Videmus enim lenius quotidie benigniusque haberi catholicos; dogmatis catholicae sapientiae iam non, ut fortasse antea, contemptum vulgo adhiberi, sed favorem a multis, obsequium a non paucis; perversitates opinionum, quae nimium quantum impediunt iudicium veri, sensim obsolescere. Atque utinam vigeat latius pervestigatio veritatis; neque enim dubitandum, quin auctior notitia religionis catholicae, germana nimirum suisque e fontibus, non ex aliensis petita, praeiudicatas eiusmodi opiniones penitus ex animis abstergat.

Scotis universis ea quidem tribuenda laus non mediocris, quod divinas litteras colere et revereri assiduo consueverunt. Sinant igitur, nonnihil Nos de hoc argumento ad suam ipsorum salutem amanter attingere. Videlicet in ea, quam diximus, verecundia sacrarum litterarum inest velut quaedam cum Ecclesia catholica consensus: quidni queat redintegrandae unitatis initium aliquando existere? Ne recusent meminisse utriusque Testamenti libros se ab Ecclesia catholica, non aliunde, accepisse: cuius vigilantiae perpetuisque curis acceptum referendum, quod sacrae litterae maximas temporum ac rerum procellas integrae evasere.

Historia testatur iam inde antequitis de Scripturarum incolunitate Synodum Carthaginiensem III atque Innocentium I romanum pontificem immortaliter meruisse. Recentiore vero memoria cogniti sunt tum Eugenii IV., tum Concilii Tridentini vigiles in eodem genere labores. Nos autem ipsi, haud ignari temporum, datis non ita pridem litteris encyclicis, Episcopos catholici orbis gravissime appellavimus, diligenterque monuimus quid opus esset facto, ut integritas ac divina auctoritas sacrarum litterarum salva consisteret.

Nam, in hoc praecipiti ingeniorum cursu, sunt plures quae libido fastidiosius quaelibet disquirendi, contemptioque vetustatis ita agat transversos, ut fidem sacro volumini vel elevare omnem, vel certe minuire non dubitent. Nimirum homines opinione scientiae inflati, iudicioque praesidentes suo, non intelligunt quam sit improbae temeritatis plenum, humano prorsus modulo metiri quae Dei sunt opera; eoque minus audiunt Augustinum alte clamantem: 'Honora Scripturam Dei, honora verbum Dei etiam non apertum, differ pietate intelligentiam.' 'Admonendi sunt studiosi venerabilium litterarum . . . orent ut intelligant.'¹ 'Ne aliquid temere et incognitum pro cognito asserant . . . nihil temere esse affirmandum, seu caute omnia modesteque tractanda.'²

Veruntamen cum Ecclesiam perpetuo mansuram esse oporteret, non solis ea Scripturis, sed alio quodam praesidio instrui debuit. Scilicet divini auctoris fuit illud cavere, nequando caelestium doctrinarum thesaurus in Ecclesia dissipatus deficeret; id quod necessitate futurum erat, si cum singulorum hominum arbitrio permisisset. Opus igitur fuisse apparet ab initio Ecclesiae magisterium aliquod vivum et perenne, cui ex Christi auctoritate demandata esset cum salutifera ceterarum rerum doctrina, tum interpretatio certa Scripturarum; quodque, assiduo Christi ipsius auxilio munitum ac septum, nullo modo delabi in errorum docendo posset. Cui rei sapientissime Deus cumulateque providit, idque per unigenitum Filium suum Iesum Christum: qui scilicet germanam Scripturarum interpretationem tum in tuto posuit cum Apostolos suos in primis et maxime iussit, nequaquam dare scriptioni operam, neque vulgo diribere vetustiorum Scripturam, sine discrimine, sine lege, volumini, sed omnino

¹ In Ps. 140, n. 12.

² Doctr. Chr. lib. III., c. 37, n. 56.

³ In Gen. Op. Imp.,

edocere gentes viva voce universas, et ad cognitionem professionemque doctrinae caelestis, alloquendo, perducere : ‘Euntes in mundum universum praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae.’¹ Principatam autem docendi contulit uni, quo tamquam fundamento universitatem Ecclesiae docentis niti oporteret. Christus enim cum claves regni caelorum Petro traderet, una simul ei dedit ceteros regere qui ‘ministerio verbi’ fungerentur : ‘Confirma fratres tuos.’² Hoc itaque magisterio cum discere fideles debeant quaecumque ad salutem pertinent, ipsam petant divinorum librorum intelligentiam necesse est.

Facile autem apparet quam incerta sit et manca et inepta proposito eorum ratio, qui Scripturarum sensum unice ipsarum Scripturarum ope vestigari posse existimant, Nam, eo dato, suprema lex interpretandi in iudicio denique consistet singulorum. Iamvero, quod supra attigimus, prout quisque comparatus animo, ingenio, studiis, moribus, ad legendum accesserit, ita divinorum sententiam eloquiorum iisdem de rebus interpretabitur. Hinc discrepantia interpretandi dissimilitudinem sentiendi contentionesque gignat necesse est, converso in materiam mali, quod unitati concordiaeque bono datum erat.

Quae quidem quam vere dicamus, res loquitur ipsa. Nam omnes catholicae fidei expertes atque inter se dissentientes de religione sectae, id sibi singulae sumunt ut omnino placitis institutisque suis suffragari sacras litteras contendant. Adeo nullum est tam sanctum Dei donum, quo non abuti ad perniciem suam homo queat, quandoquidem divinas ipsas Litteras, quod gravi sententia monuit beatus Petrus, ‘indocti et instabiles depravant . . . ad suam ipsorum perditionem.’³ His de causis, Irenaeus, recens ab aetate Apostolorum idemque fidus eorum interpres, inculcare hominum mentibus numquam destitit, non aliunde accipi notitiam veritatis, quam ex viva Ecclesiae institutione oportere : ‘Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi Spiritus Dei illic Ecclesia et omnis gratia ; Spiritus autem veritas . . .’⁴ Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem apud quos est ea quae est ab Apostolis Ecclesiae successio.’⁵ Quod si catholici, quamvis in genere civilium rerum, non ita coniuncti, connexi tamen aptique inter se unitate fidei

¹ Marc. xvi. 15.

² Luc. xxii. 32.

³ II. Petr. iii. 16.

⁴ Adv. Haer. lib. iii.

⁵ Adv. Haer. lib. iv.

mirabili tenentur, minime est dubium quin huius praecipue magisterii virtute et ope teneantur.

Scotorum nobiscum de fide dissidentium complures quidem Christi nomen ex animo diligunt, eiusque et disciplinam assequi et exempla sanctissima persequi imitando nituntur. At qui mente qui animo unquam adipisci poterunt quod laborant, nisi erudiri sese atque ali ad caelestia eâ ratione et via patiantur, qua Christus ipse constituit? nisi dicto audientes Ecclesiae sint, cui praecipienti ipse auctor fidei perinde obtemperari homines iussit ac sibi: 'Qui vos audit, me audit; qui vos spernit, me spernit?' nisi requirant alimenta pietatis virtutumque omnium ex eo, cui Pastor summus animarum vicario dedit esse sui muneris, universi gregis curâ concredita? Interea certum Nobis est Nostris non deesse partibus; imprimisque supplices contendere a Deo, ut inclinatis ad bonum mentibus velit potiora gratiae suae incitamenta adiicere. Atque utinam divina Nobis exorata benignitas hoc Ecclesiae matri solatium optatissimum largiatur, ut Scotus universos ad fidem avitam 'in spiritu et veritate' restitutos complecti leleriter queat. Quid non ipsis sperandum, reconciliata nobiscum concordia? Confestim effulgeret undique perfecta et absoluta veritas cum possessione bonorum maximorum, quae secessione interierant. Quibus in bonis longe excellit unum, quo miserrimum est carere: sacrificium sanctissimum dicimus, in quo Iesus Christus, sacerdos idem et victima, Patri suo se offert ipse quotidie, ministerio suorum in terris sacerdotum. Cuius virtute sacrificii infinita nobis Christi applicantur merita nimirum divino cruore parta, quem actus in crucem pro salute hominum semel effudit. Harum fides rerum florebat integra apud Scotos, quo tempore S. Columba mortale agebat aevum: itemque postea cum templa maxima passim excitarentur, quae maiorum vestrorum excellentiam et artis et pietatis posteritati testantur.

Necessitatem vero sacrificii vis ipsa et natura religionis continet. In hoc enim est summa divina cultus, agnoscere et revereri Deum ut supremum dominatorem rerum, cuius in potestate et nos et omnia nostra sunt. Iamvero non alia est ratio et causa sacrificii, quae propterea 'res divina' proprie nominatur: remotisque sacrificiis, nulla nec esse nec cogitari religio potest. Lege veteri non est lex inferior Evangelii: imo multo praestantior, quia id cumultate perfecit, quod illa inchoarat. Iamvero sacrificium in Cruce factum praesignificabant sacrificia in Testamento veteri usitata, multo ante quam Christus nas

ceretur : post eius ascensum in caelum, idem illud sacrificium sacrificio eucharistico continuatur. Itaque vehementer errant, qui hoc perinde respuunt, ac si veritatem virtutemque sacrificii deminuat, quod Christus, cruci suffixus, fecit ; ‘ semel oblatus ad multorum exhaurienda peccata.’¹ Omnino perfecta atque absoluta illa expiatio mortalium fuit nec ullo modo : altera, sed ipsa illa in sacrificio eucharistico inest. Quoniam enim sacrificalem ritum comitari in omne tempus religioni oportebat, divinissimum fuit Redemptoris consilium ut sacrificium semel in Cruce consummatum perpetuum et perenne fieret. Huius autem ratio perpetuitatis inest in sacratissima Eucharistia, quae non similitudinem inanem memoriamve tantum rei affert, sed veritatem ipsam, quamquam specie dissimili : proptereaque huius sacrificii efficientia sive ad impetrandum, sive ad expiandum, ex morte Christi tota fluit : ‘ Ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum, magnum est nomen meum in gentibus : et in omne loco sacrificatur, et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda : quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus.’²

Iam, quod reliquum est, ad eos qui catholicum nomen profitentur Nostra propius spectat oratio : idque ob eam causam, ut proposito Nostro prodesse aliquid opera sua velint. Studere, quoad quisque potest, proximorum saluti christiana caritas iubet. Quamobrem ab eis primum omnium petimus, ut huius rei gratia orare atque obsecrare Deum ne desinant, qui lumen efficax mentibus affundere, voluntatesque impellere quo velit, solus potest. Deinde, quia ac flectendos animos plurimum exempla possunt, dignos se ipsi praestent veritate, cuius divino munere sunt compotes ; ac bene moratae instituto vitae adiiciant commendationem fidei, quam profitentur : ‘ Luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona’ :³ unaque simul civilium exercitatione virtutum efficiant, ut illud quotidie magis appareat, religionem catholicam inimicam civitati, nisi per calumniam, traduci non posse : quin imo alia in re nulla plus reperiri ad dignitatem commodumque publicum praesidii.

Illud etiam magnopere expedit, tueri religiosissime, imo etiam stabilire firmiter, septamque omnibus praesidiis tenere catholicam adolescentis aetatis institutionem. Haud sane latet Nos, cupidae discendi iuventuti suppetere apud vos publice ludos probe instructos, in quibus certe optimam studiorum rationem non

¹ Hebr. ix. 28.² Mal. i. 11.³ Matth. v. 16.

requiras. Sed eniti atque efficere necesse est, ut domicilia litterarum catholica nulla in re concedant ceteris : neque enim est committendum, ut adolescentes nostri minus parati existant a litterarum seientia, ab elegantia doctrinae, quas res fides christiana honestissimas sibi comites ad tutelam et ornamentum exposcit. Postulat igitur religionis amor et patriae caritas, ut quaecumque catholici apte instituta habent vel primordiis litterisque, vel gravioribus disciplinis tradendis, ea constabilienda et agenda pro suis quisque facultatibus curent. Aequum est aut autem adiuvari praecipue eruditionem cultumque Cleri, qui non aliter suum hodie locum digne utiliterque tenere potest, quam si omni fere humanitatis et doctrinae laude floruerit. Quo in genere beneficentiae catholicorum studiosissime ad optulandum proponimus Collegium Blairsense. Opus saluberrimum, magno studio ac liberalitate inchoatum a pientissimo cive, ne patiantur intermissione collabi et interire, sed aemula munificentia in maius etiam provehant, ad fastigiumque celeriter perducant. Tanti enim id est, quanti providere ut ferme in Scotia sacer ordo rite congruenterque temporibus educi possit.

Haec omnia, Venerabiles Fratres, quae propensissimus in Scotos animus Nobis expressit, sic habete ut sollertiae potissimum caritatie vestrae commendata putetis. Porro eam navitatem, quam Nobis luculenter probastis adhuc, probare pergite, ut ista efficiantur quae non parum videntur proposito conducibilia. Perdifficilis sane caue causa est in manibus, ut professi saepe sumus, humanisque viribus ad expediendum maior ; sed longe sanctissima, conciliisque divinae bonitatis opprime congruens. Quare non tam difficultas rei Nos commovet, quam recreat ea cogitatio, vobis ad praescripta Nostra elaborantibus, Dei misericordis opem numquam ab futuram.

Auspicem caelestium munerum, et paternae Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, clero populoque vestro Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxv. Iulii, MDCCCXCVIII., Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

THE CHURCH OF ST. JOACHIM ENTRUSTED TO THE
REDEMPTORISTS

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM MOTU PROPRIO

Quum nonnullorum pietati placuisset, templum in Urbe Ioachimo patrono caelesti in oculis prope Nostris excitari, quod quinquagenariam cum sacerdotii tum etiam episcopatus Nostri memoriam posteritati proderet, consilium quidem hac de caussa volentes probavimus, quod pulchrum videbatur divinorum in Nos beneficiorum recordationem perenni monumento consecrari. Cui quidem consilio catholici homines tam prompto animo tamque alacri assensere, ut magnam pecuniae vim undique in eam rem, nulla interposita mora, contulerint. Luculentum istud amoris et obsequii testimonium eo libentiori voluntate complexi sumus, quod exstructum iri sciebamus opus in regione urbana ubi frequentior multitudo, sed pauciora in animorum salutem adiumenta. Admota igitur aedificationi manus; eaque animose adeo promota, ut spes inderetur fore brevi perficiendam. At, quod est omnibus cognitum, secus admodum ac speratum cessit, totiusque rei procuratio perperam perturbateque habita. Eapropter, ne catholicorum voluntas frustraretur, procurandi operis provinciam Venerabili Fratri Iosepho Mariae Costantini Archiepiscopo Patrensi interim demandavimus, atque Hippolytum Onesti sacerdotem templo regundo praefecimus; absolutionemque operis, unaque aes alienum quo premebatur, ad Nosmetipsos traduximus. Quia vero nunc placet rem stabili firmaque ratione constituere, ad Sodales a Sanctissimo Redemptore consilia convertimus. Novimus enim quae illi ab Alphonso patre legifero proposita acceperint: ut videlicet id solemne habeant sibiue proprium, studium omne in plebem intendere christianis moribus ac pietate excolendam. Hos igitur Sodales ad administrationem rectionemque Aedis Ioachimianae supra dictae designamus, ut in ea munia pietatis ac religionis omnia, ut moris est, exequantur. Sed id edicimus profitemurque, ipsam Ioachimianam Aedem, et quaecumque adiacent opera, iuris Nostri proprii et perpetui esse, ac Nostrorum in pontificatu Successorum. Quum autem in Ioachimiano templo, tamquam in sede principe, constitutum sodalitium sit Sacramento augusto perpetua adoratione colendo, ad inlatas praesertim Numini iniurias adprecando redimendas, illud his litteris Nostris, sicuti alias probavimus, ita confirmamus. Quocirca

rata esse volumus quae iam decrevimus per litteras in forma Brevis datas die VI mensis Martii anno MDCCCLXXXIII sacram indulgentiarum munera iis omnibus, qui ordini sodalium supra dicto dederint nomen. Quidquid autem potestatis Antonio Brugidou, dioecesis Lugdunensis sacerdoti, eiusdem sodalitii gratia, concessum fuit per litteras Apostolicas tum die VI mensis Martii anno MDCCCLXXXIII, tum die XXVII mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXC, tum die XXII mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXIII, prorsus abrogamus et in Alphonsianum Institutum transferimus. Erit vero auctoritatis Nostrae ex eiusdem Instituti religiosi viris unum legere, cui totius rei curam committamus ad normam legum, quas opportune Nos perlaturos iampridem professi fuimus in litteris supra dictis. Haec statuimus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XX Iulii MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII,

ST. SABINUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR

CONFIRMATIONIS CULTUS AB IMMORABILI TEMPORE PRAESTITI
SERVO DEI SABINO EPISCOPO ET MARTYRI ET QUARUMDAM
PAROECIARUM PATRONO.

Eo temporis spatio, quo Saraceni, Abderamano Duce, Aquitaniam vastabant, ab anno nempe 728 ad annum 732, quantum conicere licet, Sabinus Episcopus pro Christo vitam oppetiit. De eius ortu ac vitae gestis vix extat memoria, plurima tamen monumenta collecta reperiuntur sive antiqua sive recentiora constanti traditione firmata, quae Servi Dei episcopalem dignitatem, pontificiam missionem, gloriosum martyrium, sanctitatis famam ac praecipue publicum ecclesiasticum cultum eidem ab obitu ad haec usque tempora exhibitum ostendunt. Ex his constat Sabinum procerum diversum ab aliis eiusdem nominis sive Laveticano, sive Pictaviensi, sive Spoletano ceterisque quorum elogium leguntur in Martyrologio Romano, italum Episcopum apostolicis virtutibus ornatum a Romano Pontifice electum et missum fuisse in Hispaniam et Galliam ut Saracenis per ea loca degentibus Christi fidem nuntiaret. Eiectus ab Auscis penes quos munus apostolicum multo animarum lucro persolvebat, per Péquilha, trajecto rivo, ad sylvam Scande-Caprae pervenit, ibique in ipso primo pro religione certamine ab eth-

nicis in odium fidei interfectus fuit. Memoriae proditum est, S. Sabini nomine statim dedicata fuisse ea loca : atque etiam pristinum martyrii loco proximum. Corpus vero Servi Dei ab eum comitantibus susceptum ac in sepulcro marmoreo humi infosso clam repositum tandiu delituit quandiu, saracenis ab illa regione expulsis, mirifice detectum fuit. Namque taurus fugitivus, tintinnabulis eius collo appensis sonantibus, repertus est mugiens et cruribus complicatis terram lambens ubi idem corpus quiescebat. Eo in loco statim exstructum fuit in honorem Servi Dei sacellum exiguum cui deinceps alterum maius substitutum est cum aedificio pro sacerdotibus in sacrum ipsius sacelli ministerium commorantibus. Documenta longe anteriora aevo Urbaniano S. Sabini nomen territorio sacello sive ecclesiae, et confraternitati inditum commemorant, atque etiam referunt ipsius Festum die 10 Iunii quotannis recolendum, statutis ea ipsa die tum nundinis ad maiorem celebritatem et populi frequentiam, tum oblationibus fidelium ad cultum S. Sabino sacerdotum ministerio servandum. Recentiora vero documenta docent indulgentias a sa. me. Paulo V concessas confratribus aliisque visitantibus sacellum eiusdem Sancti et solemnem supplicationem, ex voto pro gratiarum actione, singulis annis peragendam in civitate Cazères in honorem ipsius Servi Dei cui omnium ordinum cives a contagiosa lue liberationem, sicut S. Rocho et S. Francisco Assisiensi, tribuebant. Praedictum sacellum seu ecclesiam S. Sabini nomine ac reliquiis decoratam nefarii homines in commotione gallica anno 1792 polluerunt ac destruxerunt, hisce tamen sacris pignoribus pepercerunt quae sub ruderibus tecta iacuerunt donec anno 1796 effossa, inventa sunt in parva capsula, e quercu, sera obserata sigillisque obsignata cum recognitione rite facta anno 1780 a Patre Raymundo. Eadem statim cuidam christianae familiae custodienda tradita sunt et septem post annos, rogantibus incolis Scande-Caprae, iussu et auctoritate Archiepiscopi Tolosani, die 15 Augusti in Festo Assumptionis B. M. Virginis, e domo privata in ecclesiam parochialem translata fuere. Ibi prope altare maius collocata et fidelium venerationi proposita per quinquaginta annos permanserunt. Nam vertente anno 1853, aedes S. Sabino sacra fidelium pietate ac sumptibus rursus erecta et rite benedicta venerandas exuvias festiva solemnitate recepit, adstante clero et populo : et mane, sacro peracto et communione pluribus centenis fidelium distributa ; post meridiem celebratis vespers et

sermone habito in laudem Servi Dei. Supradictus cultus immemorialis Sabino Episcopo et Martyri praestitus atque e dioecesi Convenarum, anno 1801 suppressa, ad alias quoque dioeceses, annuentibus Episcopis, propagatus, nondum ab Apostolica Sede per decretum Sacrae Rituum Congregationis recognitus ac probatus fuerat. Hoc tamen erat in votis omnium S. Sabini cultorum, quibus libenter obsecundans Cardinalis Florianus Desprez Archiepiscopus Tolosanus, per iudicem delegatum, inquisitione ordinaria absoluta, super praedicto cultu immemorabili sententiam protulit affirmativam. Causa vero ad Sacram Rituum Congregationem delata, instante Rmo. P. Vincentio Ligiez Ordinis Praedicatorum, ipsius causae Postulatore, nomine etiam hodierni Rmi Dni Archiepiscopi Tolosani, attentisque Litteris Postulatoriis Emi Card. Archiepiscopi Burdigalensis et plurium sacrorum Antistitum, Etnus et Rmus Dnus Cardinalis Caietanus Aloisi Masella, eiusdem Causae Relator, in ordinario Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis conventu, subsignata die, ad Vaticanum habito, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit: ‘An sententia iudicis delegati ab Emo et Rmo Dno Card. Archiepiscopo Tolosano super cultu praefato Servo Dei ab immemorabili tempore praestito, seu super casu excepto a Decretis sa. me. Urbani Papae VIII sit confirmanda in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?’ Porro Emi et Rmi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praeposita, post relationem ipsius Emi Ponentis, audito etiam R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuerunt: ‘Affirmative seu sententiam esse confirmandam.’ Die 7 Decembris 1897.

Quibus omnibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatis, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit die undecima iisdem mense et anno.

CAMILLUS CARD. MAZELLA, *S. R. C., Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. B. C. Secret.*

QUESTION OF BINATION

EX SC. CONCILII DUBIA QUOAD MISSAE BINATIONEM

Emi Patres : Post Benedictinam Constitutionem *Declarasti Nobis*, communis esse videtur theologorum sententia, qua necessitatis casus ad Missam eodendie iterandam is in praxi reputetur, quo presbyter duas paroecias habet in alterutram nequeat populus convenire, nec alius praesto sit sacerdos, praeter parochum, qui Missam valeat celebrare.

Nec absimilis ad hunc effectum reputatur etiam casus, quo parochus, etsi minime praesit duabus paroeciis, vel duos regat populos adeo inter se dissitos, ut alter ipsorum parrocho celebranti nullatenus adstare valeat ob maximam locorum distantiam, vel tametsi una tantum sit ecclesia in qua Missa a parrocho iteranda sit, universus, tamen populus in ea simul adesse non possit.

Nunc autem, cum ad Malacitanam sedem nuper translatus fuisssem, consuetudinem inveni, vi cuius aliqui sacerdotes diebus festis his Sacrum conficiunt : semel in ecclesia cuiusdam civitatis, ubi et alii adsunt sacerdotes, et diversa sacra templa, paroeciae, et sanctimonialium monasteria erecta inveniuntur ; et iterum in oratorio suburbano vel rurali.

Item, aliquis sacerdos rem divinam iterato facit vel in eadem civitate, et fortasse in ipsamet ecclesia in qua etiam alter celebrat sacerdos.

Pro huius binationis causa adducitur paucitas sacerdotum ; convenientia distinctae celebrationis horis distinctis, ut commoditati fidelium fiat satis ; nec non et necessitas celebrandi Missam parochialem in paroeciis, et conventualem in monasteriis.

Cum igitur de huius agendi rationis liceitate dubitem, ad hanc Sacram Congregationem confugio, dubiaque mea et postulationes admodum reverenter exponam :

I. An liceat Episcopo licentiam binandi concedere presbytero unam Missam celebranti in oratorio suburbano vel rurali, aliam vero in civitate vel loco ubi etiam adsint alii sacerdotes Sacrum facientes ?

II. An liceat huiusmodi licentiam concedere presbytero ambas Missas celebraturo in diversis ecclesiis eiusdem civitatis vel loci, in quo et alii sacerdotes celebrant et hoc etiam si una ex missis celebranda sit in ipsa ecclesia in qua et alius sacerdos sacrosanctum Sacrificium eadem die litat ?

III. An expediat Episcopo Oratori ob expositas rationes et allatas causas huiusmodi licentiam et agendi rationem confirmare : et etiam ad similes casus, in aliis locis et civitatibus suae dioecesis, prout necessitas expostulet, extendere ?

Haec dum ab hac S. C. cum debita reverentia expostulo, et quaero, Emtiis VV. cuncta fausta et prospera in Domino appropinquor
Malacae, die 25 Aprilis anni 1897.

IOANNES, EPISCOPUS MALACITANUS.

Responsio S. Congregationis. Rme Dnc. Relatis in S. C. Concilii postulatis a te propositis in litteris die in 25 Aprilis p. p. circa facultatem binandi, Emti Patres rescribendum censurunt :
‘ Ad 1, 2, et 3 : Non licere ; et Ordinarius, quatenus in aliquo ex enunciatis casibus necessarium iudicet ut Sacrum iteretur, recurrat ad Apostolicam Sedem. Idque notificari mandarunt, prout per praesentes exequor Amplitudini Tuae, cui me profiteor.

Romae, 10 Maii 1897.

Uti fratrem :

A. CARD. DI PIETRO, *Praefectus*.

B. ARCHIEP. NAZIANZEN, *Pro-Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MEDITATIONS ON THE SACRED PASSION OF OUR LORD.

By Cardinal Wiseman. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd.;
New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE authorship of these meditations carries with it the mark and seal of their genuine worth. In the wide and varied range of subjects which his wonderfully versatile genius touched Cardinal Wiseman embellished everything that bore the impress of his hands. To say anything, then, of a critical nature, about the neat volume before us, would be a work of supererogation.

The Sacred Passion has ever supplied the saints with the staple food for their daily meditations, and with the most potent incentives to the practice of the highest forms of holiness. It was in this school that the seraphic Francis penetrated the depths of God's love, and the devout Bernard learned with raptures of the immensity of the priceless benefits of Redemption. Here, too, where the very spirit of the place is love without measure, we may grow reconciled to the yoke of the Lord, and realize what these sufferings teach us: how really light after all is the burden of the cross when compared with the reward that will crown the labours of the well-spent day. Pious souls love to tread the *Via Dolorosa*. But the joy and consolation which such ordinarily derive from lingering over the cruel loneliness of Gethsemani, and the utter abandonment of Calvary, will be here intensified and enhanced a hundred-fold by the charming freshness of the author's style, and the attractive beauty of his thoughts.

Some of these meditations were published before, but most of them are now brought out for the first time, and we cannot but feel that the publication of them all in the present shape is very opportune at a time when we have been just favoured with a brilliantly written biography of the great Cardinal.

As indicated at the head of this notice the volume is published by Burns & Oates. It has also a preface from the pen of Cardinal Vaughan.

P. M.

ILLUSTRATED EXPLANATION OF THE PRAYERS AND CEREMONIES OF THE MASS. By Rev. D. J. Lanslots, O.S.B. With a Preface, by Most Rev. F. Janssens, D.D., Archbishop of New Orleans. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

A BOOK like the present has a wide province of usefulness. It would aid considerably the devotion with which the faithful assist at the celebration of the Divine Mysteries if they understood the meaning and symbolical significance of the different prayers, vestments, ceremonies, and other things employed around the altar, while it would teach both those within the Church and those without it, what useful and even necessary function the external rites of the Church fulfil in the administration of the Sacraments, and in the solemnities of public worship. Sensible things enable us to realize the inward beauty, and grandeur, and sublimity of the august and hallowed Majesty of God. '*Invisibilia enim Ipsius, per ea quae facta sunt intellecta, conspiciuntur.*' Now this is what the book under notice purports to effect, and what, to a great extent, it has succeeded in effecting.

In a homely way Father Lanslots explains to us the import of the altar and its decorations, the vestments and their different colours, the liturgical language of the Mass itself, and its various parts, from the beginning by the initial psalm to the final thanksgiving. We are confident this carefully prepared volume will tend to enkindle in those who read it an intense depth of devotion to the great Sacrifice of the New Law; make clear to them many things which before, perhaps, they did not fully understand in connection with this important branch of the Church's ceremonial, and render more and more praiseworthy before God their efforts at devoutly assisting at the oblation at the altar of the Immaculate Lamb.

P. J. B.

COMPLETE BENEDICTION MANUAL. Edited by A. E. Tozer. London: W. C. Cary, and Co., 231 Oxford-street.

WE are always glad to welcome anything that will promote the desire for music which shall be at once musical, the best of its kind, and suitable for its purpose. These conditions are fulfilled in the book now under notice in a manner, as far as we

are aware, never before attempted. Selections for the *O Salutaris*, *Tantum Ergo*, *Adoremus*, and the Litany of Loretto have been made from the liturgical plain chant melodies (harmonized with excellent taste in a true ecclesiastical spirit), and from various composers who have written since figured music began to be used down to the present day. Varying degrees of difficulty are to be met with, as are varying styles in composition, but this eclecticism rather than being a drawback is an advantage in a work which is intended for all classes of persons. Space prevents us from giving any details from the book ; they are best ascertained by personal inspection of it. Where so very much that is excellent, and where such care in arrangement, selection, and presentation have been exercised both by editor and publishers it is ungracious to be captious ; we therefore confine ourselves to the hope that the few and unimportant ‘slips’ which we have noticed and which are evidently due to hurried proof-reading may be amended in a future edition. We think that the book would be improved by the insertion of a few other things such as the *Te Deum*, which is from time to time ordered to be sung during Exposition. The Manual is admirably brought out in every particular, and is a credit to the enterprising publishers who have made so spirited a venture. We cordially commend it to our readers.

LIFE OF DON BOSCO. Founder of the Salesian Society, Translated from the French of J. M. Villefranche, by Lady Martin. Third Edition. London : Burns & Oates, 1898.

THIS is the third edition of a most instructive and useful biographical sketch of Don Bosco. The first edition was duly noticed in the I. E. RECORD some years ago and we now gladly welcome this third edition. Unquestionably, problems relating to the education and material support of the very poor present themselves for solution to the Irish clergy in every town and district throughout the country, and whilst the conditions of climate, habits and surroundings differ according to different countries every priest amongst us is sure to find suggestive information, and most helpful encouragement in this little volume. Organized charity is the most fruitful and characteristic outcome of Christian philanthropy, and its most prominent apostles in recent times have

been Adolf Kolping in Germany, Don Bosco and the Venerable Cottolengo in Italy. These are days of combination and of organized effort in every serious movement in the world, and those whose profession it is to help the poor and the afflicted will be glad to study the methods that have been pursued by the most successful apostles of charity in other countries. In Lady Martin's excellent translation of the *Life of Don Bosco* they will find much to instruct them and spur them on to greater efforts.

J. F. H.

DE DEO UNO, DE DEO CREATORE, DE GRATIA. Auctore J. McGuinness, C.M., In Collegio Hibernorum Parisiensi Theologiae Professore. Parisiis—5, Via dicta des Irlandais 5 ; Dublini—M. H. Gill and Son.

LAST year we had the pleasure of introducing to our readers another volume of this admirable course of theology. The author did not then attach his name to his work. Now, however, that success has crowned his efforts, Fr. McGuinness has thought it well to give his name to the public in this new volume. In this he is wise, because, good and useful as the other volume was, the present volume surpasses it in many ways. It would be a pity that such an excellent work should go forth on the world without the protection of its author's name.

As the title indicates, the tracts, *De Deo Uno*, *De Deo Creatore*, and *De Gratia* find a place in the volume before us. No doubt it was necessity, arising from class-work, that compelled Fr. McGuinness to give *De Gratia* the position which it now holds. When the whole course will be published we hope he will remove this tract from a place where it necessarily will separate *De Deo Uno* and *De Deo Creatore* from *De Deo Trino* and *De Verbo Incarnato*, and place it in its natural position before sacramental theology, to the elucidation of which it gives so much assistance.

Though this change in the order of tracts would be an improvement the order observed in the individual tracts, and in the particular questions of the tract in themselves we deem worthy of praise. The clearness of language which pervades the whole book added to this excellent order must render the work very valuable for the hard-worked student of theology who has frequently, unfortunately, to devote more labour to find out what his author means than the limited time at his disposal allows.

Besides admirable order and exceptional clearness the work is endowed with a completeness sufficient for the ordinary student of theology. To this we make one or two exceptions. The author in speaking of the existence of God discusses it from a purely theological point of view. He supposes that the student already knows from his philosophy the philosophical proofs for God's existence. No doubt students have studied these proofs in philosophy. We fear, however, that frequently the full force of the arguments does not strike the student of philosophy. Moreover, when he comes to a study of theology, he has often forgotten this most necessary portion of his training. For these reasons we think it extremely useful to give in a work on *De Deo*, the philosophical proofs for God's existence. Another exception is that interesting subject of the origin of man and living creatures generally. Though Fr. McGuinness gives the essentials in the many questions connected with this subject a fuller exposition of them would not be out of place in these days of scientific speculation.

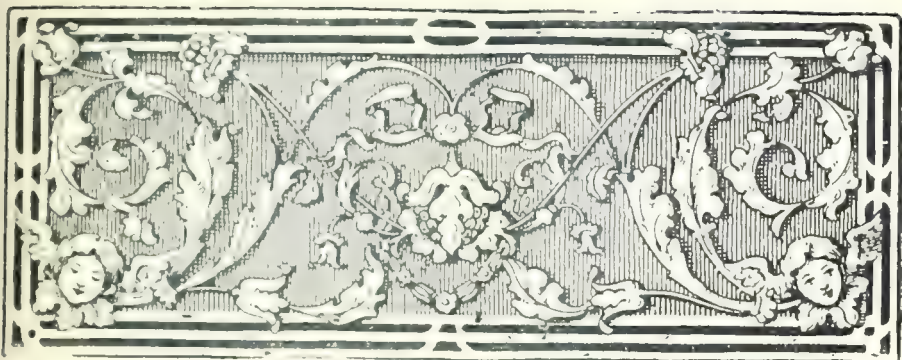
Finally, we express the hope that many of our clerical readers, priests and students, will avail themselves of the opportunity which Fr. McGuinness has given them of reading in a clear, convincing work the truths of holy religion. We hope, too, that Fr. McGuinness will soon complete the work which he has so ably begun.

J. M. H.

MARIOLATRY: NEW PHASES OF AN OLD FALLACY. By Rev. H. G. Ganss. Notre Dame, Indiana. Ave Maria Press.

We are glad to welcome a good book from the other side of the Atlantic, and we are decidedly of opinion that few more useful or practical works have come to us from America than the modest booklet which bears the above title. Indeed it covers practically the whole ground of the controversy with Protestants regarding the privileges of the Blessed Virgin. It is a learned, and well-reasoned, although unpretentious pamphlet. It will be most useful to all priests who have to deal with Protestants who show an inclination to join the Catholic Church, or honestly to examine her teaching on a question so often decided by prejudice and passion. We sincerely hope that this excellent treatise reprinted from the *Ave Maria* will have a wide circulation in the old Continent as well as in the new.

J. F. H.



AN EARLY TYPE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

THE fathers of the Church and other devout commentators on Holy Scripture, interpreting the teaching of the Old Testament by that of the New, see in the illustrious men of whom those sacred pages tell, prophetic types of the MAN, *par excellence*—the promised Redeemer of a fallen race. In like manner, they find portrayed in the persons of the renowned women whose special qualities and noble deeds are there related, the foreshadowing of the features of the life of her who was destined to be indissolubly united with the Messiah in His work of redemption—His Virgin mother.

It is not necessary to dwell here upon the principles which lie at the root of such interpretations of Scripture; suffice it to say that as the prophecy of the Redeemer was linked with that of 'the woman' who was to bring Him into the world, it is but natural to expect a similar foreshadowing of each in the types of persons of either sex delineated in the pages of Holy Writ.

One of these female types prefigures in such a remarkable way one of the characteristics of our Lady, that it seems well to draw out in some detail the information gleaned from Holy Scripture concerning her, and to show in what manner her prophetic actions met their fulfilment in the earthly life of the Mother of God, and in the influence she exercises on the souls of her servants.

The woman referred to is a very striking figure in
FOURTH SERIES, VOL. IV.—OCTOBER, 1898.

the history of the Jewish race. Mary, 'the prophetess,' the sister of Moses and Aaron, appears in the narration of the events which befell the chosen people, in connection with the most stupendous occurrence which that history has to relate. The scene in which she appears as one of the most prominent figures is one of thrilling interest.

The stretch of white sands on the eastern shore of that arm of the Red Sea which moderns call the Gulf of Suez, is crowded by the thousands upon thousands of Israelites whom Moses has led out from a long enduring slavery under Egyptian tyrants. Behind them is a wide extent of sandy and rocky plain, stretching as far as the eye can reach, bounded by distant mountains which rise gaunt and bare from the horizon. Over the wide gulf of intense blue water, lofty peaks of gleaming limestone shine silvery in the light of dawning day. Beyond them, hidden from view, lies Egypt with its giant temples, fair cities, and luxuriant plains. The dark waters which almost wash the base of those mountains, are dashing in tumultuous fury upon the shore, and on those tempestuous waves are being tossed in air and flung upon the strand—as though they were but so many flakes of foam—the bodies of men and horses and the wreckage of war-chariots. The proud warriors of the proud Pharaoh—the monarch himself at their head—like autumn leaves driven before the wind have been swept into the depths and tossed up again upon the shore, as examples for all time of the victims of the anger of an outraged God.

Jehovah has rescued His people from captivity, and by His mighty arm has overthrown their enemies; He has made for His chosen ones a path through the mighty waters, and overwhelmed the strength of Egypt in the depths of the sea. As they realize the immensity of the favour they have received, the warriors of Israel, led by Moses, lift up their voices in a magnificent canticle of praise and thanksgiving. 'Let us sing to the Lord,' they cry, 'for He is gloriously magnified; the horse and his rider He hath thrown into the sea.'¹

¹ Exodus xv. 1.

Then, as if in emulation, rises a chorus of women's voices chanting the like refrain. The clashing music of the timbrels¹ wakes the echoes of the rocky shore, as Mary, the sister of Aaron, leads the song of praise: 'Let us sing to the Lord, for He is gloriously magnified,' again rises upon the morning breeze.²

Who, then, is this 'prophetess' who leads the choir of her sisters as though by right of office? Scripture tells us but little of the circumstances of her life; but still we are able to gather enough for our purpose. She first appears in the form of youthful guardian to her brother, the new-born Moses. The decree has gone forth from the jealous Pharaoh that these alien Hebrews must be weakened, lest they prove too strong for him; their male children are to be systematically destroyed. Moses is saved through his sister's watchful care, and Pharaoh's own daughter, who has discovered the infant hidden in the sedges, adopts him for her own.³ Nothing more is heard of Mary until she is mentioned in connection with the scene above described. It is a remarkable fact that she is spoken of as the 'sister of Aaron,' and never designated in Holy Scripture as the wife of any man. St. Gregory of Nyssa argues from this that she remained unmarried to the end of her life—unlike the generality of Jewish women.⁴ St. Ambrose shares in this opinion, for he says of this renowned woman: 'Mary, seizing her timbrel, with virginal modesty led the choirs.'⁵ It must be borne in mind that this holy woman was senior to her brother Moses. This is clear from the fact that she was his guardian in infancy; for although her name is not mentioned in the account given of the child's rescue, yet from the genealogical table in Numbers xxvi. 59, we gather that she was the only

¹ The timbrel, now known *asaf*, still lends its accompaniment to the songs of the women of Palestine. It is a small hoop covered with parchment, which is beaten by the hand. Round the hoop are plates of metal which give forth a ringing sound. It somewhat resembles the modern tambourine.

² Exodus xv. 21.

³ Exodus ii. 10.

⁴ *De Virginitate*, cap. xix.

⁵ *Exhort. ad Virg.*, lib. 1.

daughter of the family. If, then, she was still unmarried at the advanced age at which she is presented to our view in this scene by the Red Sea, the view of the authorities quoted regarding her perpetual virginity—a view held by many other sound interpreters of Scripture—seems worthy of all credence.

And who, it may be asked, were the women who joined Mary in her song of praise? Doubtless, they were the whole company of Israelite women, mothers as well as maidens. Yet it is certain that among them were many who, later on, were to devote themselves in a special way to God's service by a life of prayer and praise, and of labour for His sanctuary. For among the people of Israel there were holy souls who foreshadowed the consecrated virgins of Christian ages. Such were those 'women who watched at the door of the tabernacle,' who gave to Moses their mirrors—type of their discarded vanities—to be fashioned into the great brazen laver for the ceremonial purifications of the priests.¹ Such, again, were those 'virgins that were shut up,' who joined in the general supplications when the Temple was threatened with profanation under the high-priest Onias.² It cannot be affirmed with any degree of certainty that these holy women were consecrated to virginity, since that virtue was less prized by the people of God under the old dispensation than it is now that our Lord has proclaimed its glory; still there were not wanting, even under the law, men who cherished and preserved perpetual continency—Elias, Eliseus, Jeremias, and others, and it may well be believed that some few, at least of the other sex, were to be found to emulate the example of Mary, the sister of Moses, in a complete dedication of themselves to God. In any case, it seems certain, as some noted commentators affirm, that many maidens devoted themselves, for some years of their life at least, to a life of chastity and retirement.

Mary stands before us in the Old Testament as the leader

¹ Exodus xxxviii. 8.

² 2. Machabees iii. 19.

of the women of her people in the offering of praise to God; meriting by her action the encomium of Holy Writ, which links her with her illustrious brothers in the work of the liberation of God's people. 'For I brought thee up out of the land of Egypt, and delivered thee out of the house of slaves; and I sent before thy face Moses and Aaron and Mary.'¹ We are free, moreover, to believe that she was also their exemplar in a life wholly consecrated to God and to His service. It is under these two aspects that she shines out so vividly as the type of that far greater Mary who was to come after her.

Two thousand years have rolled by, and another scene opens before us. It is the Temple of Jerusalem—that renowned third Temple whose glory was foretold by the prophet as greater than that of Solomon's. A magnificent work of art it is. Its vast square of 750 feet is surrounded by splendid colonnades of marble pillars, and its pavement is of many-coloured marbles. Approached by twelve marble steps is the principal entrance to the first of the inner courts—that of the women; it is filled by massive gates of dazzling brass, splendidly wrought, which have gained for it the title of the 'Beautiful Gate.'² Those gates stand wide open all the day, for it needs the united strength of at least twenty Levites to roll them on their huge hinges.

It is a day in late autumn. The courts are crowded, as they ever are, with worshippers from the length and breadth of the land. Among the throng, unnoticed by any, enter a group of travellers from the north. Foremost among them is an aged man of gracious mien; his wife, also advanced in years, yet still beautiful, walks by his side. In her arms that aged matron bears a lovely child of three years. They pass through the court of the women and come to the foot of the fifteen steps leading to the brazen gates, beyond which, in the court of the priests, stands the great altar of holocausts. Here they pause.

Lowly as these worshippers appear, they are of no mean account. Joachim and Anna have come from Nazareth to

¹ Micahs vi. 4.

² Acts iii. 2.

give back into God's keeping their hearts' treasure, their little daughter, that she may grow up to maidenhood, as so many before her have done, in the shadow of the sanctuary. Not one among that crowd recognises the dignity of that babe. She is the holiest being ever yet seen within the Temple precincts—that Temple destined to be honoured in a few more years by the presence of its Lord, who will be borne there in the arms of the Virgin Mother, who now enters it for the first time, herself an infant.

What joy must needs fill the hearts of those happy parents as they stand once more in the 'courts of the Lord's house,' while the throng of worshippers press round them, and the smoke of never-ceasing sacrifices ascends to heaven. The time has come to make their offering. They prepare to ascend with their companions to the great gate of Nicanor, where Joachim is to present his oblation for sacrifice. The little maiden has been clinging in modest shyness to her mother's robe, when lo! to the amazement of her parents, she gravely advances, and, without help, climbs the wide steps to where the priest stands in the open gateway, voluntarily offering the fully complete sacrifice of herself which Joachim and Anna had but initiated.

The type portrayed by the sister of Moses is here fulfilled. This little child, like the first Mary, has passed through the sea dry-shod. The dark waves of original sin, which engulfed every other child of Adam, rolled back from the soul of Mary the daughter of Joachim and Anna. 'Hitherto thou shalt come and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves,'¹ said the divine decree; Mary alone, of all God's creatures, was preserved immaculate in her conception, because of her destined office. The Creator of the universe, the God who made the sea and the dry land, who holds in His hand the life of every breathing thing, was to be born of her, to be hushed to sleep upon her bosom, to be nourished and tended with all a mother's loving care.

The song of joy and praise which Moses intoned for the

¹ Job iv. xxxvii.

men of Israel, on the Red Sea shore, was continued through the ages that followed in the worship of the Tabernacle and Temple. Morning and evening after the solemn sacrifice of incense the voices of the Levites were raised in melodious song in the words of the special psalm appointed for each day. That tribute of praise from the men of the sanctuary had already been made on that Autumn morning; our Lady was presented to God through His representative; and now, like Mary of old, the tender little maiden is about to lift up, in her turn, the song of thanksgiving for God's great mercies. No human ear can catch the melody, but angels rejoice as its tones reach to heaven. Deep down in the heart of that little child it rings. The mystic hymn which only the 'hundred and forty-four thousand' are permitted to sing; 'for they are virgins,' and 'follow the Lamb.'¹ As the tradition of the Church teaches, Mary at that sublime moment of her presentation consecrated herself irrevocably to God by a vow of virginity. Thus does she lead, like the sister of Moses, the choirs of virgins; for since that day chastity has flourished with new life.

'After her shall virgins be brought to the king.'² The Church applies the words to our Lady on her feasts. Ever since the day when Mary intoned that 'new canticle' on the steps of the Temple it has been ringing throughout the world: wherever cloistered nuns devote themselves to the celebration of the daily solemn praise of God in the Divine office, or active orders of religious women, 'making melody in their hearts,' sacrifice themselves for their neighbour by the exercise of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, its notes resound. It is the same song in the hearts of all, a canticle of joy and triumph that they have been led out from Egyptian bondage to follow the guidance of the pillar of fire, which manifests to each soul its divine vocation, towards the Promised Land which awaits them beyond the desert of this earthly life.

The presentation of Mary has been made; Joachim and Anna take leave of their beloved one, and set out on their

¹ Apoc. xlv. 1.

² Psalm xlv. 15.

return journey to Nazareth. The little maiden is given in charge to one of the holy women who, dwelling near the Temple precincts, make it their sacred duty to take care of the *almas*, or virgins who are being educated under the shadow of the sanctuary. Like the Hebrew women of old, perhaps too like her namesake Mary, whose delight it was to watch 'at the door of the Tabernacle,' she also will spend many years of her life close to the house of God, and will, in a manner, dedicate herself to its service. She will assist at the celebrations in the Temple from the special part of the court of the women reserved for the *almas*; she will study the Sacred Scriptures under priestly guidance, and will join her companions in embroidering the vestments of the priests, and in the preparation of other adornments befitting the sacred courts.

Thus in prayer and contemplation, in constant communion with God and His angels, in active work for the glory of her Maker, does Mary fulfil the types of the ancient dispensation; while she becomes, in her turn, the exemplar of the consecrated virgins of Christian ages, as she portrays in her earthly life every perfection which their exalted state demands.

MICHAEL BARRETT, O.S.B.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GERALD GRIFFIN

Knowing that nature never doth betray
The heart that loves her.

P. B. SHELLY.

THE following reflections on some characteristics of Gerald Griffin's writings, were suggested by a view of the scenery and localities so vividly described in *The Collegians*, and occurred to the writer during appointed intervals of relaxation from more serious thoughts and occupations, and whilst enjoying the privilege of a few days' retirement in a holy abode in 'the city of the violated treaty.' From the windows overlooking the spacious grounds and gardens, some acres in extent, surrounding a magnificent church and monastery in Limerick, there are fine views of the neighbouring County Clare, of the hills of Cratloe, of upland, wood, and meadow, sloping lawn, and cultured lea, thickly dotted with manor and villa, cottage and farmstead, peeping from the midst of groves of elm and ash, and oak and fir, in whose sheltering arms they nestle cozily along the banks of the lordly Shannon, that—

River of billows to whose mighty heart
The tide-wave rushes of the Atlantic's sea.¹

The scenery around his own home and his native hills and plains was, indeed, the best and purest inspiration of *The Colleen Bawn* and of *Mat Hyland*; the many beauties of hill and dale, of copse and woodland, through which his own majestic river winds its devious course to ocean, being well calculated to foster and intensify his true and ardent love for the mighty mother. To this innate love of nature are due the reality and unexaggerated tone of his sketches, and his faithful portrayal of her workings, whether in scenes of calm or storm, of sunshine or gloom, on her own bosom, or in the dark, conflicting passions of the human heart.

In the charming *Life of Gerald Griffin*, by his brother,

¹ Aubrey de Vere.

we read the following, under the heading of 'Gerald's love of nature and reality':—

Let me warn you [he says to a young writer, who had placed some of his productions before him], let me warn you of one carelessness. You jump over a description by saying: 'Such a thing was very picturesque.' You should not say that at all. Describe the picture, landscape, or whatever it is; tell how it was, and combine the parts, so as to leave it to the readers to say: 'That must have been very picturesque.'

And he goes on to say:—

As to his own [Gerald's] writings, there was an unexaggerated tone of colouring in all his sketches whether of place or character, that made them come home to the reader's mind with the full authority of truth; and his thorough mastery of all the keys of human nature in a more obscure and secluded walk—that of the affections and emotions of the heart and spirit—has rarely, I think, been surpassed. A remarkable instance of this is given in *The Collegians*, where he is describing the effect upon Hardress Cregan's mind of the first ball he has ever been at, and where he mentions a number of little circumstances which had a tendency to exact and strengthen every impression on it. 'The perfumed air of the room, the loftiness of the ceiling, the festooning of the draperies above the windows; the occasional pauses and changes in the music; all contributed to raise his mind into a condition of peculiar, and exquisite enthusiasm, which made it susceptible of deep, dangerous, and indelible impressions.' A passage of a remarkably similar character occurs in Dante, where he is first ascending the mountain:—

So that with joyous hope
All things conspired to fill me—the gay sky
Of that swift animal, the matin dawn,
And the sweet season.

The view before us proves the truth of what his brother says about the natural, unexaggerated tone of Gerald's landscape sketches. It recalls, almost in each detail, the scene so vividly sketched in the third chapter of *The Collegians*, that on which the Daly family looked from the windows of their breakfast room:—

The windows of the room (in which the family group were assembled for breakfast) which were thrown up for the purpose of admitting the fresh morning air, opened upon a trim and sloping meadow, that looked sunny and cheerful with the bright green after-grass of the season. The broad and sheety river

washed the very margin of the little field, and bore upon its quiet bosom (which was only ruffled by the circling eddies that encountered the advancing tide) a variety of craft such as might be supposed to indicate the approach to a large commercial city. Majestic vessels floating idly on the basined flood, with sails half furled, in keeping with the languid beauty of the scene :—lighters burdened to the water's edge with bricks or sand ; large rafts of timber, borne onward towards the neighbouring quays under the guidance of a shipman's boathook, pleasure boats with gaudy pennons hanging from peak and topmast, or turf-boats with their unpicturesque and ungraceful lading, moving sluggishly forward, while their black sails seemed gasping for a breath of air to fill them ; such were the incidents that gave a gentle animation to the prospect immediately before the eyes of the cottage dwellers. On the farther side of the river arose the Cratloe Hills, shadowed in various places by a broken cloud, and rendered beautiful by the chequered appearance of the ripening tillage, and the variety of hues that were observable along their wooded sides. At intervals, the front of a handsome mansion brightened up in a passing gleam of sunshine, while the wreaths of blue smoke ascending at various distances from amongst the trees, tended to relieve the idea of extreme solitude which it would otherwise have presented.

The counterpart of this exquisite sketch is found in the last chapter of the same novel, and is equally fine. The reflections which he makes in the closing sentences are true, profound, and well expressed, proving his intimate knowledge of the association of inanimate nature with human feelings and emotions ; he is always opportunely mindful of the effects of scenery, especially of old familiar scenery on these emotions and feelings, according as they touch at the moment the chords of grief or gladness.

The scene described in the closing chapter meets the eyes of the unhappy Hardress, whilst he is waiting to set foot on the convict ship, which, in mercy to the wretched culprit, is to be his death-bed :—

He looked to the misty hills of Cratloe, to the yet silent and inactive city, and over the face of the gently-agitated waters. The fresh, cool light of the morning only partially revealed the scene ; but the veil that rested on the face of Nature became more attenuated every instant, and the aerial perspective acquired by rapid, yet imperceptible degrees, a greater scope and clearness. Groups of bathers appeared at various distances on both sides of the river, some plunging in headlong from the lofty quays, some

playing various antics in the water, and some floating quietly on the surface of the tide in the centre of the stream; while others, half dressed and shivering at the brink of the sloping strands, put in hand or foot to ascertain the temperature of the refreshing element, before venturing to fling off their remaining habiliments, and share in the salutary recreation. In other respects the scene was nearly the same in appearance as it has been described in the third chapter of this volume.

To anybody who has read *The Collegians*, the truth and beauty of these two descriptions are brought home on a view of the scenery which suggested them. The reflections which the author makes in connection with the latter sketch profound, as they are true and vivid, proves Gerald Griffin's consummate skill in bringing surroundings to bear on a present state of feeling, as we see in his felicitous application of them to the melancholy condition of the unhappy exile. Every winding of the majestic river, each creek and nook, bluff and headland, with wood and grove, hill and glen in the background, all were familiar and beloved objects to the wretched Hardress since his childhood. They were the theatre of his innocent sports and pastimes, from boyhood and early youth up to the well-remembered morning when he steered the saucy 'Nora Creina' under the windows of the Daly cottage, before the admiring eyes of the onlookers in the breakfast-room, bearing the ill-fated Colleen Bawn—then a happy bride—to the cottage in Killarney, where she was to pass her honeymoon; how much had happened since that joyous morning. There was the sad ending of that same honeymoon, with all its fearful consequences, Eily's love despised, and the trusting guileless heart broken by unrequited love and heartless desertion ere she was foully murdered. Anne Chute's affections trifled with; Kyrle Daly's manly friendship betrayed; 'mean fear' (to use Hardress Cregan's own words of agonizing remorse) 'and selfish pride, the coarser half of love, worthless inconstancy, black falsehood, and red-handed murder'—all these had swept over his soul and engulfed it since that joyous morning; yet—

Nature, always the same calm and provident benefactress, had preserved her mighty heart unchanged throughout the interval

and the same joyous serenity was still visible on her countenance. The passions of men may convulse the frame of society ; the duration of human prosperity may be uncertain as that of human woe ; and centuries of ignorance, of poverty and of civil strife may suddenly succeed to years of science and thrift and peace ; but still the mighty mother holds her course unchanged. Spring succeeds winter, and summer spring, and all the harmonies of her system move on through countless ages with the same unvarying serenity of purpose. The scene of his happy childhood evinced no sympathy with the condition of the altered Hardress.

With what force and vividness the *then and now, the what might have been with what is*, are contrasted in the description and reflection here quoted. In Willis's beautiful poem, 'On David's Lament for Absalom,' there occurs a similar reflection, at the close of his exquisite picture of the moonlit beauties of the River Jordan, an application of well-known scenery to the sad feelings of the fond father mourning for his wayward rebellious son—'his proud boy Absalom.'

The waters slept, Night's silvery veil hung low
On Jordan's bosom, and the eddies curled
Their glassy rings beneath it, like the still
Unbroken beating of the sleeper's pulse.
The reeds bent down the stream ; the willow leaves,
With a soft cheek upon the lulling tide,
Forgot the lifting winds, and the long stems
Whose flowers the water, like a gentle nurse,
Bears on its bosom, quietly gave away,
And leaned in graceful attitudes to rest.
How strikingly the course of Nature tells,
By its light need of human suffering,
That it was fashioned for a happier world !

How, many a night before had the shepherd king gone forth to meditate on the power and majesty, the love and mercy, of the Almighty, his heart overflowing with gratitude to his Maker ; how often had he gazed with feelings of awe and rapture on the same starlit firmament, and the same beauties of land and river sleeping in the silver moonlight, his soul in peace with God and man. But there are moments in most men's lives, as in that of the king after God's own heart, when, if thought could shape itself into words, it would be to utter the plaintive reflection in the poem above At

such a time nature seems cruel and heartless; its music should be hushed, and its garish light shaded until we buried our dead; its breezes should not play so wantonly and callously round the withered flowers of our perished hopes and joys; the music of its streams and small birds should not break in so discordantly on the sad burden of our heart's dirge. But—'Nature was fashioned for a happier world,' and therefore 'evinces no sympathy with the condition of her altered Hardresses.'

There is a passage in *The Betrothed* of Manzoni resembling the above descriptions, showing the similarity of thought in great novelists and poets. It is where Renzo and Lucy are bidding adieu to their native hills, having to fly from the persecutions of Don Rodrigo:—

The boatmen made silently for the opposite shore. There was not a breath of wind; the lake lay polished and smooth in the moonlight, agitated only by the dipping of the oars, which quivered in its gleam. The waves, breaking on the sands of the shore, were heard, deadly and slowly, at a distance, mingled with the rippling of the waters between the pillars of the bridge. The silent passengers cast a melancholy look behind at the mountains and landscape, illumined by the moon, and varied by multitudes of shadows. They discerned villages, houses, and cottages; the palace of Don Roderick raised above the huts that crowded the base of the promontory, looking down like some gigantic and evil being, standing over his prostrate victims. Lucy beheld it and shuddered; then cast a glance beyond the declivity, towards her own little home, and beheld the top of the fig-tree which towered in the courtyard: moved at the sight, she buried her face in her hands, and wept in silence.

The artistic talents of a great novelist enables him, in depicting the intensity of human emotions and feelings, to dispense with their every-day, and, as may be said, their vulgar manifestations. A synopsis of antecedents, an opportune allusion to a mere circumstance of time or place, sometimes the bare notice of an attitude, or gesture or silence, gives, in his skilful hands, a more vivid picture of the depth of the passion he wishes to portray, than the groans and weepings, the writhings and contortions, the tears or laughter, or extravagant gestures to which less skilful delineators would have recourse. In Scott's *Bride*

of *Lammermoor*—the greatest, perhaps, in his series of great romances—there is an illustration of what may be defined a skillful writer's art of condensation. He can depict the intensity of passion or emotion by the very absence of all direct description. He can do so by merely noticing in connection with it an act or circumstance in itself ordinary or trivial. Thus, the deep anguish and despair of the Lord of Ravenswood are not intruded upon. We are not allowed to break in on the sacred privacy of his grief. We can only hear him, with his faithful servant Caleb, pacing his lonely chambers during the long weary hours of night. In Dante's *Divine Comedy* there occurs a similar example of this same skillful art of condensation, in which much is implied in a remark not very important or striking by itself; it relates to the fatal reading of a book—

Galeotto was the book; and he who wrote it.
That day no farther in the book we read.

One more illustration of the similarity of thought in great novel-writers as to the effect of familiar scenery and objects on the various emotions and feelings of human nature. The master pen of Charles Dickens, in describing the grief of the 'old man' on the death of 'Little Nell,' tells us how—

He repaired to her chamber, straight. Not finding what he had left there, he returned with distracted looks to the room in which they were assembled. From that he rushed into the schoolmaster's cottage, calling her name. They followed close upon him, and when he had vainly searched it, brought him home . . . If there be any who have never known the blank that follows death—the weary void—the sense of desolation that will come upon the strongest minds, when something familiar and beloved is missed at every turn—the connection between inanimate and senseless things and the object of recollection; when every household god becomes a monument, and every room a grave—if there be any who have not known this, and proved it by their own experience, they can never faintly guess, how, for days, the old man pined, and moped away the time, and wandered here and there as if seeking something, and had no comfort.

This 'connection between inanimate and senseless things and the object of recollection' recalls what is

mentioned in the *Life of Gerald Griffin*, of his alluding to certain things, apparently not calculated to affect deeply the mind of Hardress Cregan, on the occasion of his being at a ball for the first time, 'yet which contributed to raise his mind to a condition of peculiar and exquisite enthusiasm, and made it susceptible of deep, dangerous, and indelible impressions.' It may be thought that the festooning of the draperies above the windows, the loftiness of the ceiling, &c., in the case of Hardress, and the gay skin of a swift animal in that of Dante, were causes totally inadequate to the production of deep impressions in the one, or to the contributing to inspire the other with joyous hope. It is a fact, nevertheless, although inexplicable, that 'trifles light as air' may sometimes exert a powerful influence on the human mind, either from actual association or from memory or contrast. It is certainly a mystery to us how every image or impression, once received into and stamped, as it were, on the few ounces of grey matter which we call the brain, remains indelible : it is never totally lost or obliterated :—

The images [says Dr. Johnson] which memory presents are of a stubborn and untractable nature. The objects of remembrance have already existed, and left their signature behind them impressed upon the mind so as to defy all attempts at erasure or change. Whatever we have once deposited, as Dryden expresses it, in the sacred treasures of the past, it is out of the reach of accident or violence, nor can it be lost either by our own weakness or another's malice.

This is true even in cases of physical lesion of the brain, although such lesion may cause temporary loss of memory. The image or impression once photographed and registered is there in some corner, although from organic weakness or deterioration, external injury, or other cause, it may be, for the time, only like the proverbial needle in a bundle of hay. It is never wholly blotted out, but exists somewhere, deep and indelible—all the deeper, in a sense, from the present entanglement and topsy-turvy condition of the brain. As certainly as no motion transmitted by natural causes or human agency ever wholly ceases in its effects, so surely no

image or perception once received and clasped by the mind is ever totally lost. It may elude our grasp for the moment, however eager and straining, and our very efforts to recall it may only have the effect of driving it into a darker corner farther than ever from our embrace, but it is there indestructible. When, perhaps, we have given up the search in despair, it may, unbidden, all at once stand out before our mental vision, clear, entire, and vivid. The odour of a rose, the air of an old song or tune, the sound of a voice, the warbling of a bird, a casual remark, a word, a gesture, a smile, may suddenly revive it in all its distinctness of detail, as to time, place, circumstance. Hence such writers as Dickens and Gerald Griffin never forgot 'the connection between inanimate and senseless things and the object of recollection.' Thus, when Danny Mann hands Eily Hardress Cregan's cruel letter, which tells her that his love for her is dead, and that her brief dream of happiness is at an end—'Eily, as if yielding to a mechanical impulse, glided into the little room, which during the honeymoon had been fitted up and decorated for her own use. *She restrained her eyes from wandering* as much as possible, and commenced, with hurried and trembling hands, her preparations for departure.'

Thus also :—

When he [Hardress] recovered from the shock [which the news of the death of Eily's father had caused him] he found himself seated on the deck of the convict ship, her canvass wings outspread, and the shores of his native soil fleeting rapidly away on either side. He looked, as the vessel sped on, towards the cottage of the Dalys. Two or three of the children, in deep mourning, were playing on the lawn; Lowry Looby was turning the cows into the new-mown meadow, and Mr. Daly himself, also in deep black, was standing, cane in hand, upon the steps of the hall door. The vessel still swept on, but Hardress *dared not turn his eyes in the direction of Castle Chute*. The land of his nativity faded rapidly on the sight; but before the vessel came within sight of that of his exile, Hardress had rendered up the life which the law forebore to take.

Passing from these few remarks, which the scenery described in *The Collegians* has suggested, to an opinion of

the work as a whole, it may be safely asserted that, as a novel, it is entitled to an eminent place amongst works of fiction ; and this, for felicity of conception, naturalness, and probability of incident and dialogue, consistent and timely development of plot, distinctness and individuality of character, and delicacy of treatment. Banim, who of all others approaches nearest to Gerald Griffin in his pictures of Irish life and character, thinks that the latter leans too much towards the dark and gloomy side of Celtic nature. Whilst admitting this, as far as the groundwork of his literary structures go, the sombre and the terrible in his writings do not overshadow or obscure the many bright and beautiful tints scattered throughout his works, especially in that in which his literary fame chiefly rests—*The Collegians*. Through his tales, notably through the last-named, there runs a brilliant play of wit and humour, the lightsome and joyous sufficiently relieving the effects of the tragic and pathetic, standing out all the more clearly by contrast.

Such is the picture of the Daly family group, Myles Murphy's ingenious defence of his trespassing ponies, the description of the *personnel* of Lowry Looby, and the stories with which he whiles away the time whilst accompanying Kyrle Daly on his wooing journey ; the examination of Poll Naughten and her husband ; the scene in the drawingroom, where Hardress Cregan is discovered by Anne Chute in jovial conviviality with his servant, Danny Mann. This latter sketch is unsurpassed as a specimen of the gruesome-ludicrous, arising from the sorry plight of the unfortunate boatman, who has been 'pricked by the half-drunken huntsmen,' and as a sample of maudlin pedantry and ridiculous application of his classical lore and rules of logic by a tipsy student. The dark and tragical are relieved also by the beautiful and good ; in the guileless confiding love and trust of the gentle-natured Eily, the unselfish devotion of Myles Murphy, the uncompromising principles and high-souled honour of Kyrle Daly, &c. Even in the lowest type of human nature introduced—that of the hunchback—there are some redeeming traits. Danny Mann is not naturally a bloodthirsty villain. His moral obliquity and unscrupulous

conscience are certainly congenial soil for the growth of a crime such as that he commits ; but the motives which impel him to the conception of the deed and its committal are not amongst the worst by which men are actuated in the perpetration of crime. They are not innately sanguinary, selfish, or mercenary. A mistaken sense of loyalty and duty to his master, his fanatical attachment to Hardress, and consequent readiness to do anything to serve him ; with him these are paramount and so all-absorbing as to exclude every other consideration, even that of personal safety.

Apart, however, from this, Danny would, probably, have passed through life amongst his neighbours and acquaintances as, at worst, an unamiable, shrewd, cynical, uncongenial being, but not loathsome or dangerous. His natural sourness of disposition, the effect, perhaps—in great part, at least—of his physical malformation, from which there generally arises irritability of temper, moroseness, and discontent, might never vent itself beyond biting sarcasm on men and things, and general misanthropy. With all his moral obtuseness, he might, under other circumstances, have lived and died free from those crimes which outrage society, or render men amenable to justice. The hunchback, however, is by no means a phenomenon or improbable character. On the contrary, Danny Mann is a type of human nature by no means rare, his prototypes turning up in everyday life. They may be quite inoffensive persons, of outwardly well-ordered lives, neither dishonest nor immoral, as far as society has reason to judge them, yet withal destitute of moral sense or conscientious feeling ; given, however, an exciting cause they may become criminals of the blackest dye, not from any inborn propensity, but from the mere absence of all conscience or horror of acts as crime. You can appeal effectively to other feelings in them, to restrain them from the commission of criminal deeds—vanity, self-interest, a sort of honour, the fear of detection ; but you would appeal in vain to moral principle or conscience as a deterrent from even the worst crimes, in the boatman's prototypes, and they are by no means few. Thus, in the interview between Hardress and Danny, whilst the latter is

under arrest for the fearful crime, at which the former, perhaps, connived, at least, the murderer's first emotions on recognising his young master are not those of terror or remorse, or loathing of an accomplice in, or because of, his guilt. Even the concluding words, where he alludes to his crime being written in the recording book of heaven, are uttered, not so much through feelings of sorrow or remorse, as to show that Hardress is equally guilty as himself. His attempt at self-justification shows that genuine remorse is by no means his predominant thought, and that the conscience of which the author speaks, was only galvanized for the moment, giving place immediately to the prevailing sentiment of anxiety for his master's peace of mind, and the desire to justify himself for having committed the deed.

Every successful novelist [says Sir Walter Scott]¹ must be, more or less, a poet, even though he may never have written a line of verse. The quality of imagination is indispensable to him; his accurate power of examining and embodying human character, and human passion, as well as the external face of nature, is not less essential, and the talent of describing well what he feels with acuteness, added to the above requisites, goes far to complete the poetic character.

If poetry, according to Wordsworth, is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge, the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science, it is, consequently, an essential requisite in the analysis of sensations, in sounding the depths, and comprehending the intensity of human passions, and discovering the secret springs and workings of that complex piece of machinery—the heart of man, with its many promptings and motives. To this poetic talent, and more particularly to test dramatic powers, may be attributed Gerald Griffin's wonderful gift of depicting the darker passions of the human heart which enables him to bring to his aid in the picture, all those incidents and adjuncts which lend such peculiar vividness to his sketches, circumstances which escape the eye of a non-poetical novelist. Such are the temptations of Hardress Cregan, when alone on the mountain with his servant, the hunchback proves

¹ *Lives of Eminent Novelists and Dramatists.*

himself to be, for the first time, his evil genius in the horrible suggestion of the murder of Eily O'Connor. His soliloquy in the cottage of the Naughtons, where he arrives too late to save her after her departure under the guidance of Danny Mann: his fitful slumbers, broken by frightful visions: his mutterings, indicating that the gnawing passion of remorse haunted him even in sleep: the nature of the conversation, and remarks of Poll Naughton and her husband about the death and burial, the grave and funeral of poor McDonagh: the fury of the elements, in keeping with the fearful tragedy, probably at that moment being enacted, and the vision of which presents itself to the sleeper in all its ghastliness: the circumstances attending the discovery of the corpse of Eily; the chopping and yelling of the hounds, and the efforts of the affrighted onlookers to keep off the pack from devouring their human prey: the brutal inhuman remarks, meant for a good joke, on the nature of the 'fox' run to earth: the horror of the guilty husband at such a sight; and the subsequent scene between mother and son, during which he apostrophizes the vision of his murdered bride; they are all painted with a dramatic power worthy of the master-hand of Shakespeare.

'Isn't it extraordinary,' he says himself,¹ 'how impossible it seems to write a perfect novel, one which shall be read with deep interest, and yet be perfect as moral work.' *The Collegians* proves that, difficult as the task may be, it is not impossible, and that the writer has achieved what Fielding, Smollet, Richardson, and even the author of *The Vicar of Wakefield* have failed to do. Perhaps it is not altogether fair to use the word 'failed' in speaking of the last-named admirable poet and novelist—Oliver Goldsmith. There are some inconsistencies in the work, and the reader is led to advertence of indelicate situations and of the characters allowing themselves to be placed and to remain in dangerous occasions which might have been removed by the author on revision. Revision, however, much more recasting, were works uncongenial to the nature of the author. Besides, it would not pay: and his pen, although by no means a venal

or mercenary one in the more objectionable sense of the term, was too busily employed in discharging obligations contracted with publishers, and in keeping the wolf from the door, to allow him the necessary time for such work. Of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, however, may be said what Wordsworth said of a volume of poems submitted for his criticism: 'I like the volume so much that, if I were the author, I think I should never rest until I had nearly rewritten it.' With regard to the three first named, whilst quoting the apology which Cumberland makes for the characters and situations in his own works, the excuse must be deemed utterly insufficient to justify the scenes of vice and immorality presented in revolting nakedness. Their zeal, like Cumberland's, to exhibit virtue triumphant over the most tempting allurements, may have been their reason for painting these allurements in too vivid colours; but, giving them every credit for such zealous motives, it must still be said that the moral of their tales does not heal the mischief in them. The antidote is, indeed, presented with the poison, but, the remedy may be forgotten in the insidious pleasure of the poison which is quaffed.

No such apologies are needed for *The Collegians*. As a picture of Irish life and character it is a master-piece; and as Sir Walter Scott says of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, the work as a novel is one of the most delicious morsels of fictitious compositions on which the human mind was ever employed. But it has something better than even *The Vicar of Wakefield* and it is this, that the humour and pathos, the joy and sorrow, the sports and pastimes, the love and friendship, temptation and crime, guilt and remorse, so powerfully depicted and so all-absorbing as narrative, are not only secondary to the end and object of the work, as expressed in its closing lines, but because this aim and object, the salutary moral is brought home to us without a single image to dim the lustre of its moral brightness or shock the most fastidious sensitive taste. The wreath on Gerald Griffin's brow is indeed unsullied.

Reader, if you have shuddered at the excesses into which he plunged, examine your own heart, and see if it hide nothing of the

intellectual pride, and volatile susceptibilities to new impressions, which were the ruin of Hardress Cregan. If, besides the amusement which these pages have afforded, you should learn anything from such research, for the avoidance of evil or the pursuit of good, it will not be in vain that we have penned the story of our two collegians.

The limits assigned to the foregoing reflections hinder us from extending them to remarks on Gerald Griffin's poetry farther than to observe, that the same 'spotless purity of mind' pervades it in sonnet and lyric, poem and fragment. From Luggelaw's deep-wooded vale to the sights and sounds of vernal joy in sweet Adare; from the fate of the chieftain's daughter to the reward of integrity, faith, and honour in young Matt Hyland, we are conducted through odorous groves and midst flowers of richest hue, in sketches of rural and silvan beauty, varied by profound reflections and true philosophy, amidst earthly passions and intensely human feelings, without being offended in our work by the trail of the serpent or its slime on fruit or flowers; and yet his characters are real flesh and blood, warm, young, and human.

Oh, spotless purity of mind!
Majestic grace of youthful beauty
Who lovest within the heart refined
To house with peace and simple duty.
Pure as the gale whose viewless wings
The wind harp sweeps with mournful sweetness;
Oh come, and teach the eager strings
To blend their fires with heavenly sweetness.

First grace of virgin souls! to thee,
To thee I pour my minstrel story;
Oh let the descant rising free
From thee receive its saving glory.
Few, few for thee awake the strain
Few tune for thee the pleasing measure,
For first amongst the slothful train,
The poet seeks the haunts of pleasure.

We look once more across the broad sheet of Shannon's lowly waters towards the hills of Clare, on which the last rays of the departing sun are lingering, whilst the shadows lengthen on glen and upland and sloping lawn, and the sweet

chimes from the neighbouring tower of Mount St. Alphonsus call to the duties of prayer and praise. The view once more reminds us of 'the natural, unexaggerated colouring of Gerald Griffin's landscape sketches;' and so with a last look at the lovely scenery which has suggested the foregoing reflections, we bid adieu to Clare hills and to Gerald Griffin's own majestic river, in the poet's own words, uniting therewith the hallowed memory of the pure and Christian writer, and the many faithful Irish hearts in 'gentle Gerald's' native valleys :—

On Shannon's side the day is closing fair,
The kern sits musing by his shieling low,
And marks, beyond the lonely hills of Clare,
Blue, rimmed with gold, the clouds of sunset glow.
Hushed in that sun, the widespread waters flow,
Returning warm the day's departing smile ;
Along the sunny highland, pacing slow,
The keriaght lingers with his herd the while,
And bells are tolling faint from far St. Senan's isle.

Oh, lovèd shore ! with fondest mem'ries twined,
Sweet fall the summer on thy margin fair,
And peace come whispering, like a morning wind,
Dear thoughts of love to every bosom there :
The horrid wreck and driving storm forbear
Thy smiling strand ; nor oft the accents swell
Along thy hills of grief or heart-wrung care ;
But Heaven look down upon each lowly dell,
And bless thee for the joys I yet remember well.

IGNOTUS.

THE BENEDICTINES OF BEURON

THE vitality of which the Catholic Church has given in every age so many signs was never so clearly manifested as in the rise and spread of the numerous religious congregations of the present century. Amongst them not least has been the development of the great Order of St. Benedict. The famous Essays of Cardinal Newman have rendered the past history of that Order familiar to us, and have indicated its special utility for the present age. The fact of its extension since the beginning of the century, and the forms which that extension has taken, are, however, the best proofs of its mission to our civilization and society

Three great Congregations have adorned the Benedictine family, and these promise to be but the beginning of many others. Dom Gueranger at Solesmes, Jean Baptiste Muard at *Pierre-qui-Vire*, and Dom Maur Wolter at Beuron in South Germany. The fame of the first has reached wherever the Catholic Church of to-day exists. The second is less known, but the beautiful sketch of the founder of the Benedictine Preachers, by Mr. Edward Healy Thompson, is certain to diffuse widely the knowledge and esteem of it. This life was written to defray the expenses connected with the restoration of Buckfast Abbey in Devon, to which, after a failure to make a foundation at Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, this congregation migrated. The third, which is little more than thirty years in existence, is worthy of this little sketch, as well as of a more permanent place in the esteem of the Irish people.

About 1852 there lived in Westphalia a family named Wolter. There were three sons: the mother was a Protestant, but the sons were Catholic; the eldest, Rudolph Wolter, became a priest and professor in a seminary. Here the yearnings for a more perfect life, the beginning of a monastic vocation, grew on him, and he made his way to the

Benedictine Abbey of San Paolo fuori le Mura, in Rome. He was followed a year or two later by his two younger brothers, and all three became in due course professed monks. The youngest brother, named Charles, took the name of Hilibrand; but it was not the will of God to make use of him as of the others. He had scarcely taken his vows when God called him to the kingdom of heaven. The brothers, however, had work to do on earth: they were to be the secondary causes by which God meant to move the hearts of many people; they were to be His instruments in the building up of a great work. Rudolph took the name of Dom Maur Wolter; the second brother took the name of Dom Placide. God, who destined them to be His angels in Germany, did not leave them without worthy coadjutors. Dom Maur became acquainted with the Princess Catherine of Hohenzollern. Out of this connection arose a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and on the journey the foundations of a most intimate friendship were laid. This friendship was destined later on to be productive of lasting results.

The Holy Father Pope Pius IX. had long been projecting methods of restoring the Catholic religion in Germany, and one of the means which seemed likely to prove most efficacious was the revival of monasticism, and especially of the great Order of St. Benedict, which in earlier centuries had studded with its abbeys the German States. Since the so-called Reformation had swept over the land the monastic system had been paralysed and almost lifeless. It was therefore with special pleasure that he welcomed in Dom Maur Wolter the providential instrument for building up anew this glory of the Catholic religion. On the 29th September, 1860, the two brothers, Dom Maur and Don Placide, knelt at the feet of His Holiness, and received his Apostolic Benediction. With the commission, 'Go, multiply your Order in Germany,' and the sum of £40, the gift of the Abbot of San Paolo, the two brothers set out.

Their way was beset with difficulty, but the grace of the Holy Father's words bore them along. They arrived at a place called Materborn, and here they determined to attempt their first foundation. They started in a small house; their

only help was a gardener, who became their cook and lay brother ; and a choir novice, named Dom Benedict Sauter. Both persevered, and the latter is now the head of one of the abbeys of the new congregation, viz., of the Abbey of Prague in Bohemia. Two years passed in the Priory of Materborn without any addition to their numbers, and for most of this time they had hardly the necessaries of life ; but God was about to bless their patient efforts. The Princess of Hohenzollern obtained for them a grant of the vacant, partly ruined, Abbey of Beuron, and its adjoining lands, and here the little band of the children of St. Benedict made its second attempt.

This abbey had been the property of the Augustinians, but the French Revolution almost killed it, and in 1803 only two monks remained in the house. One of these, a man of the greatest sanctity, died that year with the prophecy on his lips, 'After sixty years Beuron will be re-peopled.' The other then abandoned it, and for sixty years the abbey remained empty, gradually falling into decay.

Dom Maur Wolter and his brethren set about repairing the condition of the building. The number of his novices increased, and it soon became necessary to prepare the modified rule for them. He went to Dom Gueranger at Solesmes with a couple of companions, and remained there for some months until their profession. They kept the rule here in force, noted all the points on which it differed from that of the Abbey of San Paolo, and then returned to Beuron. The novices soon reached the number of twelve, and Dom Maur was made abbot. He then drew up in its final form the Rule of the Congregation of Beuron, embodying in it those necessary modifications which circumstances of time and place, such as its special mission to the German peoples, required.

The time of expansion and the time of persecution came together. The German laws of worship, despite the protection of the Princess Catherine of Hohenzollern, drove them out, and they took refuge in the Tyrol, at a place called Volders. But their temporary loss was not without immediate compensations. They succeeded in two founda-

tions—one at Prague, under Dom Benedict Sauter, whose name was mentioned above; and the other at Sekin, in Styria. In both these places their zealous efforts in reviving religious worship won for them the friendship of the powers of both Church and State. They managed to make a beginning in England at Erdington Priory. But the great branch of the Benedictines of Beuron was the Abbey of Maredsous, near Dinant, in Belgium.

Amongst the young novices at Beuron was a Belgian, named De Hemptinne. He had been, previous to his entry into the Order, a Pontifical Zouave in Rome, and there had met a congenial companion in Lieutenant Desclèe. This friendship was to bear fruit. After he entered Beuron he conceived the idea of spreading the Order of St. Benedict in his native land, and M. Desclèe appeared to him to be a man likely to prove useful in carrying this idea into execution. Between them they discussed the matter. The zeal and generosity of M. Desclèe, who was very wealthy, were not inferior to the zeal and generosity of his late companion in arms. He bought a large piece of ground on the hills at Maredsous, and gave it over to Dom Maur Wolter, who took and blessed it. The money for building a magnificent abbey church, cloisters and college was soon forthcoming from the same generous benefactor, and the halls began to resound with the hum of students, as the church with the divine praises chanted by the monks. In the head house a school of art had been formed imbued with the highest Christian ideals, and from it came trained hands to adorn the walls of their churches and abbeys. There, too, began a careful study and practice of the musical forms best adapted for their congregation. Thus art and music, and the study of the liturgy of the Church for which Beuron had already become famous, were to be reflected and multiplied at Maredsous. As a centre of spiritual and intellectual life amongst Belgian and Northern French peoples Maredsous is almost without an equal. Visitors from other lands passing through the country are welcomed with the greatest hospitality, and many, by the grace of a retreat there, drink of life-giving waters.

Parallel with the growth in numbers came the definite organization of the Congregation. Dom Maur Wolter was made Arch Abbot of the entire Congregation, with Beuron as the Arch Abbey. Dom Placide, his brother, became the Abbot of Maredsous. With the saintly death of Dom Maur in July, 1890, came further changes. Dom Placide took his brother's place at Beuron; and Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne, who had been such an instrument in its foundation, became Abbot of Maredsous. Since then, in furtherance of the policy of His Holiness Leo XIII. for the unification of the various congregations and rules of the Order of St. Benedict, Dom Hildebrand de Hemptinne has been made Lord Primate of the entire Order, and head of the International Benedictine College of St. Anselm in Rome.

The growth of Dom Maur Wolter's Congregation has not slackened. Within the past two years two new abbeys have been added to the roll of its foundations—one at the famous house of Maria Laach; the other in South America, founded by Dom Gerard von Calsen. Thus in the short space of thirty years, since the brothers Dom Maur and Dom Placide knelt at the feet of the Holy Father and received his command, there have been founded six or seven abbeys and one priory, while the monks number some hundreds.

Such is the great Congregation of Beuron. The particular characteristics of the Rule there is not now opportunity to discuss. It is not so severe as that of the Cistercians at Melleray or Roscrea, either with regard to food or silence or solitude. It acts more directly upon the lives and thoughts of the people. It has, of course, the same ultimate aim, but employs methods suited to its immediate purpose.

We regret that the Benedictines failed to take root in Ireland.

That they could do much to improve the educational status of the Irish people, both University and Intermediate: that they would associate with themselves in Ireland as at Einsiedeln and Maredsous great Catholic publishing firms, powerful barriers against the false principles of the day: that they would form in our Irish people new centres of divine

science, is beyond question. The old Scriptorium of the early Benedictine monks has not altogether disappeared. The printing press is with them, to be a powerful agent in the work of Christian education and civilization, and nowhere more than in Ireland are such influences necessary.

J. V. DUGGAN.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE

IX.

WE saw, in the introductory part of this explanation,¹ that in the case of the vast majority of the Jews, blindness of mind and hardness of heart was the result produced by the words of Isaias. It was inflicted on them by God in penalty of their repeated transgressions. Those who had so often sinned against the light were at last punished with the most fearful of all maledictions—spiritual blindness. From the fatal day on which Isaias executed the Divine command, the meaning of his wonderful descriptions of the future, so luminous and transparent to the eye of faith, became unintelligible. The heavenly truth was enveloped in impenetrable darkness. It was in vain now that every letter of those prophecies was preserved with the greatest care, and that they were read to religious assemblies frequently in the course of each year:—

Isaias cecinit,
Synagoga meminit,
Nunquam tamen desinit
Esse caeca.

74. It is equally certain that this condign punishment of persistent unbelief was by no means confined to those who refused to listen to God's prophet. It was in store for those also who should be guilty of the immeasurably greater crime of turning a deaf ear to God Himself. This is evident from

¹ See I. E. RECORD, September, p. 216.

His own express declaration, recorded in the three synoptic Gospels :—

MATT. xiii. 13-15.

Therefore do I speak to them in parables, because seeing, they see not, and hearing, they hear not; neither do they understand. And the prophecy of Isaias is fulfilled in them, who saith: By hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing, you shall see, and shall not perceive. For the heart of this people is grown gross, and with their ears they have been dull of hearing, and their eyes they have shut; lest at any time they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them.

MARK iv. 11, 12.

And He said to them To you it is given to know the mystery of the Kingdom of God; but to them that are without all things are done in parables. That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them.

LUKE viii. 10.

To whom He said: To you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God, but to the rest in parables: that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand.

We have it also on the authority of St. John and St. Paul. The former says: 'Therefore they could not believe, because Isaias said again: He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, nor understand with their heart, and be converted, and I should heal them. These things said Isaias, when he saw His glory and spoke of Him.'¹

St. Paul's words to the unbelieving Jews,² and his words about them,³ are equally decisive. In the latter passage he also states what God's motive was in blinding the Jews. This, however, is a further question, and must be treated of in another article. Here it is sufficient to direct our readers' attention to this one point, viz., that in all these passages the words of Isaias are interpreted as being a prophecy about the Jews in the time of Christ.

The passage of St. Matthew's Gospel is, of course, the subject of this article. With it we shall compare the parallel ones in St. Mark and in St. Luke, because without their

¹ xii. 39, 40, 41.

² Acts xxviii. 25-27.

³ Romans xi. 7, 8.

help we should, perhaps, fail to perceive the truth. St. John's words throw light on our subject from another point of view, and are necessary for a clear and complete view of it. We propose, therefore, to consider the prophecy of Isaias as it is presented to us by the four Evangelists; in this article as it is applied by our Lord in the three synoptic Gospels; and in the next article as it is explained by St. John.

75. Now that we have got so far, the next question is, in which sense of Scripture—the literal, or the mystical—do the words of Isaias apply to the Jews in the time of Christ. As regards the Jews of the earlier period, the contemporaries, namely, of the prophet, there is, of course, no doubt that the words were spoken about them primarily and directly; but commentators differ as to whether the words designate the Jews of the Messianic era in the same way, or only indirectly and mediately. Some hold that the literal or primary meaning of the prophet's words refers equally to both classes; but Cornelius a Lapide, Calmet, Knabenbauer and others say that it is exclusively in their mediate or mystical meaning—that the words indicate the character of many of our Lord's hearers. The latter interpretation appears to be the correct one.

The obdurate Jews in the days of the prophet were the worthy forerunners of those who, when the Messiah Himself came, refused to listen to the tidings of salvation. It is a familiar and a true saying that history repeats itself. It belongs to the province of the historian to point out the relationship between events, and to trace effects to their real cause. Thus he brings together and presents in one view occurrences that might at first sight seem unconnected, as being widely separated by time or by place.

But very much greater than any historical connection is that unity which the student of Scripture contemplates here. In the sight of God, both groups of unbelievers formed one mystical whole. Not, indeed, in consequence of aught that confers what is at best but a moral or metaphorical oneness, not as a result of that continuity which makes a nation at different epochs in its history ever remain one and the

same, nor on account of any other merely human link of identity; but because the earlier Jews were types of the latter. Though they were separated from each other by more than seven centuries, and though, in the opinion of man, their respective sins might only have a certain family resemblance, yet to the all-seeing eye of the Eternal Judge their crime, as being reciprocally figure and fulfilment, was *one*. Hence, 'to the sons of them that killed the prophets,' to the descendants of them that scoffed at the prophets' warnings, He said on one occasion: 'Fill ye up, then, the measure of your fathers.'

A far higher unity, too, is implied in our Lord's quotation from Isaias than might suggest itself even to the moral theologian. He would be, as such, inclined—perhaps unconsciously—to interpret the words for himself, not exegetically, but by the application of the principles of his own ethical science. He would not, however, succeed in the attempt, even though he tried to apply all the laws relating to 'obligatio in solidum;' for the good reason that the instrument of his choice was not made for the work. Type and antitype so blend together, that as such they are identified; whereas solidarity only makes different individuals that have been co-operators in injustice each incur his own integral obligation. It was not in this sense our Lord applied the prophecy.

A less irrelevant illustration, taken also from the moral order, would be the fact that Jesus Christ considers as done to Himself whatever is done to the least of His brethren. But even this falls short of the requirements of an example. The mystical union between Christ and Isaias, as His representative, is much closer than that which exists between Him and a sanctified individual; hence there is a more intimate connection between the sins of two groups of Jews, respectively, than between the wrongs done to the little ones and the offence thereby committed against God.

The difference between an act of the moral and an act of the mystical order is one not of degree, but of kind. The moral order is not what concerns us here, for we are not

comparing the specific gravity of two sins, but considering their typical correlation. Prescinding, therefore, from the obvious truth, that the sin committed against Isaias was *per se* less iniquitous, our object is to show that it was prefigurative. In doing this the only remark that need be made about the intrinsic malice of that sin is, that precisely because it was not so great it fulfilled one of the necessary conditions of a type, namely, that it be inferior to its antitype. And because the relation between these two is completely *sui generis*, and so different from those contemplated either by the historian or by the moral theologian, in order to get a parallel to our case we must look for one in the mystical order itself. It is not hard to find one, for our Lord points it out. David's betrayer, Achitopel, was a figure of Judas.¹ The treacherous minister sinned against his sovereign, inasmuch as the latter was a divinely constituted representative of the King of kings; and on that account he prefigured the arch-traitor. Their respective guilt, though distinct and different in the moral order, was one and the same in the typical. Hence the words in David's psalm uttered about Achitopel, literally and historically, are declared by our Lord to refer to Judas, mystically and prophetically. In like manner, the contumacy and unbelief of the Jews in respect of the preaching of Isaias, was not directed against the *man*, it was committed against the *prophet*, inasmuch as he was a figure or type of the Divine Prophet. Hence the typical identity of the sin; hence what was said in the literal sense of Isaias's contemporaries is also a mystical prophecy about the Jews in the time of Christ.²

¹ Ps. xl, 10, combined with John xiii. 18.

² Some of our readers may, perhaps, find it difficult to conceive that the sin of unbelief committed by Isaias' contemporaries could portend a similar act on the part of their descendants. Nothing, surely, was further from their thoughts and intentions than to represent the unknown future. We saw above how a moral theologian might try to explain a similar difficulty by means of his own principles, and without any disparagement to his science we may use him again as an illustration. It is done simply for the sake of showing more clearly, by means of contrast, the nature and character of exegesis. In answer, then, to the question, how could the act of the prophet's unbelieving contemporaries be typical, since as may be assumed they were quite unaware of its

76. Disobedience to God's representatives and disbelief in their words, was the besetting sin of the Jewish people.¹ Its mark is indelibly branded on their history. Indeed, with certain obvious limitations, it might be called the original sin of the Jews, so uniformly was it transmitted from generation to generation, and so prolific was it of every species of transgression. It was their sin against Moses, and it was repeated, age after age, every time that a fresh prophet delivered his message. Which of the prophets

alleged prospective signification, the moral theologian might say that the question was like that of the wicked on the last day, 'Lord, when did we see Thee hungry or thirsty?' or, in other words, that the excuse which the Jews might make, 'Lord, how did we know that what was done to Isaias was done to Thee?' would be equally frivolous and nugatory. However this remark leaves the difficulty just as it found it.

The exegetical answer is, that consciousness of the fact that God moves man to prophecy is not compatible with what is called 'instinctus propheticus.' (See St. Thomas, *Sent.* 2^a, 2^a q. clxxiii., art. 4). This is evident from the case of Caiphas (John xi. 51). Though he was not aware of a divine impulse, and even though he sinned, yet that did not prevent Almighty God from inspiring Caiphas and employing him as an instrument to express the divine meaning. Neither did Achitophel know, we may safely assume, that he was a type of Judas; nevertheless such was the case. Achitophel's act was not merely his own, it had a prophetic signification. The same holds good of the act by which the Jews refused to listen to Isaias and despised his teaching. They were physically impelled by God to perform it, but the sin came totally from themselves. As St. Thomas shows so conclusively (*Sent.* 1^a 2^a q. lxxix., artt. 1 and 2), God does not move man to commit sin, though He does move man to perform that free act in which sin is found. But of this more anon. We may, however, remark in passing that its perfect agreement with Holy Writ is one of the strongest proofs in confirmation of this thesis of the Prince of theologians.

It may not be superfluous to repeat here that the mystical sense of Scripture is found, not in the sacred book itself, but in certain of the actions, persons, places, &c. which it describes. And in the actions, for instance, it exists not inasmuch as they proceed from man, but solely in so far as they are inspired by God. Hence it matters not how the Jews personally behaved. Their responsibility rests with themselves. It is a subject for the consideration of the moral theologian, but to the commentator's purpose it is quite irrelevant. The writings and doings of the greatest saint, if uninspired, are only human; on the other hand, the expressions and actions of the vilest sinners, if inspired, are the word of God. The mystical meaning of the Jews' act was neither more nor less divine than the literal meaning of the words spoken by Caiphas. The literal and the mystical sense of Scripture are not what man thinks, or says, or does—but what God means. In order to express it, He indeed usually chose saints, but even though he did so, their personal excellence and perfection was quite distinct and separable from their inspiration. The one belonged to the moral, the other to the physical order. The fact of their instrumentality is all-important and decisive, that of their virtue is immaterial. 'for prophecy came not by the will of man at any time: but the holy men of God spoke inspired by the Holy Ghost.'

¹ See St. Stephen's words, Acts vii. 51.

did they not persecute? How often was it said to them 'To-day, if you shall hear His voice, harden not your hearts as in the provocation, according to the day of temptation in the wilderness;' and how often was the appeal made in vain? This blind opposition to His precursors it was that wrung from the tender Heart of Jesus Christ the sorrowful complaint: 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent to thee!' And as it had ever been with His inspired servants, so was it to be in the end with Himself. By far the greater part of His people would refuse to believe His teaching; and at last He, incomparably the greatest of all prophets, would go up to die in their chief city, because, as He said, 'it was impossible that a prophet should perish outside Jerusalem.'

In each instance of persecution the Jews' first sin was, of course, the deliberate rejection of the divine message, which is described in metaphorical language as their closing their eyes and hardening their hearts. Before the time of Isaias the final blindness is only predicted; but from that time on it is spoken of as an accomplished fact. Moses threatened it; Jeremias and Ezechiel describe it. The refractory Jews in the days of Isaias may not have been aware that they were a conspicuous link in the nation's long chain of iniquity; nevertheless, such was the fact. Their sin could be exceeded only by that one of their offspring in which the whole ascending series of such crimes culminated. Tradition states that Isaias was put to death. For all we know, however, they may have inflicted greater sufferings on some other prophet than on him; but they did not harden their hearts so much against the words of any other herald of divine truth, for never was prophet clearer and more copious in his announcements than the son of Amos. And the punishment which their disobedience and unbelief drew down on themselves and their immediate descendants was far severer than any that had until then been inflicted on the Hebrew people. It was what the same prophet Isaias had so often warned them of, namely, the captivity which put an end for ever to their kingdom.

77. But Isaias foretold it not alone by word, but also symbolically in his own person. He and his two sons were an omen of the impending calamity, and at the same time a presage of Juda's partial escape from it. The announcement of their triple prophetic mission is found in chap. viii. 18, 'Behold I and my children whom the Lord hath given me a sign and a wonder in Israel.' An attentive perusal of the divine utterances contained in chap. vi. will show any reader how closely the children were associated with their father in his representative capacity. His inspired word was to produce such spiritual blindness and such obduracy in Juda, that the just and the inevitable punishment of it was to be the devastation of the country. At the same time, Juda's only hope, and all-sufficient hope, of deliverance, was in the Lord; and this was the one subject on which Isaias preached. This was the great lesson he continually inculcated both by inspired word (*e.g.* the ever-recurring mention of salvation, of trust in God), and by inspired deed (see xx. 20).¹ The sons of Isaias also were symbols of the truth of his prophecies, and living pledges that God would fulfil His word to the very last letter. They foreshadowed the two results of their father's preaching—results, indeed, widely differing: one being that God would lay waste the land, and drive its former inhabitants far away (effect on unbelievers vi. 11, 12); the other that a tithe or remnant of Juda should be converted and be spared (effect on unbelievers. *ib.* v. 13).²

¹ And for other examples of what is meant by 'a sign and wonder in Israel,' compare Ezechiel xii. 6, 11, also xxiv. 24, and Zacharias iii. 8.

² The Douay version of these verses is as follows (v. 12): 'And the Lord shall remove men far away, and she shall be multiplied that was left in the midst of the earth.' v. 13 'And there shall be a titling therein, and she shall turn, and shall be made a show as a turpentine-tree, and as an oak that spreadeth its branches: that which shall stand therein shall be a holy seed.' Judging only from the Douay, the latter half of the 12th verse would seem to be a promise, but in reality it is the continuation of the prediction contained in the first part. This is evident from the Hebrew text which means:—'And many shall be the ruins in the middle of the land.' The 13th verse also is obscurely rendered in our English version. The Hebrew should be translated somewhat thus: 'And if a tenth part should still remain in it, this also shall be destroyed, (but) as the terebinth and the oak live even when the tree is cut

The names of the three respectively indicate their symbolical character. Isaias (Jeshajehu) '*the Lord is salvation.*' If prophet ever was true to his name, surely it was he. That name might stand as the epitome of the contents of his sublime book. '*Maher-shalal-hash-baz*'¹—*make haste to take away the prey, hasten to take away the spoils*—the name of one son was given by divine command, and denoted that before he should be able to speak, the enemies of Juda should be rendered powerless. 'Ad the Lord said to me: Call his name: hasten to take away the spoils: make haste to take away the prey. For before the child know to call his father and his mother, the strength of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria shall be taken away before the king of the Assyrians.'² The name of the other son, 'Shear-Jashub,' means 'a remnant shall be saved.' (Half of it appears in the Douay version of Isaias vii. 3, 'And the Lord said to Isaias: Go forth to meet Achaz, thou and Jashub thy son that is left (instead of 'thou and thy son Shear-Jashub'). Half of the name is translated in the Septuagint also: *και ο καταλειφθεις σουβ*

down, so shall its (*Israel's*) trunk become a holy seed.' The Holy See is the Messias. See Isaias x. 84, xi. 1, where a similar figure of speech is employed.

Schöttgen in his *Messias*, p. 717, quotes the saying of an ancient Ebbin to this effect:—'In the days of the Messias, one probation will succeed nother, as Isaias foretells. If ten parts are tried in the furnace of affliction, one part shall stand the trial, or be saved.'

¹ It should be observed that in the Vulgate, and consequentl in the Douay, the Hebrew appellation is not preserved, though it is a proper name. As it was necessary that Latin readers should understand it, it was translated by St. Jerome. '*Accelera spolia detrahare, Festina prædare.*' (The Septuagint had done the same: *Ταχέως σκυλευσον, οξεως προνομευσον.*)

After Israel's spoliation, Juda suffered severely from the Assyria. This also was foretold by Isaias. See ch. viii. and x, 6, 26 32, and xxxiii. 8, 9,

And now, after the lapse of ages, Assyrian monuments have been brought to light that agree in every particular with his predictions. From them we learn that Tiglath-pilezer took Damascus in 732 B.C., and laid waste the land of Israel in 729. Both the allied kings, Razin and Phacee, were put to death, and the Assyrian captivity of the Israelites began. Salmanasar continued the work of conquest, and Sargon compelled Samaria to surrender in 722. Soon afterwards the southern kingdom was invaded. One of Sargon's general's took Azotus in 710, and overran 'the wide land of Judea.' At last in 710, Sennacherib came down like a wolf on the fold. Enormous sums of money were paid in order to dissuade him from committing further ravages, but all in vain. Sennacherib took forty-six fortified cities besides countless villages, and banished two hundred thousand of their inhabitants, and as he says in one of his inscriptions (Taylor Cylinder, British Museum) 'shut up Ezeias in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage.'

² viii. 3, 4.

o vios v. The reason of Shear-Jashub's being sent with his father to Achaz is obvious. He was to be a sign to that unbeliever, that the whole nation should not perish, but that while the greater part would be destroyed, a remnant should be saved. There is, then, an intimate connection between the symbolical office of the boy, and the words spoken to his father ('Israel's trunk shall become a holy seed,' i. 13) in the inaugural vision by which he was shown the name and purpose of his prophetic mission. So true is this that the name borne by the boy became the consecrated expression which is used to designate the Israel of the future (see *Isaias* x. 20, and 21, 22). 'The remnant shall be converted; the remnant, I say, of Jacob to the Almighty God. For if thy people, O Israel, shall be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be converted.' The symbolical import of his name (denoting that neither would the Assyrian be permitted to exterminate the people), is alluded to also in xi. 11 (compare xxxvii. 31-35). And when the prophecy was fulfilled in its literal sense, *Esdras* too shows in his prayer that he understood the expression to be about those who returned from the captivity. 'And now as a little, and for a moment has our prayer been made before the Lord, to leave us a remnant.'¹

78. The temporal calamity which *Isaias* thus foretold was, however, but the forerunner or the shadow of the most awful spiritual punishment that ever befell any portion of the human race. Sacred history shows that as the banishment of the Jews from Palestine and their captivity in Assyria and in Babylon was the penalty of their unbelief and of their disobedience towards the prophets, so at a later period their exclusion (as a people) from the Catholic Church and their dispersion throughout all countries under the sun was the just retribution of their rebellion against the Church's Divine Founder. How few of the chosen people believed in Jesus Christ? 'He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.' It was, indeed, strange that it should be so; it was contrary to all reasonable anticipation,

¹ 1 *Esdr.* ix.

and incomprehensible to human understanding. What had been the mainstay of Israel's existence for so many ages, but the expectation of the Messiah! But now the faith and submission of even devout converts to Christianity was sorely tried, because, humanly speaking, the rejection of the Jews would seem at variance with the solemn promises made to the patriarchs; nay, even to be subversive of the very end and scope of the Covenant. Man a one must have asked in his heart, 'Hath God cast away His people?' St. Paul knew better, for the truth was revealed to him; but even he had great sadness and continual sorrow in his heart, and he wished to be an anathema for his brethren, who were his kinsmen according to the flesh. In the Epistle to the Romans (ix. 27), where he has to explain and to prove that their exclusion from the Church had been foretold, he does so by quoting one of the texts that have been given above. 'And Isaias crieth out concerning Israel: If the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea a remnant shall be saved.'¹ Now the prophet's words refer literally to the small number that should be left after the captivity, therefore that 'remnant' was a type of the insignificant minority of the Jewish Christians. This becomes, if possible still more evident from Rom. xi. 5, where the name is applied without further explanation as being the divinely ordained and well-known appellation of the Jewish converts. 'Even so at this present time also, there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace.' If the punishment was typical, so was the sin: hence it is that disbelief in Christ is denoted by the mystical sense of the prophet's words, 'Hearing, hear, and understand not,' &c.

We have now reached the first stage in our inquiry. The question proposed at the beginning of No. 75, 'in which sense of Scripture, the literal or the mystical, do the words of Isaias apply to the Jews in the time of Christ,' has been answered.

79. If we hold that the prophet's contumacious contemporaries were typical of their godless posterity and that the

¹ Rom. ix. 27.

few spared in Palestine were typical of those saved in the Catholic Church, such an interpretation will of necessity require as its counterpart and complement, that we show that Isaias in his prophetic office was a figure of Christ. Any proffered explanation of the difficult passage at present under consideration, to have even the merit of consistency (a *sine qua non* in exegesis), if it maintain that there is mystical sense on one side, must prove the existence of mystical sense on the other. Part must correspond to part, otherwise what is said to be a picture will not represent the reality, and therefore it cannot have come from the hand of the Divine Artist. Is it true, then, that Isaias was not only the greatest of all the prophets, but that he was a figure of our Lord as well? Everyone knows he possesses the first honour, but can it be shown that he is entitled to the second and higher honour also?

Yes; and without any doubt or difficulty, for St. Paul says so explicitly. In order to prove that Jesus Christ has a real human nature and that, consequently, all men are His brethren, he declares (1 Cor. xviii.) that our Lord says (i.e. *mystically*) what Isaias (iii. 13) in announcing his own mission said (*literally*), viz: 'Behold I and my children whom God has given me.' We have seen already what is the literal sense of these words. It is obvious that the Apostle's interpretation of them is no mere *sensus accomodatus*, but an authoritative exposition of a mysterious prediction regarding the central doctrine of Christianity. For more reasons than one it is necessary to direct special attention to this point, as it is the point on which this whole body of mystic truth turns; and it is equally necessary to be convinced of its certainty, because otherwise we should virtually fall into the error of imagining that a quotation made by the Holy Ghost could be irrelevant and that an argument used by Him could be inconclusive.

80. The Gospel of St. John contains also two similar testimonies to the typical or representative character of Isaias. In the first of them the Evangelist declares that certain words of the prophet which, as is evident, were spoken in the literal sense about the opposition made to

his own preaching and the comparative failure of his own mission, were a prophecy of the similar experience which, notwithstanding His miracles, Jesus Christ would have to endure. 'And whereas He had done so many miracles before them, they believed not in Him: that the saying of Isaias the prophet might be fulfilled, which he said: '*Lord, who hath believed our hearing?*' and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed?'

¹ It is only in their mystical meaning that these words can be prophetic, for in their literal or historic sense they are a retrospect of the life of Isaias.

The other testimony of St. John is contained in the verses immediately following (xii. 39-41). It bears directly on our main subject, being an express declaration that the quotation from Isaias, 'He hath blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts,' &c., was fulfilled in respect of the obdurate Jews in the time of Christ; and it has, therefore, been given at length in the first part of this article.² But as we saw in the preceding article,³ the command: 'Blind the heart of this people, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes,' was given to Isaias in respect of his own unbelieving contemporaries, and was by him *literally* accomplished. It is, therefore, of the *mystical* fulfilment St. John speaks. What Isaias had done in regard of temporal, Christ did in regard of spiritual goods. What was said to Isaias, was addressed to him not in his individual capacity, but in his official character as a representative of Christ. Nor is this all that the Evangelist teaches us. Not only was the prophet in blinding the Jews to be a figure or type, but he was conscious of being so. He was fully aware of the prospective significance of the act he was commanded to perform. If we had not St. John's explanation, it might, perhaps, seem that Isaias in his sixth chapter was only describing his own wonderful experiences in the vision in which he received his mission; but such was not the case. It was not so much the past as the future that rivetted his attention. He was only the shadow, Jesus Christ was the

¹ John xii. 37, 38.² Page 319.³ I. E. RECORD, September, p. 218.

substance. 'These things said Isaias, when he saw His glory, and spoke of Him.'¹

We have it, then, from the source of all truth, that the greatest of the four great prophets was, in his mysterious action, a pre-ordained representative of the Divine Teacher. Not only as regards verbal predictions does he stand supreme among the inspired seers of Israel, beholding the Messianic future with a clearer vision and more extended view than any of them, and on this account quoted oftener in the New Testament than all of them put together; but he was inspired to perform mystical actions in themselves most sublime, as having direct reference to the Messiah. It is, indeed, certain that every one of the inspired messengers to Israel prefigured our Lord in His office as Prophet; but so far as the writer remembers, the only prophet that is said in the New Testament to have been a type of Christ is Isaias. It may be that as our Lord alone preached the Gospel in parables, so Isaias was the only prophet commissioned to harden the heart of the Jewish people; certain, however, it

¹ An explanatory remark may be made here about the way in which Isaias is quoted by St. John. At first it is not easy to see the reason of the reference and its drift, and the same must be said about the similar quotation from Isaias made by our Lord in St. Matthew, xv. 8.

As regards the words given above, 'Blind the heart of this people,' &c., our readers will, doubtless, have observed that they were only recorded in Scripture by Isaias. In the first instance, they were spoken not *by* him, but *to* him. In their origin they were not inspired, but exclusively divine. Man had no part whatever in their formation; he only heard them. The words, as spoken in the first instance by God to Isaias, were a command to blind in virtue of his supernatural power as God's instrument, the Jews of his own time; the same words, equally divine in the second instance, namely, as narrated in his book by Isaias in virtue of his inspiration as a sacred writer, were an infallible record of what he heard when he received his prophetic mission (*Literal or historical sense of Scripture*); and the equally divine action signified by these words, which was performed by Isaias in virtue of his inspiration as a figure of Christ, was an infallible sign and warning of the future reprobation (*mystical or prophetic sense of Scripture*). The first inspiration was *verbal*; the second was *real*. The first meaning, or that of the words, was purely retrospective; the second, or of the act, was altogether prospective. Only in the latter was Isaias the *analogon* of Jesus Christ, and only in this sense is he alluded to in the two passages of the Gospels, St. Matt. xv. 8, and John xii. 39.

In the introductory articles (I, E. RECORD, August and September) the sense of the words reported by Isaias, the sacred historian, was our subject; in this one we are considering the mystical meaning of the action of Isaias as prophet; in the next article we shall see how that prediction was fulfilled, or the means chosen for its accomplishment; and in the concluding one, what was God's ultimate purpose, announced in the mystical prediction and attained by its fulfilment.

is, that his words would not have had that awful effect unless he were a *type*. It is precisely in this *real* prophecy as different from both symbolical and verbal announcement that the highest dignity of Isaias consists. This is the privilege which brings him nearest to Christ, and makes him emphatically the 'great prophet.' For as the sacrifice of the son of Abraham foreshadowed the crucifixion, so did the preaching of the son of Amos typify the preaching of the Incarnate God.

81. We have now seen that the prophecy was mystically fulfilled in respect of the unbelieving Jews of our Lord's time. But the words as quoted by our Lord¹ contain a difficulty that cannot be passed by in silence, even though here little should be done toward its removal. To take it, however, at first on its narrowest side, or to view it in its easiest aspect, speaking exclusively in parables was (to say the least of it) not conducive on that occasion to the enlightenment of the vast majority. The Apostles perceived this, and asked in astonishment: 'Why dost Thou speak to them in parables?' (i.e., *unexplained ones*).² How could He, Who came to seek and to save that which was lost, He Whose mission was to teach the truth, how could He be content to express Himself in language that He knew to be unintelligible? He alone had the words of eternal life, to whom should the people go but to him? The great multitudes that had gathered by the sea-shore were all eagerness to learn, but He had no desire to give them instruction.

But if anything could increase the amazement of the Apostles, it must have been his answer to their question. He spoke to the multitudes only in parables, because to them it was not given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. This is an obscure saying. If these words, however, were found only in St. Matthew's Gospel, it might,

¹ St. Matthew xiii. 13., p. 319.

² The Apostles were not in the least surprised at His employment of parables (for this was His habitual mode of teaching, and the one best suited to His hearers), but at his not explaining them. In St. Mark and St. Luke the Apostles do not inquire why He spoke to the people in parables, but they beg Him to tell them what the parables signified.

indeed, seem that what our Lord meant was: Though I am perfectly well aware that My doctrine cannot be understood if I speak only in parables, nevertheless I am resolved to do so in punishment of their sins. 'Therefore do I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see,' &c. But granted that this was His reason, it must have been hard for the Apostles to reconcile it with His habitual dealings towards men. Was not their ignorance and their misery His opportunity for mercy? How could the multitudes see the truth of His doctrine, unless he opened the eyes of their souls and filled them with His heavenly light? But in reality, when we compare the way in which St. Mark and St. Luke record His answer,¹ the difficulty before us becomes still greater. Jesus Christ spoke to those multitudes only in parables, *in order* that the multitudes should not understand. He unfolded their hidden meaning afterwards when alone with His Apostles, but not in the presence of the crowd. Even in the first Gospel we can see the appalling truth, if we only put some parts of His answer together. 'Because to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven (hear you, therefore, the parable of the sower), but to them it is not given; therefore do I speak to them in parables.'² This is *the* difficulty, perhaps the greatest one in the whole New Testament. Could the all-merciful Redeemer, who longed to give His life for the world's redemption, not only refuse to impart His doctrine, but deliberately hide it from so many eager listeners, and make it impossible for them to find it? And be it observed these were not Gentiles, to whom He was not sent; they were the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The only tenable interpretation of our Lord's answer in all three synoptic Gospels is, that the non-explanation of the parables was a means to an end, namely, to the reprobation of those Jews.

82. Let no man dare to manipulate the words of God, in the attempt to make their meaning less mysterious and awful. There might, indeed, be a temptation to minimize

¹ See page 319.

² St. Matthew, vv. 11, 13.

it, or, in plain English, to try to get out of the difficulty, and there might be at the same time a pretext for doing so, by adopting the gloss mentioned a few lines above, ostensibly, of course, on account of what our Lord says in v. 18: 'I speak to them in parables, because seeing they see not,' &c., and on account of the quotation from the Septuagint, which follows immediately after. But, as we saw in the second last article,¹ the Septuagint rendering of Isaias by no means implies that God was not a cause of the Jews' blindness or temporal reprobation. There are always two causes of reprobation—God and the sinner. The Septuagint mentions only one cause. It ascribes the Jew's blindness to themselves; that is all. On the other hand, the Hebrew original no less certainly indicates that God blinded the Jews. Thus text and translation (sanctioned by our Lord's using it) supplement each other; what one does not express, the other does.

In the same way, in the Gospel here, a reason for not revealing the sense of the parables is given, namely, the obduracy of the Jews. But the meaning of the passage is not, that this obduracy was the sole cause, and that our Lord only passively permitted the foreseen result of not explaining His parables to happen; all that can be said with truth is, that His words, as reported by St. Matthew, do not state that He positively acted in that way in order to bring about that result. But though, according to the first Gospel, Jesus Christ does not affirm that such was His deliberate intention, according to the parallel passages in the second and third He does so in the most express terms. The other two synoptic Evangelists record the same answer that St. Matthew does; hence the truth that is not in his Gospel, so to speak, *vi verborum*, is there *vi concomitantiae*. To quote from the original, St. Mark has: *ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἐξω ἐν παραβολαῖς πάντα γίνεται. ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσιν καὶ μὴ ἰδῶσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσιν καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μηποτε ἐωστρεψώσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς.* Vulgate, 'Illis autem, qui foris sunt, in parabolis omnia fiunt: ut videntes videant, et non videant: et audientes audiant et non intelligant: nequando

¹ See I. E. RECORD, August, pp. 140, 141.

convertantur, et dimittantur eis peccata.' And St. Luke has : τοις δε λοιποῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς, ἵνα βλέποντες μὴ βλέπωσιν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ συνιῶσιν. Vulgate, 'Ceteris autem in parabolis : ut videntes non videant, et audientes non intelligant.' In the phrase ἵνα βλέποντες, 'that seeing,' which occurs in both these Gospels, a word, namely, *ἵνα*, is used, which denotes a deliberate purpose on the part of the speaker.

83. This is a very important fact, as it enables us to determine with certainty the meaning of the corresponding conjunction in the Vulgate. *Ut* in Latin is somewhat ambiguous, as every schoolboy knows. It may signify purpose, or it may signify result. Indeed, in many passages only the meaning of the context can show whether *ut* is final or consecutive. In this respect Greek is far superior to Latin. It has one set of words (*ἵνα, ὅπως, ὥς*) for final, and another (*ὥστε, οἷος, ὅσος*) for consecutive sentences. The distinction is carefully observed in the Greek classics. Many writers of authority on the grammar of the Greek New Testament—Winer, Beelen, Ellicott, Moulton, Alford, Grimm, Meyer—hold that in the vast majority of places where *ἵνα* occurs, it expresses purpose. The contrary opinion is, however, maintained by some eminent scholars, such as Glassius, Schleusner, Titmann, Lightfoot, and others, who say it only indicates the result. Without going further into a question which is interesting only to specialists, we may observe that in exegetical language the opposite meanings ascribed to the word *ἵνα* are respectively called the 'telic' (*τελος, end, purpose*), and the 'ecbatic' (*ἐκβασις, event, result*). These are the technical names which constantly occur in N. T. commentaries, grammars, &c.

We by no means imply that *ἵνα* is 'telic' in all the passages where it is found. All we say is that it is so in the majority of instances, and that it has this meaning even in passages which might at first sight seem not to express purpose,¹ and that there is a large and most important class of passages in which *ἵνα* is invariably 'telic.' We mean

¹ See Beelen's *Grammatica Graecitatis N. Test.*, pp. 366-8.

those texts which affirm that a Messianic prophecy has been fulfilled; those texts where the prophecy that is quoted is preceded or introduced by the words *ἵνα πληρωθῇ*. Even where only an allusion is made to a prophecy of this kind, *ἵνα* indicates that what is described by the Evangelist was done in order to verify the prediction. Beelen,¹ treating of one of our two texts (Luke viii. 10), proves conclusively that the meaning of *ἵνα* in it is that our Lord spoke only in parables, and left them unexplained, in order that the prophecy of Isaias should be fulfilled. But it must not be imagined that our Lord's intention was only retrospective; there is much more than the fulfilment of a prophecy here. Christ was thinking also of those who were listening to Him. He explained the parable of 'the sower' and other parables to His Apostles, because He willed that they should understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; He did not explain those parables to the multitudes, because He willed that they should not understand.

84. It must, however, be acknowledged that some of the Greek fathers are opposed to this interpretation of the word *ἵνα*. St. Chrysostom in his Homily on St. John ix. 1,² says: "Some people affirm that this particle [*ἵνα*] is not "telic," but "ecbatic;" as, for instance, it is where He says "For judgment I am come into this world; that they who see not may see; and that they who see may become blind." The purpose of His coming was not that they who saw should become blind. And Paul also says, "Because that which is known of God is manifest to them, so that they are [*εἰς το εἶναι*] inexcusable." Yet He manifested it to them, not to deprive them of an excuse, but in order that they might

¹ *Ib.*, p. 479.

² Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, lix. 307.

3 1. Φασι δε τινες, οτι τουτο ουδε αιτιολογικον εστι ο επιρρημα, αλλα της εκβασεως· οιον ως οταν λεγη, Εἰς κριμα εγω ηλθον εἰς τον κοσμον τουτον, ἵνα οι μη βλεποντες βλεψωσι, και οι βλεποντες τυφλοι γενωνται. Και παλιν ο Παυλος. Το γαρ γνωστον του θεου φανερον εστιν ἐν αυτοις, εἰς το εἶναι αυτοις αναπολογητους. Κατοι ου δια τουτον εδειξεν, ἵνα αποστειρηθωσιν απολογιας, αλλ' ἵνα τυχωσιν απολογιας. Και παλιν αλλαχον· Νομος δε παρεισηλθεν, ἵνα πλεοναση το παραπτωμα. Κατοι ου δια τουτο παρεισηλθεν, αλλ' ἵνα κωλωθη η αμαρτια. Ορας πανταχου το επιρρημα της εκβασεως ον;

have one. And elsewhere, 'The law entered, that [*ina*] sin might abound.' Do you not see that in all these texts, the conjunction [lit. abverb] is ecbatic? Ammonius of Alexandria is in perfect accord with the great patriarch of Antioch. In his commentary on St. John,¹ Ammonius speaks as follows: 'God did not harden them, but He let them do what they liked; it was their own unbelief that hardened them'—*ina* is not causal, but ecbatic. For they did not believe, because he (Isaias) spoke so; but he spoke so because they would be unbelievers. Now, if the Evangelist does not state this, but says that the unbelief was due to the prophecy, he speaks in this way in order to emphasize the truth of the prophecy's fulfilment. The reason why prophets announce the future is to save people from falling into the snares of the devil. For they 'could not' is put here for they 'would not.' Because by 'power' we often mean 'intention.' St. John Damascene also is in favour of this interpretation of *ina*. He writes thus in his work *On the Orthodox Faith*,² 'It must also be observed that Scripture in several places expresses as telic what is in reality ecbatic. For instance, 'To thee only have I sinned, and I have done evil before thee; that [*ina*] thou mayst be justified in thy words, and mayst overcome when thou art judged.' 'He who sinned certainly did not do so with the intention that God might overcome.' With all due respect and deference to these great authorities on Scripture, the following observations may be permitted. The word *ina* must, *per se*, have a final

¹ xii. 38. Migne, lxxv. 1477. Οὐχ ὁ Θεὸς ἐπώρρωσεν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ συνεχώρησε ποιεῖν αὐθελόν· ἐσχόν δὲ τὴν πώρρωσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀπιστίας. Τὸ *ina* οὐκ αἰτιολογίας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐκβάσεως. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπειὴ εἶπεν, οὐκ ἐπιστεύσαν; ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐμελλόν πιστεῦναι, εἶπεν. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ εἶπεν οὕτως ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς προφητείας τὴν ἀπίστιαν εἶναι λέγει, τὸ ἀφενδὸς θελὼν δεῖξαι τῆς ἐκβάσεως τῆς προφητείας εἶπε τούτο. Διὰ τούτο δὲ προλεγουσιν αἱ προφηταί, ἵνα αἱ ὑψηλότες φείζωνται τοὺς διαβολικοὺς βόθρους. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἡδυναντο, κεῖται τοῦ οὐκ ἠθέλον. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δυναμὴν τὴν πρῶταις ἐννοοῦμεν.

² iv. 9. Migne, xciv. 1191. Καὶ τούτο δὲ ἴστωρ, ὅτι ἐθὺς τῇ Γραφῇ, τίνα ἐκβάτικως ἀφειδόντα λεγέσθαι, αἰτιολογικῶς λεγέειν ὡς τὸ 'Σοὶ μόνῳ ἡμάρτον, καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἡρὸν ἐνώπιόν σου ἐποίησα, ὅπως ἀν' ὀκταίωθης ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ ἐκκλησείς ἐν τῷ κρινέσθαι σε. Οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἁμαρτησας, ἵνα ἐκκλησῇ ὁ Θεός, ἡμάρτην.

or telic significance, else these Greek fathers who knew their own language so well, would not have thought it necessary to give an explanation of its apparently anomalous use in these particular instances.

85. Here it is necessary to speak of only two out of them all; the others will come before us in due time, as they all have an intimate connection with our subject, but they demand more explanation than can possibly be given in the limits of this article. Here, at present, it may be sufficient to say that we hope to be able to show that in every one of them *iva* has its full teleological import. In this case, as they are, in reality, so many cognate passages to those texts of St. Mark and St. Luke which we are occupied with at present, the reply to the objection based on them will be a collateral argument in favour of the interpretation maintained above.

The two texts on which we wish to make a few remarks here are Rom. i. 20 (quoted by St. John Chrysostom) and Ps. 1. 6 (quoted by St. John Damascene). With regard to the first one, it is quite enough to say that in it the word *iva* is not found. St. Paul says: *εις το ειναι αυτους αναπολογητους*, exactly as St. Chrysostom quotes him. St. Paul uses *εις το* with the infinitive in some places to express a telic meaning, in others to express an ecbatic one. It is evident that it is in the latter sense that *εις το* is used here. (Vulgate: 'Ita ut sint inexcusabiles.')

As regards the other quotation, paradoxical though it may be, it is, nevertheless, quite certain that the phrase in the *Miserere*, 'that (*iva*) thou mayst be just in thy words,' expresses the intention of glorifying God—of course, not on David's part, but on God's own. This may, perhaps, be novel and surprising to some of our readers, because the sense which St. John Damascene attributes to the words has, in fact, always been present to their minds when they read the Psalm. But the Hebrew text leaves no room for doubt on the matter. 'Lemahan,' the word which the Psalmist uses is a final conjunction; it expresses *intention*, and cannot express anything else. It is, in fact, the strongest word to express deliberate set purpose¹ that the Hebrew

¹ See I. E. RECORD, August, p. 115, note 2.

language possesses. And Patrizi, Wollter, and several other commentators on the Psalm agree in regarding the word here as telic, so that there is no lack of authority for this interpretation.

David had received the most extraordinary favours and sublime privileges. But David's double offence was most grievous. Were God to act as man might do, what would have been the consequence? There would have been only too much reason to fear that in punishment of David's heinous crimes, God would revoke the promises He had made to him, namely, that he was to be the ancestor of the Messias, and to have an everlasting kingdom. If these promises were not unconditional, God might with justice have thus requited David's iniquity. He had deprived Saul of his kingdom and of his life for much less. But the promises made to David were absolute; no conceivable wickedness could prevent their fulfilment.¹ And when David, moved by inspiration, poured forth his soul in the grandest act of contrition that was ever uttered by the lips of man, he proclaimed that God's purpose in letting him commit the twofold sin was precisely to manifest His own unalterable fidelity to His word. God always draws good out of evil; indeed, the only reason why He allows evil to be done is that He intends that evil to be the occasion to Himself of doing a still greater good. David's crimes were, it is true, aggravated by the blackest ingratitude, but God's ineffable goodness to him (or *mercy*, as it is emphatically called in 2 Kings vii. 15, Ps. lxxxviii. 2, 3, 25, 34, 50, Eccli. xlvii. 24) shone thereby all the brighter. The glory which He received in consequence of His mercy and fidelity far surpassed that of which David's sin had deprived Him. In the sixth verse of the *Miserere*, there is, therefore, no question of David's intention, but only of this divine one.

Everyone that understands the *Miserere* and its structure knows this to be the meaning of the sixth verse. The reasons why David hopes for pardon are of two kinds: he pleads on account of his own corrupt nature, and he appeals in virtue

¹ See Patrizi, *Biblicarum Quaestionum Decas, De rege David Nathan*.

of God's infinite mercy. These two motives for forgiveness are alternately expressed. Verses v. and vii. have reference to David; verses vi. and viii. have reference to God. In our verse, then, there is question only of the divine intention. Of course, no human mind could ever discover it, nor could the greatest created intelligence ever sound the depths of that abyss; none, beside God, would ever have known that in permitting David's double-dyed iniquity, His intention was simply to glorify His own immutable veracity, and that this intention could be appealed to as a motive for forgiveness. But it was revealed, however, to David; and when it was, the penitent king was so moved by the amazing truth, that he exclaimed: 'The hidden things of Thy wisdom Thou hast made manifest to me.'¹

If any further proof is demanded it need only be said that this interpretation of the sixth verse can claim the authority of St. Paul. The application of David's words; and the argument based on them in Rom. iii. 34, makes it certain that it was in the sense maintained here that St. Paul understood them. In reply to the tacit objection, that after all no great favour or benefit was conferred on the Jews by the Messianic 'promises,' because when Jesus Christ came they did not recognise Him, and therefore there was no great reason for God making those promises, the Apostle indignantly asks: 'For what if some of them have not believed? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid. But it is true: and every man a liar, as it is written, *That (iva) thou mayst be justified in thy words, and mayst overcome when thou art judged.*' The meaning of St. Paul's reply is, Are we, therefore, to imagine that the incredulity of the Jews will make God unfaithful to His promises? No! it were blasphemy to say so. On the contrary, let God be acknowledged to be the Infallible Truth itself, and in comparison with Him, let every man without exception be considered a liar. The Jews, therefore, are not cast off for ever. Precisely what happened when their great King David sinned is now happening over again, and pre-

¹ Septuagint and Vulgate, but not the Masoretic text.

cisely what God did then He is doing now in our own day. All God's promises to them will be kept to the letter. When those promises were made the sin of the Jews was foreseen, and that awful sin of theirs in rejecting Jesus Christ was allowed to happen in order that God's unalterable fidelity to His word should be manifested, and thus the promises should be fulfilled. God never said that all the Jews would be converted in the time of Christ or of His Apostles. God's plans have not been frustrated, let men do as they will ; God overrules all. Whatever sins the Jews are guilty of will and must, when the appointed time comes, be made the occasion of God's greater glory.

St. Paul answers the same objection, but at greater length, in the eleventh chapter, where he shows that by the sin of the Jews salvation came to the Gentiles. Here¹ he merely touches on the matter, and then in passing refutes the next remark : ' If the truth of God hath more abounded through my life unto His glory, why am I judged as a sinner ? ' ² This second objection, and St. Paul's rejoinder, are an additional proof—if, indeed, proof be still needed—of the correctness of the statement made above regarding his interpretation of the sixth verse of the *Miserere*.

Beelan and Cornely give the same explanation, and Cornely quotes for it St. Thomas, Cajetan, Salmeron, Natalis Alexander, and Estius (who, however, holds that 'ut' is consecutive). From all that has been said, it is evident that both David as regards himself, and St. Paul as regards the unbelieving Jews, speak only of God's purpose in not preventing their respective sins. St. John Damascene, on the other hand, appears to have considered only David's intention in committing the sin, but the saint's remark shows that he knew the proper meaning of *ut* to be the telic or final one.

It must be remembered that we are replying to an objection here, or engaged in proving that in the sixth verse of the *Miserere*, as it appears in the Septuagint, *ut* is not ecclastic. We do not infer from this fact that *ut* is always

¹ iii. 3, 4.

² v. 5.

telic elsewhere ; nor, indeed, would we assert that it is so. There are passages where it has a more or less ecabatic force, and others where it appears to have a subjective meaning. Where this occurs, good commentators direct attention to it. The point insisted on here is that the proper force of *iva* is telic, and that the passage adduced by St. John Damascene as a plausible example of the contrary sense is, when understood, seen to be in reality an instance of its having a telic meaning. In conclusion, to compare the corresponding words in the three languages, and thus to sum up what we have been saying — ‘*ut*’ may indifferently denote either intention or consequence ; *iva per se* implies intention, but is occasionally found with other meanings ; ‘*lemahan*’ signifies deliberate purpose, and can signify nothing less. If, then, we are in doubt about the meaning of ‘*ut*’ or of *iva* in certain passages of the Vulgate and the Septuagint, respectively, the best thing we can do is to read what competent authorities have to say on the subject, to compare parallel passages, if there be any, and especially to consult the original text. As the Holy Father says in his Encyclical on Biblical Studies :—‘*Quamvis enim ad summa rei quod spectat, ex dictionibus Vulgatæ hebreæ et græcæ bene eluceat sententia, attamen si quid ambigue, si quid minus accurate inibi elatum sit, “ inspectio præcedentis linguæ,” “ suasore Augustino, proficiet.”*’

May these golden words of Leo XIII. be ever treasured in the memory of all students of Scripture !

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

A NEW WORD ON ST. PATRICK

IN the history of Ireland, during the fifth century, there is no event of such importance as the introduction of Christianity, and in that work nobody played so great a part as did St. Patrick. To him and to those who laboured under his direction, the conversion of Ireland from Paganism has been always attributed, and in his own day, as in ours, he has borne the honourable title of Ireland's national apostle. The magnitude of his work, as well as his attractive personal character have furnished him with many biographers. Yet it would seem that a multitude of biographers do not always evolve certainty out of doubt, nor make plain what is obscure : and though much has been written of St. Patrick, the doubt and obscurity still remain. It is still doubtful when and where he was born ; much of his life has to be accounted for by theory and conjecture, and nobody can tell whether his age at death was 100 or 120 years. One adventurous sceptic has denied that such a man existed ; others maintain that there were not one but two St. Patricks ; whilst others appear to contemplate him as something more than human, have raised his most ordinary actions to the dignity of miracles, and have, without necessity and without reason, multiplied these miracles beyond belief. It is this confusion and exaggeration, this credulity and scepticism which have furnished a pretext for the gross misstatement of Gibbon, that, in the ninth century, there were sixty-six lives of St. Patrick, and that they contained sixty-six thousand lies.

A contemporary—Fiac of Sletty—gives St. Patrick's birthplace as Nemthor, which has been identified as Mont-Valerien near Paris ; more probability attaches to the opinion that he was born at Boulogne ; but a third view, very strongly supported and very widely accepted, is that he was born at Dumbarton in Scotland in 372. His father was Calpurnius, a deacon ; and his mother Conchessa, reputed to be

a relative of St. Martin of Tours. At all events, St. Patrick always held St. Martin in the highest veneration, and perhaps they were bound by ties of kindred. In what manner St. Patrick spent his early years we do not know. In his *Confession*, he says himself that 'up to his sixteenth year he did not know God,' and if these words be taken literally, they would indicate that he lived as a Pagan, having no respect for Christian truths. But the humility of a saint would prompt him to magnify his faults and minimize his merits, and the words may justly be regarded to mean, that he lived as so many youths have done, believing as a Christian, but heedless of the practices of his religion, not necessarily guilty of any grave offences against faith or morals, but rather of those sins of omission and carelessness, which so often spring from the waywardness of youth.

About 388, Niall, the Irish king, made a predatory expedition into Britain, plundered and robbed as he went along the coast, and, making a descent near Dumbarton, carried away St. Patrick and a number of others as captives. The saint was sold as a slave to a Pagan chief—Milcho—in Antrim, and here he spent six years. The son of a Roman decurio, and, therefore, brought up tenderly, he must have felt all the more keenly the condition to which he was reduced. Dressed in the poorest fashion, his diet of the coarsest, his position that of a slave, his occupation herding cattle and swine, nothing was wanting to complete his misery. Many in his condition would have murmured against Providence, perhaps fallen into despair; but it is in such circumstances that patience is tried and virtue gathers strength. St. Patrick took it all as punishment for the sins of his youth, and neither murmured nor repined. The snow and the sleet fell, the frost came, the biting wind blew over the hills of Dalriada, and to St. Patrick, clad in the scanty dress of a slave, it must have been trying in the extreme. Yet he bore it all patiently, and whilst he faithfully tended his master's property he constantly turned to God in his afflictions, and a hundred times in the day, and as many times in the night, he prayed. About 395, as the result of a vision, he himself says, he escaped to the coast embarked,

on board a vessel lying at anchor there, and after many hardships got back to his native land.

From the time of St. Patrick's arrival in Britain until his second coming to Ireland, in 432, there is an interval of nearly forty years, during which what he did and where he spent his time is not satisfactorily explained. The current tradition is, that he went to Tours to his relative St. Martin and that here he spent the closing years of the fourth century. Originally a soldier, Martin deserted the camp for the cloister, and at Marmoutier, near Tours, he established a community of monks. The fame of his sanctity went abroad, and in a short time he found himself surrounded by nearly eighty followers zealous to imitate his virtues. From the cell of a monk he was raised to the throne of a bishop, but the honours of the episcopacy he did not seek, and in his humility would have declined, and as Bishop of Tours he still lived the mortified life of a monk. He still dwelt in a monk's cell, gave his means to the poor, lived on bread and water, always wore haircloth, and in the austerity of his life, and the severity of his mortifications, his biographer might challenge a comparison with even St. Basil or St. Antony.

When St. Martin died, about 400, Patrick returned to his relatives in Britain, where he remained but a short time. Once more he went to Gaul and placed himself under the guidance of St. Germanus of Auxerre. This saint's career was not unlike that of St. Martin. An advocate and an orator, he had practised in the Roman courts, where he acquired a reputation for eloquence. A successful man of the world and addicted to its pleasures, he suddenly changed his life, relinquished fame and riches, and for the applause of the world he substituted the solitude and obscurity of a convent cell. Like St. Martin from being a monk he became bishop, but it was his rank and not his life that was changed, for he still wore his shirt of hair-cloth, never drank wine, and slept on the bare earth. It was here St. Patrick acquired most of his learning, here he was advanced to the priesthood, and here, according to some, he spent fifteen, according to others, he spent thirty years. The state of Ireland was

often before his mind ; in his visions and dreams he heard the plaintive cry of its people asking him to come and walk amongst them, and in his waking moments he must have mourned over their pitiable condition, steeped in Paganism and error. Amongst them he felt was his call to labour, and after consultation and advice he proceeded to Rome for the necessary authority. On his way he stayed for some time at the monastery of Lerins, then presided over by St. Honoratus ; thence he passed on to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop, and commissioned by Pope Celestine, the reigning Pope, to proceed to Ireland. Passing through Britain, and accompanied by some priests and bishops from Gaul, he arrived in Ireland in 432. To this traditional account of St. Patrick's life grave objections are raised. They are put with clearness by Whitley Stokes, and by him are considered fatal to its acceptance. It is said that if St. Patrick was absent from Ireland nearly forty years he would have forgotten to speak the Irish language in 432, and it appears he spoke it well ; that if he lived so long in the school of St. Germanus, he would be able to write better Latin than he wrote in his *Confession* ; that one so zealous to convert the Irish would never wait for forty years to begin ; and—most fatal objection of all—that if he was absent from Ireland so long he could not write as he has done, that he lived among the Irish ‘a juventute mea.’ Regarding these objections as fatal to the current tradition, Whitley Stokes has his own theory, which is, that St. Patrick, after escaping from captivity, went to Gaul, acquired sufficient learning to get ordained there ; then, as a priest, he came to Ireland, where he remained several years, but meeting with poor success went back to Gaul, and thence to Rome, where he was consecrated bishop, and proceeded to Ireland in 432.

This theory is plausible, but not necessarily true ; for what is plausible is not always true ; nor should the current tradition be lightly set aside for what, after all, is but a theory. If St. Patrick never met any Irish in Gaul, and never spoke Irish, for nearly forty years, probably he would have forgotten it altogether. But there was intercourse

between Ireland and Gaul; there were Christians in Ireland; and might not some of these have met St. Patrick in Gaul, perhaps occupied cells at Marmoutier or Auxerre? St. Patrick evidently looked forward for years to preaching the Gospel in Ireland, and to speak the Irish language he knew would be a necessary preparation for the work; and whatever opportunities were thrown in his way to speak it he would certainly seize. To write a language with facility requires practice, and perhaps St. Patrick had but little practice in writing Latin at Auxerre. In Ireland he had much less, for his time was occupied in preaching to the people, founding churches and schools, passing from one district to another but everywhere speaking the language of the people. It was at the close of his life that he wrote his *Confession*. He had then spent nearly sixty years in Ireland; his tongue and pen had become habituated only to the Irish language, and by that time he would have lost the art—if he ever had it—of writing Latin with facility. His zeal to convert the Irish was undoubted, but zeal, to be effective, must be tempered, by prudence. He should first acquire knowledge, which, to one altogether ignorant as he was, when he escaped from Ireland, must have taken many years. When he had the knowledge he should consult his superiors, he should await their decision, and act on their advice, and this might take many years more. If we must necessarily take the words ‘a juventute mea’ in the strictly literal sense, they would mean that St. Patrick came to Ireland at latest in 412—that is, before he had passed his fortieth year. But it may easily be that the words are to be taken differently. When St. Patrick wrote he was an old man and had already laboured for over fifty years in Ireland. And as he remembered the dangers he passed through, the hardships he underwent, the miseries he had borne, through that long space of time, he must have thought that, at the commencement the vigour and activity of youth were his, and that in everything—even in years—he was young. Perhaps it may be that he contemplates, not the number of his years, but rather the vigour and activity of his body

and mind. However the words be explained, the year 432 has been taken as the year of his arrival in Ireland.

He found much changed since his escape from captivity. Niall of the Nine Hostages was dead, being assassinated in 405, while in Gaul. He left a numerous family, amongst whom his dominions were divided, the Ulster portion going to his sons, Owen and Connell. His nephew, Dathi, was his successor, and he, too, made incursions into Britain and Gaul. Tradition has it that while leading his army at the foot of the Alps he was killed by lightning, the event occurring in 428. His successor was Laeghaire, son of Niall. There were Christians in Ireland in these days, and, in 430, Palladius, a bishop and native of Britain, was sent by Pope Celestine 'ad Scotos in Christum credentes.' To what extent Christianity existed is uncertain, but the number of Christians must have been few. Palladius met with many obstacles, and this, probably, coupled with the feebleness of declining health, must have disheartened him. He left Ireland and returned to Britain, where he soon died, leaving to St. Patrick both the labour and the glory of converting the Irish to the faith.

The place of St. Patrick's landing was probably Bray, in the County of Wicklow. In the spirit of a saint, returning good for evil, his first care was for his old master, Milcho, who still lived, and, with the object of converting him, he proceeded northwards. But the stern old Pagan would have none of his Christianity : a Pagan he was born and a Pagan he would die. Rather than meet St. Patrick and submit to the indignity of being instructed by his former slave, he set his house on fire, and, taking his treasures, jumped into the flames, where he perished. With Dichu, another Northern chief, Patrick was more successful. He and his household were baptized, and he also gave Patrick a site for his first church, at Saul, near Downpatrick, where, long afterwards, the Apostle died. Passing southwards, St. Patrick met, near Dundalk, a youth named Benin, or Benignus, who became his most attached follower, as well as coadjutor in the archdiocese of Armagh. It was at Slane, and in

sight of Tara itself, that St. Patrick determined to celebrate the Paschal feast, and here he lighted the Paschal fire. It was a dangerous thing to do. The Ardri and his court were then assembled at Tara, and were celebrating some great Pagan festival—perhaps the birthday of the King himself. During the continuance of the festival, it was unlawful to light any other fire, except the fire of Tara, and whoever did committed a crime for which death alone could atone. His Druids informed the King of the fire lighted at Slane, and one of them prophetically announced that ‘if that fire is not put out to-night it will never be put out in Erin.’ If the fire represent, as it may, the fire of Christianity, the prophecy has been fulfilled. Sometimes the fire has burnt low, the heat it gave out was small and its light was dim; but never once, through so many centuries, has it been completely extinguished.

Laeghaire was not of the material of which converts are easily made. Brought up in Paganism, he clung with tenacity to Pagan errors. Much influenced by the Druids, he wished for no other priesthood, regarded with ill-favour this new religion, which preached self-denial, even to kings, and looked with disdain upon its accredited apostle, so humble and poor. But the greatest difficulty was with the Druids. They were fighting for their great privileges, and had an instinctive dread that if Christianity got any foothold in Ireland their power was gone for ever. The artifices of the dishonest, the tricks of the unscrupulous, the weapons of despair and even of murder they did not hesitate to use, and more than once the life of St. Patrick was attempted. The contest between them and the saint reminds us of that between Aaron and the Egyptian magicians, and the result in both cases was the same, for the victory was with Patrick as with Aaron. His biographers tell with delight how the Druid, invoking the ordeal of fire, was burned to ashes, whilst Benignus, the Christian champion, remained untouched; how the Druids brought snow, as well as darkness, on the plain, but were unable to remove either, until St. Patrick intervened; and how, when the King, enraged at the death of his Druid, attempted the Apostle's

life, twelve thousand of the King's followers were miraculously slain. The sceptic will regard these statements as the utterances of partiality; but the fact remains that Christianity conquered; that Laeghaire himself embraced the new faith, though he did not persevere in it; that Dubhtach, the chief poet, was converted, and that thousands followed his example; and that, at Tara, Druidism received a shock which was but the precursor of final ruin.

After remaining at Tara some time, and baptizing many, St. Patrick advanced northwards, overthrew the idol of Crom Cruach, in Leitrim, and erected a Christian church where it had stood. From Leitrim he passed over the Shannon, and traversed Connaught, remaining in that province for seven years. By every class, except the Druids, he was well received; and from every class, even from the Druids, he made converts, amongst the first fruits of his labours being the two daughters of the Ardri, who were being fostered at Cruachan. In Ulster his movements are traced through Donegai, Kinnell Owen, Dalraida in North Antrim, Dal Araidhe in South Down, and Monaghan. In Kinnell Owen he was hospitably entertained by the ruling prince Owen, son of Niall, at his palace of Ailcach; and at Monaghan he appointed Macarten Bishop of Clogher. Soon afterwards he is to be found in Meath, where he visited Tara, and about this time, consecrated Fiac as Bishop of Leinster, with his episcopal residence at Sletty. When he had traversed the other provinces, he entered Munster, for the first time; and here, as in Connaught, he remained for seven years. Aengus, the King of Cashel, received him well, and himself and his people were baptized; similar success awaited him among the Deisi, and when he left Munster, the whole province had embraced Christianity. Through Leinster he passed to Armagh, his life being twice attempted on the way. Once his charioteer was mistaken for himself, and was murdered; and, further north, a pagan chief, Maccuill, attempted, unsuccessfully, the life of 'this shaveling who deceives everyone.'

At Armagh St. Patrick obtained land from a chief called Dare, and on this land he built a church, and made Armagh

the principal see of Ireland, a dignity which it still retains.

He had now traversed every district of Ireland; all classes had listened to his preaching, and from all classes converts had been made. He had met in argument and confounded his greatest enemies—the Druids. Brehons and poets, princes and kings, had not only become his disciples, but in many cases his bishops and priests. Numbers of high-placed virgins, following the example of St. Bridget, had renounced the world and its pleasures, and retired into the solitude of the cloister: many of them incurred the anger of their parents in doing so. He had, according to Nennius, built three hundred and sixty-five churches, consecrated an equal number of bishops, and ordained three thousand priests. He had held synods, and passed decrees for the government and regulation of the Church; amongst others, that famous decree that whatever disputes could not be settled in Ireland were to be referred to Rome. Whilst he yet lived, schools were established, convents and monasteries were being rapidly multiplied; and, a century after his landing in Ireland, no less than three hundred and fifty Irish lived whose names are enrolled among the saints.

Those who regard the Church as a mere human institution, and reject everything, except human effort, in the propagation of its doctrines, will ask, with surprise and incredulity, how all this could be accomplished by a single man. In the selection of persons to assist him, and in making use of what opportunities were thrown in his way, St. Patrick showed great wisdom. Knowing that the common people are like a flock of sheep, who will follow their leader, he addressed himself first to the kings and princes, and when their conversion was effected, the task with the common people was less difficult. The Brehons and bards, the poets and historians, whose position and learning claimed the respect of the people, he appointed to offices in the Church; the Druids, if they became converts, were treated similarly; but with Druidism itself he would have no parley and no compromise, feeling that between it and Christianity there existed an irreconcilable antagonism.

Yet he wished to disturb existing institutions as little as possible. The power of the princes, the privileges of the bards, the office and duties of the Brehons, the peculiar constitution of the sept and clan, were the same in Christian as in Pagan times. Crom Cruach and his idols were replaced by the Christian Church with its cross; the priests and bishops succeeded the Druids; for the feast of Beltaine was substituted the festival of St. John, and for Samhan that of St. Martin. If the laws were revised under his supervision, as it appears they were, it was not to abolish them altogether: it was rather to reduce them to order, to purge them of Paganism, to bring them into harmony with the wants of Christianity.

Thus was the transition from paganism to the Gospel made easy. The piety of the saint, his humility and poverty, his sympathy with the distressed, his charity to the poor, his manifest sincerity, his self-sacrifice, must have attracted many towards him. But even all this will not explain how one so poor, without great learning or exalted birth, was able to overcome the fierce opposition of the Druids, to bring a whole nation to the faith, and to level to the dust the most venerated idols of Paganism. The least credulous will involuntarily remember, that when St. Paul preached, it was not in the lofty strains of human eloquence; that it was Galilean fishermen, and not philosophers, who were selected to preach the Gospel through all lands; and, remembering these things, they can the more easily recognise St. Patrick, as but a capable and willing instrument in the hands of the Divine Founder of his faith. The closing years of the apostle's life were spent at Saul, near Downpatrick; and during these years of retirement he wrote his *Confession*, and, perhaps, also his Epistle to Caroticus. The *Confession* is an explanation of his own conduct and motives, whilst the Epistle is addressed, partly in entreaty, partly in anger, to a British prince who had pillaged the Irish coast, and brought away many of the Christian Irish into captivity. Petrie gives the date of St. Patrick's death, as 493.

The civil history of the period contains little worth

recording. Like his predecessors, Niall and Dathi, Laeghaire continued to harass the Britons, and the sufferings of that afflicted people must have been great. In a petition for help to the Roman Consul, in 446, which was appropriately called the 'groans of the Britons,' they complain that they are entirely at the mercy of the Picts and Scots; and that while these savages drive them into the sea, the sea flings them back on the shore, so that theirs was the pitiable alternative, either to perish in the waves or be murdered upon land. But no help came from Rome. The resources of the empire were strained to the utmost in the struggle with Attila, and while Italy and even Rome was menaced, Britain was forgotten. In this extremity the Britons appealed to the pirates of the German Ocean; and these marauders came as mercenaries, but were soon strong enough to remain as masters. Henceforth, the Irish king found it more prudent to cease his foreign depredations: yet at home he was not at peace, and, in exacting the Boru tribute, his relations with Leinster were those of perpetual and bitter conflict. Before his death, in 458, he relapsed into paganism, thinking that if he died a Christian, he would insult the memory of his pagan ancestors. He was buried at Tara, standing erect, clothed in full armour, his face turned towards the Leinstermen, so that in death, as in life, he would seem to menace his ancient foe. Of the two succeeding kings, Oilíoll Molt, who died in 479, and Iughaid, who reigned at the opening of the sixth century, little is known; neither did anything remarkable, and if they had not been kings, history would not remember even their names.

E. A. D'ALTON.

IRISH EXILES IN BRITTANY

V.

HITHERTO we have been concerned in these papers with Irish exiles who found a passing refuge in Brittany, but who never definitely broke their relations with Ireland, and lived with the hope of one day returning home again. Exile to them was a bitter necessity, and intensified the ardour of their patriotism. Whether they worked or studied abroad their eyes were always turned to the west, and they counted the days until they should pass over the seas, and give all their energies to the service of the island of sorrows. No Irishman worthy of the name can withhold from them the fullest measure of his sympathy, and if there is such a thing as historical gratitude it must be given without stint to those whose resolute fealty to Ireland remained always the directing influence of their lives.

That there were influences at work likely to undermine this natural allegiance to their own country will appear from the different directions taken by those of the exiles whose careers will form the theme of this chapter. It is beyond our power, at this distance of time, and with the meagre details that have come down to us, to examine the motives which induced them to leave the service of Ireland for that of France, and dissociate themselves so completely from the ideals of duty which obtained among their brother exiles. In such moments of life-choice personal issues enter very largely, and the new direction taken may have been based upon facts and exigencies that absolutely justified a course of action which seems to us far below the level of those heroic times. The apparent reason is not far to seek, and arises from the very different conditions of French and Irish life at that period.

The state of the mother country was not at all likely to attract, from merely natural motives, the service of men who had passed their youth and early manhood amid the cultured

and refined society of the Continent. Irish Catholics had been deprived of every intellectual resource; and while other nations were in the springtime of modern life and letters, they lay in complete fallow, and the growth and evolution of the national genius was an utter impossibility. The society that arose from this condition of torpor and intellectual void was not such as would make the journey homewards one of pleasant anticipation to men who had been during their most impressionable years in touch with the new civilization, which if it increases our strength nearly always multiplies our needs. One can hardly imagine a more complete contrast than then obtained between the field of ecclesiastical work in Ireland and in France. In Ireland there was a persecuted Church that did not dare to raise its voice lest its hiding-place might be discovered. The ministry, for the most part, was exercised by stealth and in the night time, the pomp of the ritual was laid aside, the pulpit was silent, and there was nothing left to console the hunted priest but the fealty of his people, and 'the argument of things unseen,' that is at the root of every martyrdom. To fully understand the character of the Irish priest of that period we must place this picture beside the radiant splendour of the French Church which then reached the very zenith of its glory. It lived and worked as an integral factor of the national life, whose force was communicated to it; the general culture reacted upon the sanctuary, and lent all its charm to ecclesiastical society. Catholic truth found interpreters whose work remains the ideal of Christian defence and apology; in a word, the Church in France enjoyed all the privileges and advantages which naturally flow from her intimate union with a great Christian state.

If, as may easily be imagined, the Irish student in France when his studies were completed had given him a chance of mixing in the society around him, then its attractions must have made it still harder to renounce its delights, and busy himself in a world where all the lights of life were extinguished, and association with kindred spirits a sheer impossibility. He should have to renounce, too, the use of

a language which had learned to adapt itself to all the purposes of letters, and return to the tongue of his people which had been crossed in its growth, and had never been *vis-à-vis* with the thought and enterprise of the modern mind, so that a return to Ireland meant not alone the prospective trials of missionary life, but the surrender of what Burke calls the 'unbought grace of life,' whose loss to a man of education and refinement is the worst blow that adverse fortune can give. So that we must not be too severe upon those men who were unequal to these great sacrifices, and elected to serve God and His Church in a land which had become to them a second fatherland, and which had shaped their characters in such a way that they were better fitted for the quiet ministry given them in Brittany, than for the life of struggle and sacrifice that would have awaited them at home.

To these general causes may be added that at that period the supply of French priests was not equal to the needs of the diocese, which, consequently, had a very strong motive in attracting to its service those Irishmen whose virtues and talents were personally known to the bishops. Then, again, the benefices at that time were largely in the gift of local magnates, and this enlarges the area of personal interests involved, and so gives another motive to the variety of choice in the filling of pastoral charges. As the nobles were largely engaged in military service, and in this way must have been in intimate relation with the Irishmen who had entered the army, we may see in this yet another reason why they should wish to have near them the compatriots of their companions in arms. Whatever the ultimate reason of it may have been, the fact is that we have now to deal with a number of Irish priests who in the eighteenth century became naturalized citizens of France and settled down to ordinary parish work in Brittany with the full sanction and acceptance of the diocesan authorities. In dealing with them we are met with the same dearth of personal detail of which in the course of this series we have had over and over again to complain. In so far as the records of the diocese speak of them we get merely a list of names and the

dates of presentation to various benefices, and no historical process, so far as I know, can invest such facts with more than a very limited interest. Position, however high, is, after all, but a platform from which men of capacity may readily show their personal gifts and accomplishments; taken in itself, and apart from successful work of some sort, it really means very little. I must once again express my regret that I cannot find a tittle of evidence that might justify me in forming any estimate of the talents or virtues of those with whom I shall now proceed to deal. I should be glad to note in their connection some evidence of their wit, or eloquence, or signal pastoral zeal, but I cannot find any fact or tradition to sustain any opinion whatsoever, and must deny myself the one luxury of a chronicler who always delights in making favourable appreciations of his heroes.

The most distinguished of those who entered into the ministry in France was undoubtedly the Reverend Cornelius O'Keeffe, who attained such eminence as to justify us in giving an extended notice of his life. He came of an ancient family who had large possessions in the county Cork from which they were expelled during the Cromwellian period.¹ The precise position of their property was at Glenville, on the river Bride, and it is a remarkable coincidence that in this neighbourhood, too, was born the Right Rev. Dr. Barry, of whom we have already spoken in this series. The family suffered much hardship during these troubled times, and at length settled at Drumkeene, county Limerick, where Cornelius O'Keeffe was born. I cannot find the precise date of his birth but it must have been about 1670, as I find among his papers at the cathedral here a certificate of his having received the tonsure at the hands of the Archbishop of Bordeaux on March 29, 1686. In this document he is styled, 'Filio naturali et legitimo Dionysii et Honoræ O'Daly conjugum, Seminarii Burdigal alumno;' which fixes the college where, we may assume, he commenced his ecclesiastical studies. There is a sad lack of evidence concerning the remaining portion of

¹ *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.* July, 1893.

his college career, although the main facts are sufficiently sustained by eminent authority. In a letter dated the 18th December, 1884, the late Bishop of Limerick, the Right Reverend Dr. Butler, states, 'we have it on our records that he made his studies at Toulouse, where he became a Doctor of Divinity;' and this, of course, settles the principal point, and if it passes over in silence the course of his studies, assures us of their honourable close. The year of his ordination to the priesthood we cannot determine, nor the time in which he proceeded to his degree. Of his life, too, until he became incorporated with the diocese of Nantes, I can find no record of any sort. He enters into the lists of the Irish exiles in Brittany on September 19th, 1710, when he was presented to the bishops and chapter of Nantes as having been nominated to the rectorship of the parish of St. Similien.¹ In the document which treats of his promotion there is no mention made of his holding any other prebend; abundance of adjectives are joined with his name, but to none of them is associated the care of souls. He is styled 'venerabilem et discretum Magistrum Cornelium O'Keeffe presbyterum Hibernum, capacem et idoneum utpote doctorem Theologum,' and all these titles go to show that the motives for his selection were found rather in his academic success than in any work of administration hitherto accomplished by him. I think we are justified in assuming that Dr. O'Keeffe came directly from Toulouse to Nantes, and that he commenced his public career as a pastor in Brittany.

There is little or no record left of his life at St. Similien; his name, of course, remains on the parish register, and some indefatigable delver into the past has gone to the trouble of transcribing some of his entries; but I shall spare my readers these details as they throw no light on his character, and are only of moment in so far as they show he

¹ This parish is now one of the largest in the city and is noted for its magnificent church. In Dr. O'Keeffe's time it had not the same prominence, and was mostly outside the city walls. In the acts of the chapter it is styled 'parochialem ecclesiam Sancti Similiani prope et extra muros Civitatis Nannetensis.' It will be recalled that in this church the Bishop of Cork founded the Novena de la Misericorde.

was in residence at the period and performed the ordinary duties of his office.

He continued for ten years as parish priest of St. Similien, and then was enabled by the favour of the Holy See to give what remained of his life to the service of his native land. The circumstances under which he returned home were of the most honourable kind, as he was appointed during March, 1720, by Papal Brief, bishop of his native diocese.² The see had been vacant for eighteen years owing to the troubled times, and had been ruled during that period by the parish priest of Rathkeele, the Very Rev. James Stretch. Although his life in Limerick does not directly affect our purpose here, yet we may say in passing that his tenure of office was marked by many notable occurrences. With the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Cork he was denounced as being in conspiracy with the Papal Nuncio at Brussels to restore James II. to the throne of England. An inquisition was ordered by the authorities, and the papers of the Bishop of Cork were seized; but no compromising documents were found, and the charge was abandoned. Dr. O'Keeffe was held in high esteem in Rome, which appointed him Delegate Apostolic in 1732 to settle a dispute between the Archbishop of Tuam and the Warden of Galway, and the choice of him for this high office places him among the most able prelates of his time.

His duties in Ireland did not completely sunder his relation with Brittany or with France, of which he was a naturalized citizen. In 1734-35, he came to Nantes, and represented the Bishop at the annual ordinations of the diocese. It would seem that his stay was prolonged beyond all canonical limits, as he is given as officiating at the ordinations from June 19th, 1734, when he ordained fifty candidates to March 5th, 1735, when he pontificated on a like occasion in his former church at St. Similien. Among the young ecclesiastics I find many Irish names, and nearly all of them from the western dioceses.

² Brady, *Essays*, p. 81. In a letter of Dr. Butler I find these words: "We have no account of where or by whom he was consecrated, but we may assume that, as priest of the diocese, he was consecrated at Nantes."

To further show his sympathies with his countrymen in France, Dr. O'Keeffe, founded three burses in the Irish College at Paris, for the education of natives of Ireland, especially those of his own kindred and name. The instrument in which this foundation is established is yet to be found at the College of Arms, London, and in it the Bishop describes himself as being 'of the O'Keeffes of Fermoy, distinguished by their actions, their alliances and their estates.' This was written at Paris, in 1731, but was not registered until September, 1737, nine months after his death. The wording of this document left some doubt as to the intentions of the founder; in fact, it was contested by Dr. Walsb, Bishop of Cork, who insisted that the burses were for his diocese only. The case was brought before the Paris tribunals, but was never definitely settled. After a varied and active career spent in the service of the two nations then so closely allied, Monsignor O'Keeffe died on May 4th, 1737, and was buried in St. John's churchyard, in the city of Limerick; but of his tomb there is now no trace.

The last mention of his name in the annals of Brittany, occurs in connection with some benefices held by him in the parish of Machecoul, in the diocese of Nantes. In the annals of that parish we read, that on September 25th, 1737 :—

Messire Christophe Fuchant de Lorme, présentateur des benefices fondés par dame Guillemette Giraud, en l'église de la Trinité de Machecoul, sur la connaissance qu'il a eu depuis peu du décès de Monsigneur O'Keeffe évêque de Limerick en Irlande dernier titulaire, presente un titulaire pour les benefices et pour la chapellenie de Notre Dame La Noire ou desclercs a Ste. Croix de Machecoul.¹

It will be seen from this, that the Bishop did not cease to be a member of the French clergy on becoming the occupant of the see of Limerick. It may be well to note, that the obligations attached to his French benefices were in no sense pastoral, and were limited to the saying of some fixed masses which, of course, he could discharge

¹ *Insinuations*, 25 Octobre, 1737.

through the ministry of other priests. Further he sought and obtained the permission of the Pope for these transactions, so that all was done in perfect canonical order. It is worthy of note, that his successor in these benefices was also of Irish or English extraction, as we read in the records of the parish that in 1751 the priest who held them was Guillaume Fitzharris Giffard, who then lived in Paris. From this we may gather how scarce French priests were at this period, or else how highly esteemed the Irish priests were by those who were responsible for ecclesiastical appointments.

On September 7th, 1713, Father Daniel Phelan was appointed to the chaplaincy of Sainte Anne, in the parish of Carquefon, by Monsigneur Gilles de Beauvais. He is described as the 'Venerable et discret Messire Daniel Phelan, prêtre de Kilmacduagh en Irlande, idoine et capable de l'avoir et posséder ayant été naturalisé François par lettre de Juillet, présente année. Signée, Louis.' He took possession on the September following, and held it until his death on October 4th, 1726, when he was succeeded by Father Denis Flannery. He is described as being of the diocese of Clonfert, and a naturalized French citizen by letters patent of September of the same year. He entered into office on October, 1726, and celebrated Mass in the presence of a large congregation. Father Patrick Woulf was appointed to the chaplaincy of Clisson, on November 19th, 1713, and took possession on the 23rd of the same month. In the registers he is described as 'prestre du diocèse de Killaloe en Irlande, bien et deument naturalisé, sujet et regnicole de France, idoine, suffisant et capable.'¹ This benefice had already been held by Dr. John Leyne, who is described as an Irish priest residing in Paris, but of whose subsequent history I can find no record. Among those present at the installation of Father Woulf I find the name Oleyne, but there is no mention of the fact that he had any connection with the place. There is no further mention of an Irish priest in this parish, and I cannot find the date of Father Woulf's death.

¹ *Insinuations*, 7 Dec. 1713.

On November 11th, 1706, an Irish priest, Father M'Carthy, was appointed administrator of the parish of Douges, but of him there are no further particulars. This parish had a passing connection with the Irish exiles when, in 1749, Father Michael O'Ferral, of the Irish Seminary, Nantes, took possession of the chaplaincy of St. Catharine, in the parish of Gestigne, on June 21st, 1760. On his death, in 1764, Father James Gennan obtained this benefice. He is described as an Irishman, living in Paris, and originally of the diocese of Tuam. He died on April 29th, 1769.

On the 14th of January, 1737, M. Gabriel de la Forêt, Count of Armaillé, presented Fr. Colman O'Loghlen to the chaplaincies of St. Nicholas and de la Robinitière, in the parish of Haute-Goulaine. Father O'Loghlen resided in Paris, and is described as an Irish priest of the diocese of Kilfenora. He took possession on February 19th, 1737, by a procurator, and one of the witnesses is given as Reverend Patrick Courtin, an Irish priest residing at Nantes.

Half a century afterwards these same benefices were held by Reverend Thomas Doyle, 'prêtre du diocèse de Ferns et Comté de Wexford.' He was presented to the Bishop of Nantes, and accepted on March 14th, 1788, and took possession on the 18th of the same month. As his tenure of office coincided with the revolutionary epoch it would be interesting to know how he fared, but I can find no document which speaks of him or his subsequent fortunes.

The Reverend Patrick Wolf was appointed to the chaplaincies of St. Joachim and St. Catherine du Hallay, in the parish of La Haye. He was ordained in 1698 by Monsignor Giles de Beauveau at the chapel of the Ursulines at Nantes. He resigned on May 20th, 1723. On the 9th December, 1771, the Reverend Jean M'Brady took possession of these benefices. He is described as 'pretre, originaire d'Irlande, naturalisé par lettres du Prince dument insinuées enterinées et enrégistrées, et demeurant à la Fosse de Nantes.'¹ On July 23rd, 1723, the Reverend Michael Flannery was

¹ Ev. de Nantes. *Insinuation*, 19 Dec., 1771.

appointed parish priest of Lavan by the Bishop of Nantes on the death of the former pastor, Nicholas de la Fosse. Father Flannery is given as a doctor of the University of Nantes. He took possession on the 29th July in the presence of Father Burke, parish priest of St. Similien, and Father Eugeran (?) another Irish priest¹ in residence at Nantes.

A remarkable incident occurred some months afterwards when a French priest, M. Jéronel Rifflet endeavoured to claim the benefice. It would seem that the Bishop of Tours had the right of presentation, and being unaware of the appointment of Fr. Flannery the chapter conferred the parish upon M. Rifflet of the Nantes diocese. He took steps to make good his claim, and brought the case before the tribunals, with the result that 'il se presente à la poste de l'église avec ses notaires et temoins, mais Fr. Flannery intervint et opposa que ledit Sieur Rifflet ny notaires entrassent ny fissent aucune fonction dans ladite eglise.' The Pretender, however, made good his way into the church, but had to sign the formal documents affirming his possession in a neighbouring house 'l'entrée de la maison curiale lui ayant été formellement refusée.'² But his energetic action did not invalidate Dr. Flannery's rights, and the Irish exile remained in peaceable possession until his death, in 1730.³

I find a note of the death of Father Peter Burke, rector of St. Similien, on October 13th, 1724. He must have been the immediate successor of Dr. O'Keeffe in this parish. In the mortuary notice he is described as

Docteur en theologie, ci-devant recteur de Paix, Chapelain de Saint-Julien, Supérieur de la maison de Messieurs les prêtres Irlandais, décédé après jours de maladie, âgé environ 48 ans. inhumé au grand Cimetière Saint-Similien en présence des Sieurs Thomas Burke, son neveu, Sparks, prêtre chap. de Saint-Julien, G. Stack, prêtre procureur de la communauté Irlandaise, Walsh docteur en Sorbonne, Supérieur de la communauté à Nantes.

Of this distinguished man I find no further particulars. He was the last Irish rector of St. Similien, which had

¹ *Ibidem*, August 10, 1723

² Ex. de Nantes, 19 May, 1724

³ Registres parassiales de Lavan.

been in association with our people from the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Bishop of Cork and Cloyne did so much for its spiritual interests.

Of the exiles who were members of religious orders I can find mention of only two, and of them there is nothing said that would give a clue to their family or the locality in Ireland from which they originally came. They were brothers and Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur. The eldest, Dom Gabrill Duby, was appointed to the priory of the Holy Trinity, Clisson, on January 2nd, 1748, and resigned in favour of his brother, Dom Martin Duby, on June 15th, 1755. He died during 1766.

On March 14th, 1802, Father John Eugene O'Brien, who was born at Enniscorthy, died at the Hôtel Dieu, Nantes, at the age of 38 years. There are no other particulars recorded of him. Perhaps he was attached to the Irish Seminary, and for some reason remained in France after his brethren had been expelled.

During the same year Father John Baptist M'Carthy was executed on the charge of treason to the republic. He had been taken prisoner in 1795, but succeeded in making his escape on October 15th of that year. He was condemned to death by a council of war on November 8th, 1802; and the sentence was carried out in the place du Banffay, Nantes, on November 14th.¹ This is the only Irish victim of whom I find any mention in connection with the political troubles of that time.

From this period the special relations between the Irish Church and Brittany seem to have definitely ceased. The suppression of the Irish College at Nantes removed the primary reason why Irish students should come to this city, and the establishments of seminaries at home practically brought to a close the state of things that made exile a necessary condition of adequate training for Irish priests; but we cannot forget the generous action of Brittany in the evil days, now for ever passed, when she gave asylum to our

¹ *La commune et Mairie de Nantes par Camille McEint.* June 1. Page 141.

bishops, priests, and students, and in this way became a factor in our national life. For my part, I am glad to have been able to throw some light upon this almost forgotten section of our national annals. Without some treatment of the Irish exiles in Brittany, a notable part of our ecclesiastical history should remain without sufficient explanation, and some remarkable men be lost altogether to historic view. I do not offer these pages as worthy of study, because of the direct value of the facts collected in them ; I propose them simply to those who are interested in the studies of the formation of the Irish Church of our own time, inasmuch as they show it in its state of *fieri*, and point out the heroic elements from which it has been evolved. However imperfect they may be in some respects, they will serve, at least, to show the spirit of sacrifice that actuated the Irish priesthood during the times of persecution, and remind us, that at all cost we should labour to preserve the heritage bought at such a great price. If we are worthy successors of these exile priests, the faith that shed its radiance over the sorrows of the past will glorify all the future of our national life.

A. WALSH, O.S.A.

Notes and Queries.

THEOLOGY

THE CONDITIONAL ABSOLUTION OF CONVERTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Even at this end of the world the I. E. RECORD is much appreciated; and in view of the valuable information generally given in answer to queries, I am encouraged to submit to you the following questions:—

In the course of my sacerdotal duties, I have not a few converts to receive into the Church from the various denominations of Protestantism. In the reception ceremony I, of course, baptize *sub conditione*, and I absolve *sub conditione*. But if the first baptism was valid, then the actual sins committed prior to initiation into the Church are, if mortal, *necessary* matter for confession, and the *absolute* form should be used. If the first baptism was invalid, then the actual sins committed prior to the initiation into the Church are remitted by second baptism. They are not, therefore, *necessary* matter, but are they not still *sufficient* matter for the sacrament of Penance? And if *sufficient* why should not the *absolute form* of absolution be used? Here is an *a pari* case: Week after week a pious penitent of mine, to secure matter for confession, confesses the same sin of his past life, which has been again and again remitted by the sacrament of Penance, and which yet constitutes *sufficient* matter for using the *absolute* form of absolution. Now if an actual sin remitted by the sacrament of Penance can still constitute again and again *sufficient* matter for using the *absolute* form of absolution, why not an actual sin remitted by the sacrament of Baptism? Briefly my questions are three:—

1. Why are not actual sins remitted by the sacrament of Baptism *sufficient* matter for sacramental absolution with the *absolute* form, just as actual sins remitted by Penance are?

2. In the case of converts, does not the fact that their sins, committed before their reception into the Church, are doubtfully *necessary* matter for confession, beget a stronger claim for using the *absolute form* in absolution?

3. In the case of a pious convert who, after having been received into the Church, goes to confession, and has nothing to

confess but the sins of his past life previous to his reception into the Church, has he matter for confession at all; and if so, whether should the *conditional* or *absolute* form of absolution be used?

Thanking you, Rev. Sir, in anticipation for a lucid reply.

W. J. CROKE.

St. Patric's Cathedral, Auckland,
New Zealand.

1. The sacrament of Penance was instituted *per modum judicii*, and the conferring of absolution is an exercise of jurisdiction. Sacramental absolution, therefore, can be validly pronounced only where the minister has jurisdiction over the penitent, in the particular matter made the subject of accusation. Now by receiving the sacrament of Baptism one becomes subject to the sacramental jurisdiction of the Church; and that jurisdiction, according to the practice of the faithful and the authority of all theologians, extends to all sins, mortal and venial, already remitted or not, committed after baptism. Absolution may, therefore, be validly pronounced, and with the absolute form, on sins already confessed and remitted in the sacrament of Penance. In regard to original sin, however, and actual sins committed after baptism, the matter is different. For, before baptism neither the sinner nor his sins are subject to the jurisdiction of the Church; nor do such sins become, through baptism, subject to the Church. Through defect of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, therefore, these sins cannot in any circumstances be validly absolved in the sacrament of Penance. If we are asked why precisely sins antecedent to baptism are not subjected to the jurisdiction of the Church, so that the confession of them would be valid matter for the sacrament, we can only say that such is the will of Christ.

2. No; the conditional form of absolution serves every end that can be attained. And, as the matter is manifestly doubtful matter for the sacrament, the absolute form should not be used. The hypothesis, of course, is that only sins committed before baptism are confessed.

3. Such a person cannot supply matter for valid absolution.

BENEDICTIO IN ARTICULO MORTIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is the practice of some priests to repeat in the same sickness the Papal benediction. Now, however, I am told by some that it is unlawful so to repeat. I shall thank you to give an opinion on this practical question in an early number of the I. E. RECORD.

INDULTARIUS.

This question has been repeatedly proposed and answered at length in these pages. We have nothing to add to, or modify in, the replies already given to our correspondents. We think that there is nothing in the replies of the Sacred Congregations to prevent one from repeating the benediction, even in the same protracted illness, not, however for the purpose of gaining several plenary indulgences, but for the purpose of exciting the dying person to better dispositions, *v.g.*, or with a view to making the application of the indulgence more certainly valid.

We shall merely give the following extract from the latest edition of the Könings-Putzer *Commentarium in Facultates Apostolicas*:—

Indulgentia plenaria ex benedictione Papali in *vero* articulo mortis et quidem *una tantum* a moriente pro se acquiritur; ideo aliae pro animabus defunctorum non lucrifiunt. Hinc in eadem permanente infirmitate licet diuturna eam semel tantum impertiri licet, etsi infirmus eam accepit in statu peccati mortalis aut post acceptionem in peccatum relapsus est aut absolutionem vel etiam Extremam Unionem iterum accepit. Ratio, cur prohibitum est, eadem infirmitate permanente benedictionem Papalem pluries impertiri, juxta Resp. S. C. Ind. 12 Mart. 1855 n. 362, in quo refertur ad Resp. de 5 Feb. 1841 n. 286, est, quia in eodem articulo mortis infirmus indulgentiam semel tantum lucrari potest. Unde si a moribundo, non ex intentione indulgentiam pluries lucrandi, benedictio Papalis pluries peteretur aut a sacerdote daretur, sed ex alia e. gr. ad effectum securiorem reddendum aut si pluries conferetur ad excitandos pios affectus et ad certius procurandam pro indulgentia dispositionem, nihil fieret contra Decreta. Ita Il Mon. Eccl. vol. 8. part. 2. pag. 110. cum Melata (Manuale de Indulgentiis, part. 2. sec. Q 1. cap. 1. art. 2). Presertim cum tali intentione pluries benedictio Papalis dari potest posset moribundo, si hic ad eam ex pluribus titulis jus haberet, prout, testante Melata, etiam nunc Romae practicatur. Cfr. *Analecta* Eccl. 1894, pag. 131, 225.¹

D. MANNIX.

¹ Vid. Putzer, Ed. quar. 1897, p. 258.

LITURGY

THE FORM OF THE LUNETTE

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your June number (1898), p. 555, a *Dubium*, with reply is given, concerning the capsula for containing the Sacred Host while in the tabernacle. I don't think the reply is satisfactory, from the fact that the question was not clearly put to the Sacred Congregation, or at least they do not seem to have caught the true sense of the *Dubium*. There seems to be a confusion between the lunette and the capsula. The reply says that the capsula may be made of glass (so I interpret it) instead of silver gilt, as it is usually made. But it does not appear to me that that is a reply to the question asked. The fathers of the Congregation are evidently ignorant of the nature of the custom in vogue in France, and concerning which the question is asked. That custom is, that instead of the Roman lunette a glass case is used (for the lunette), composed of 'duo crystallæ apte coherærentia.' This small case, as a rule, is placed (as is the lunette) in a silver gilt one, to be reserved in the tabernacle. From the reply it would seem that the fathers of the Congregation are under the impression that the usual Roman lunette is used in the case under consideration, and that the question only concerns the capsula for the tabernacle, and they reply that that capsula may be made of glass.

I submit, then, that the question of the lawfulness of using the glass case, instead of a lunette, remains still unanswered. Will you please give us your views on the matter?

W. F. H.

Like the Fathers of the Congregation of Rites, we too are unacquainted with the nature of the French custom; and like them we have to gather the meaning of the question from the terms in which the question was proposed. To facilitate reference we here reprint from our June number the question proposed to the Congregation together with the reply:—

In plurimis Galliarum Ecclesiis atque Oratoriis usus invaluit postremis hæc temporibus sacram Hostiam, quæ in Ostensorio exponenda est, recondendi intra duo crystallæ apte coherærentia,

eamque in Tabernaculo reponendi absque ulla capsula, seu custodia. Hinc a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione expostulatum fuit: 'An ejusmodi praxis licita sit'?

Atque eadem Sacra Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis liturgicae, ac re mature perpensa, proposito Dubio respondendum censuit: Affirmative; dummodo sacra Hostia in dictis crystallis bene sit clausa, atque crystalli non tangat, juxta alias decreta.

It appears to us that two distinct questions are here proposed to the Congregation. One is, may the Sacred Host intended for exposition in the monstrance be placed for this purpose 'inter duo crystalli apte cohaerentia?'; the other, may the Host thus enclosed be placed in the tabernacle without any other covering or protection? The Congregation replies to both in the affirmative, stipulating only that the Host shall be so supported between the glass discs that it shall touch neither.

Now, from our interpretation of the question addressed to the Congregation, and from the reply, it follows that the lunette, or whatever we may call the movable part of the monstrance which immediately contains the Blessed Sacrament, may consist of two glass discs suitably joined together, provided the Sacred Host does not touch either of the discs. But to keep the Host upright, and prevent it from touching the glass, an arrangement similar to the crescent lunette placed between the glass discs would be required. Now, whether the Congregation has misunderstood the meaning of the question, or whether it has not, it must be admitted that they have given their sanction to the exposition in the monstrance of the Sacred Host contained between two glass discs, but touching neither. Our esteemed correspondent may term this a 'glass case,' a 'lunette,' or a lunette within a glass case; but by whatever name it may be called its use has the sanction of the Congregation of Rites.

The affirmative reply of the Congregation covers, as we have said, the second part of the question also. Hence it follows that when the Host is placed in a case such as we have tried to describe, it may be put into the tabernacle without any further capsule or covering whatsoever.

This is our view of the meaning and effect of this decree.

It may not recommend itself to our correspondent ; but to us it appears to be the only possible interpretation of the words before us.

**SHOULD THE CELEBRANT STAND UP WHILE THE
PREACHER READS THE GOSPEL ?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a great many churches the last Mass on Sundays is either ordinary low Mass or ‘Missa Cantata.’ In either case it is customary for the celebrant to sit down after the first Gospel, when another priest comes from the sacristy to preach from the pulpit which is generally outside the sanctuary. The preacher makes the announcements, then reads the prayer, Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular. In some churches the celebrant stands while the Gospel is being read from the pulpit. In others he merely uncovers and remains sitting, while the assisting clerks on either side stand up.

I should like to know through the I. E. RECORD, for the sake of uniformity, which is the correct practice, for the celebrant to stand, or merely to uncover, while the Gospel of the day is being read from the pulpit.

SACERDOS.

The Church has not, as far as we know, made any ruling regarding the subject of our correspondent’s question. Consequently, apart from episcopal legislation each celebrant is free to either stand up or remain seated during the reading of the Gospel from the pulpit. But if the people should stand up, why not the celebrant, even though clad in sacred vestments? The only way to secure uniformity throughout a diocese is through the interference of the bishop; but the priests of each church might secure uniformity in their own church by arrangement amongst themselves.

**THE ‘CONSENSUS ORDINARI’ FOR INDULGENCING BEADS,
MEDALS, &c.**

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following double query with reference to the exercise of the Propaganda faculties for blessing and indulgencing beads, medals, &c. On account of the contradictory opinion of many priests upon the

subject, I trust you will deem the question both practical and useful :—

1. In the case of faculties, granted by the Propaganda, to indulgence these objects of devotion, with the conditional clause, '*cum consensu Ordinarii*,' could the priest so empowered, whether secular or regular, exercise this faculty *outside his diocese*, or must he always obtain the consent of the Ordinary of the place through which he is in *transitu*, or wherein he may be ministering *pro tem.*, as in the case of missions or retreats, in order to *both licitly and validly* use the faculty?

2. If the latter is correct, as I hold, is it furthermore necessary for missionaries or priests giving retreats to ask *explicitly* for this *consensus Ordinarii alieni loci*; or may it be safely regarded that the bishop, in granting the other necessary faculties for a mission or retreat, *ipso facto* (though implicitly), also accords this consent to exercise the above Papal faculty?

3. In answering this practical question you will further oblige by giving your opinion whether the word *Ordinary*, in the propaganda pagella, always means for regulars as well as seculars, the bishop or archbishop of the diocese in which the priest exercises his ministry. I have heard it argued that, *in this matter*, the *Ordinarius* of a regular is his provincial; but no authority was quoted.

U. E. U.

1. We are of opinion that the Ordinary, whose consent is required for the valid exercise of the Propaganda faculties referred to by our correspondent, is the Ordinary of the place where the faculties are exercised. If this opinion be correct it follows that a priest who has obtained the consent of his own Ordinary cannot exercise these faculties unless within the jurisdiction of his Ordinary; and, consequently, that while travelling outside his jurisdiction, he cannot even validly bless beads, &c., unless he has previously obtained the consent of the Ordinary of the place.

This opinion, which, we are pleased to find, coincides with that of our correspondent, is after all, only an opinion, as we have been unable to find any very solid argument to support it. The following considerations, however, make in favour of our opinion.

In the first place, it seems to us that the fundamental

reason why the consent of the Ordinary is required at all, is that the bishop of a diocese should know the priests of the diocese, who are privileged to exercise extraordinary faculties of any kind. And if it be necessary for the good order of the diocese, and for its proper administration by the bishop, that he should know those of his own priests who are privileged to exercise the faculties in question, it is, surely, for the same reasons much more necessary that he should know strangers who come into his diocese claiming to enjoy the same privilege. We can hardly believe that the Congregation of Propaganda would ever intend to grant to a priest, once he had obtained the consent of his own Ordinary, a sort of roving commission to bless beads, &c., wherever he might find himself, without any reference at all to the local ecclesiastical authority.

Again, in the formula employed by the Congregation of Indulgences in granting precisely similar faculties the clause is *de consensu Ordinarii loci*,¹ not merely *de consensu Ordinarii*, which latter is the form in which this clause appears in the Propaganda formula. We have no doubt, however, that both clauses have exactly the same meaning; and the former, we believe, renders it quite clear that, for the valid exercise of the faculties the consent of the Ordinary of the place where they are exercised will alone suffice.

2. The second question is one, which it is difficult, if not impossible, to answer satisfactorily. We may, however, point out that the consent here required must be a deliberate act on the part of the Ordinary. Either, then, a bishop in giving faculties to a non-subject who is about to give a retreat, mission, &c., in his diocese thinks of the exercise of these faculties by the priest, and intends to include in the general faculties his approval of this exercise, or he does not think at all of these faculties. In the former case the necessary consent would, of course, be included, though not expressly mentioned; in the latter case it would not, we think, be included. Hence, if the opinion advocated in our reply to the preceding question be the correct one, priests

¹ Beringer; *Les Indulgences*, &c., vol. i., p. 343.

about to give missions, &c., in a diocese the Ordinary of which has not yet given his consent to their exercise of the Propaganda faculties in his diocese should ask *explicitly* for this consent. Otherwise they cannot be quite certain that it has been included by the bishop in the general faculties granted to them.

3. We have no hesitation in saying that the Provincial or other Superior of a Religious Order or Congregation, cannot be regarded as supplying, even for the members of his own order or congregation, the place of the *Ordinarius* whose consent is required for the valid exercise of these faculties.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

PARISH SODALITIES

REV. DEAR SIR,—I beg most respectfully to invite your notice to the following, with a view to your own opinion, and, perhaps, approval. I would wish to see established in every parish in Ireland a society or sodality whose object would be to pray for the spiritual wants of the parish; the sodality to be under the name and patronage of our Blessed Lady; the rules to be few, simple, and practically easy to be observed. One thing I would principally suggest—that the members on each Sunday and holiday of obligation recite (*in choro*) the third part of the Rosary before the Virgin's Altar, and after the community Mass, for the spiritual necessities of the parish. Everything besides I leave to the better wisdom of such priests as may approve of the matter.

The drawbacks of a parish are, in some instances at least, not few; the staying away from the sacraments and from Mass; long, if not hereditary, feuds between families and individuals; habitual drunkenness, secret societies, immoral scandals, falling away (or the danger of it) from the faith, habitual want of prayer in case of the tepid and slothful, and so on. There may not be one parish afflicted with all of the above diseases; but some of them, at least, may be in every parish. Now, with the exception of the sacraments, which some will not approach, and many but seldom, what more effectual aid can the worn and wearied pastor invoke than her who loves us all, and whose motherly petition *is always heard*? I think, and reflection for months past only strengthens the thought, that if the idea were carried into execution, a simply incalculable amount of good would, inevitably, be the result. Let some priest who may approve of the matter, talk it over with his bishop, and his approval or non-approval will be so much of the Divine Will, and must be received as such. The writer has broached the idea, and he believes no more is required of him.

SENIOR.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. ON THE ROSARY OF MARY

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
EPISTOLA AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS,
EPISCOPOS, ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS PACEM ET COM-
MUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

DE ROSARIO MARIALI.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHIEPIS-
COPIS, EPISCOPIB, ALIISQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIIS PACEM ET
COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Diuturni temporis spatium animo respicientes, quod in Pontificatu maximo, Deo sic volente, transegimus, facere non possumus quin fateamur Nos, licet meritis impares, divinae Providentiae praesidium expertos fuisse praesentissimum. Id vero praecipue tribuendum censemus coniunctis precibus, adeoque validissimis, quae, ut olim pro Petro, ita nunc pro Nobis non intermisce funduntur ab Ecclesia universa. Primum igitur bonorum omnium largitori Deo grates habemus maximas, acceptaque ab eo singula, quamdiu vita suppeditet, mente animoque tuebimur. Deinde subit materni patrocinii augustae caeli Reginae dulcis recordatio; eamque pariter memoriam gratiis agendis celebrandisque beneficiis pie inviolateque servabimus. Ab ipsa enim, tamquam uberrimo ductu, caelestium gratiarum haustus derivantur: ' eius in manibus sunt thesauri miserationum Domini; ' ¹ Vult illam Deus bonorum omnium esse principium. ' ² In huius tenerae Matris amore, quem fovere assidue atque in dies augere studuimus, certo speramus obire posse ultimum diem. Iamdudum autem cupientes, societatis humanae salutem in aucto Virginis cultu, tamquam praevalida in arce collocare, nunquam destitimus ' Marialis Rosarii ' consuetudinem inter Christi fidelis promovere, datis in eam rem

¹ S. Io. Dam. ser. I, de nativ. Virg.

² Ir. c. Valen. I. III. c. 33,

Encyclicis Litteris iam inde a kalendis Septembribus anni MDCCCXXXIII., editisque decretis, ut probe nostis, haud semel. Cumque Dei miserantis consilio liceat Nobis huius quoque anni adventantem cernere mensem Octobrem, quem caelesti Reginae a Rosaria sacrum dicatumque esse alias decrevimus, nolimus a compellendis vobis abstinere : omniaque paucis complexi quae ad eius precationis genus provchendum huc usque gessimus, rei fastigium imponemus novissimo documento, quo et studium Nostrum ac voluntas in laudatam cultus Mariani formam pateat luculentius, et fidelium excitetur ardor sanctissimae illius consuetudinis pie integreque servandae.

Constanti igitur acti desiderio ut apud christianum populum de Rosarii Marialis vi ac dignitate constaret, memorata primum caelesti potius quam humana eius precationis origine, ostendimus admirabile sertum ex angelico praeconio consortum, interiecta oratione dominica, cum meditationis officio coniunctum, supplicandi genus praestantissimum esse et ad immortalis praesertim vitae adeptionem maxime frugiferum ; quippe praeter ipsam excellentiam precum exhibeat et idoneum fidei praesidium et insigne specimen virtutis per mysteria ad contemplandum proposita ; rem esse praeterea usu facilem et populi ingenio accommodatam, cui ex commentatione Nazarathanae Familiae offeratur domesticae societatis omnino perfecta species ; eius ideoque virtutem christianum populum nunquam non expertum fuisse saluberrimam.

His praecipue rationibus atque adhortatione multiplici sacratissimi Rosarii formulam persequuti, augendae insuper eius maiestati per ampliorem cultum, Decessorum Nostrorum vestigiis inhaerentes, animum adiecit. Etenim quemadmodum Xystus V. fel. rec. antiquam recitandi Rosarii consuetudinem approbavit, et Gregorius XIII. festum dedicavit eidem titulo diem, quem deinde Clemens VIII. inscripsit martyrologio, Clemens XI. iussit ab universa Ecclesia retineri, Benedictus XIII. Breviario romano inseruit, ita Nos in perenne testimonium propensae Nostrae voluntatis erga hoc pietatis genus, eandem solemnitatem cum suo officio in universa Ecclesia celebrari mandavimus ritu duplici secundae classis ; solidum Octobrem huic religioni sacrum esse volumus ; denique praecepimus ut in Litaniis Lauretanis adderetur invocatio : ' Regina sacratissimi Rosarii,' quasi augurium victoriae ex praesenti dimicatione referendae.

Illud reliquum erat ut moneremus, plurimum pretii atque

utilitatis accedere Rosario Mariali ex privilegiorum ac iurium copia, quibus ornator, in primisque ex thesauro, quo fruitur, indulgentiarum amplissimo. Quo quidem beneficio ditescere quanti omnium intersit qui de sua sint salute solliciti, facili negotio intelligi potest. Agitur enim de remissione consequenda, sive ex toto sive ex parte, temporalis poenae, etiam amota culpà, luendae aut in praesenti vita aut in altera. Dives nimirum thesaurus, Christi, Deiparae ac Sanctorum meritis comparatus, cui iure Clemens VI. Decessor Noster aptabat verba illa Sapientiae: ' Infinitus thesaurus est hominibus : quo qui usi sunt, participes facti sunt amicitiae Dei.³ Iam Romani Pontifices, suprema, qua divinitus pollent, usi potestate, Sodalibus Marianis a sacratissimo Rosario atque hoc pie recitantibus huiusmodi gratiarum fontes recluserunt uberrimos.

Itaque Nos etiam, rati his beneficiis atque indulgentiis Mariale coronam pulchrius collucere, quasi gemmis distinctam nobilissimis, consilium, diu mente versatum, maturavimus edendae ' Constitutionis ' de iuribus, privilegiis, indulgentiis, quibus Sodalitates a sacratissimo Rosario perfruantur. Haec autem Nostra ' Constitutio ' testimonium amoris esto, erga augustissimam Dei Matrem, et Christi fidelibus universis incitamenta simul et praemia pietatis exhibeat, ut hora vitae suprema possint ipsius ope relevari in eiusque gremio suavissime conquiescere.

Haec ex animo Deum Optimum Maximum, per sacratissimi Rosarii Reginam, adprecati ; caelestium bonorum auspiciis et pignus vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero ac populo uniuscuiusque vestrum curae concredito, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die V. Septembris MDCCCXCVIII., Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

THE VENERABLE BARTHOLOMEW DELMONTE

BONONIEN. BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI
BARTHOLOMAEI MARIAE DALMONTE SACERDOTIS ET INSTITU-
TORIS PIAE OPERAE MISSIONUM

Ad instantiam Rmi Dni Petri Crostarosa Antistitis Urbani et
Causa Ven. Servi Bartholomaei M. Dalmonste Postulatoris, Emus
et Rmus Dnus Card. Lucidus M. Parocchi, Episcopus Portuensis
et S. Rufinae, eiusdem Causae Relator, in Ordinario Sacrorum

Rituum Congregationis Coetu Rotali, subsignata die ad Vaticanum coadunato iuxta peculiare SSmi Dni Nostri Leonis Papae XIII. dispositiones annis 1878 et 1895 editas, sequens Dubium discutiendum proposuit: 'An constet de validitate et relevantia Processus Apostolica Auctoritate Bononiae constructi super fama sanctitatis, virtutum et miraculorum in genere praedicti Venerabilis Servi Dei in casu et ad effectum, de quo agitur?'

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, omnibus accurato examine perpensis, auditoque R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuit: 'Affirmative seu constare,' Die 22 Martii 1898.

Facta postmodum de his SSmo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. per subscriptum Secretarium relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habuit et confirmavit, die 28 iisdem mense et anno.

C. CARD. MAZZELLA, *Ep. Praenestinus*,
S. R. C. *Praefectus*.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *Secr.*

L. ✠ S.

DISPENSATIONS IN FASTING ON THE FRIDAYS AND SATURDAYS OF ADVENT

AN EPISCOPI QUI DISPENSARE VALENT AB ABSTINENTIA IN DIEBUS MAGNAE SOLEMNITATIS, ID ETIAM POSSINT QUOAD DIES VENERIS ET SABBATI ADVENTUS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Per Decretum S. R. et U. Inquisitionis diei 5 Decembr. 1894 Sanctitas Vestra locorum Ordinariis concessit facultatem anticipandi atque ob gravissimas causas dispensandi super lege ieiunii et abstinenciae, quando festum sub utroque praecepto servandum Patroni principalis aut Titularis Ecclesiae inciderit in ferias sextas aut sabbata, per annum excepto tempore Quadragesimae, diebus Quatuor Temporum et Vigiliis per annum ieiunio consecratis.

Iam vero in Hispania, per Decr. S. R. C. diei 2 Maii 1867 nonnullae Vigiliae ieiunio consecratae per annum obrogatae fuerunt, et ieiunium translatum in singulas ferias sextas et sabbata Sacri Adventus Quare infrascriptus Archiepiscopus Compostellanus humillime petit, ut Sanctitas Vestra declarare dignetur utrum Ordinarii, vi Decreti 5 Decembris 1894, antici-

pare possint, vel etiam ob gravissimas causas dispensare a lege ieiunii et abstinentiae in Feriis sextis et Sabbatis Adventus.

Feria die 15 Decembris 1897.

In Congregatione generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis habita ab Eminentissimis et Reverendissimis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus-fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem' Eminen-tissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres rescribendum mandarunt.

Negative.

Subsequenti vero Feria VI, die 17 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia R. P. D. Assessori impertita, facta de his omnibus SS. D. N. Leoni Div. Prov. PP. XIII relatione, SSmus. resolutionem Eminentissimorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. CAN. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquis *Not.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PÈRE MONNIER'S WARD. A Novel. By Walter Lecky.
New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Bros.

THIS is one of the class of works of fiction which Messrs. Benziger Brothers, with commendable zeal, are making an effort to popularize with the Catholic reading public. For their exertions in this direction they deserve thanks. It is an excellent idea to provide our youth with a light literature that is pure and untainted as well as highly edifying and eminently entertaining.

But the volume we have to deal with deserves recognition at our hands on its own merits. It is a touchingly pathetic tale, true to life, and told in language that is clear, chaste and vigorous. The heroine of the story is the only offspring of a marriage that has proved a *mesalliance*. Soon after the unhappy union there is a separation, and a few years later, while yet thoughtless infancy helps to blunt the vivid perception of her affliction, death robs the little one of all that is dear—the kindly light of a mother's eyes and the tender love of a maternal heart. A waif of humanity, she becomes after many trials the ward of a Catholic priest. There is no character in the book like Père Monnier. He is the *beau idéal* of his kind: a man of cultured tastes, deeply read in the wisdom of the world, and versed too in that of the Gospel, with a mind broad and expansive, combined with lofty ideas of the dignity and destinies of the race. Knowing that as the 'twig is bent the tree is inclined,' he seeks to plant the roots of the tender sapling, providentially entrusted to his charge in congenial soil, so that it may at its maturity, rank among the noblest and best in the forest. He seems so to set the current of her being as to realize his elevated conceptions of a dignified Christian womanhood. For a while all goes well. Genevieve is the light of the humble priest's home. Then, in the person of a Captain Fortune, a charmer appears, casts his toils about the too-confiding youthful heart, allures her into a sham marriage, and ruthlessly blasts for ever a life so rich in early promise. The sequel is more comforting. The Père again discovered his ward, but only to prepare her for a happiness that is not of earth. For her 'Mors janua vitæ.'

There are some extremely clever touches of character-delineation in this book. The author can be humorous at times, and his humour is real Irish, 'racy of the soil.' Let us hope that his latest venture will circulate widely, and help in beguiling away a weary hour, and in revealing to unsuspecting innocence those depths of depravity that lie hidden under the cloak of a fair exterior.

P. S.

LIFE OF THE VENERABLE SERVANT OF GOD, JULIE BILLIART, Foundress of the Institute of Sisters of Notre Dame. By a Member of the same Congregation. Edited by Father Clare, S.J.: London and Leamington: Art and Book Co.

THIS edifying biography makes us acquainted with the leading events in the life of a very remarkable and saintly woman. Mother Julie Billiard founded an institute of teaching Sisters which has spread over Belgium, England, America, and has recently penetrated into the Congo State of South Africa. It has between five and six hundred members in England alone, and from one establishment, according to Father Clare, S.J., 'it has trained and sent forth apostles of education in the shape of lay mistresses to the number of two thousand who are employed in all parts of Great Britain in teaching the rising generation.' The events related of Mother Billiard's life give proof of extraordinary sanctity. We trust the work will be widely read in convents and religious institutions.

STATIONS OF THE CROSS, WITH INSTRUCTIONS, PRACTICAL DECREES, AND DEVOTIONS FOR THIS HOLY EXERCISE. By Rev. Jarlath Prendergast, O.S.F. Dublin: Duffy & Co.

WE have here in a dainty little volume, in the most direct and in the briefest language, all that is worth knowing in reference to the beautiful devotion of the Way of the Cross. Doubts regarding the indulgences of the devotion, and the conditions necessary for gaining them, find their solution in the pages of this little work; the list of authors quoted, which the writer prefixes, being such as must satisfy the mind of the most exacting, both as regards orthodoxy and accuracy. The purely devotional part has been judiciously compiled, and with the other features of the book,

combines to make Fr. Jarlath Prendergast's a very complete manual on the Stations.

After a brief sketch of the rise and spread of the devotion, the writer proceeds to discuss the question of its indulgences and the conditions necessary to gaining them. This he does in a concise but very satisfactory manner, where possible, quoting decrees and writers on indulgences as warranty, in such a manner as to dispel all uncertainty. Besides this there is a chapter on the constitution and privileges of the Association of the Perpetual Way of the Cross, and another on the utility of meditation on the Passion. The various methods of performing the devotion are taken from the writings of St. Alphonsus, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, and St. Francis de Sales, and need no commendation. The ceremonial prescribed for the erection of the Stations is given in an appendix, and completes what must be regarded as a thorough manual on the devotion of the Way of the Cross.

The little book is one such as ought be found in every Catholic home and in every Catholic Church where the devotion of the Stations is publicly practised. We are sure it will do a great deal to spread this fruitful devotion.

J. B.

L'ÉGLISE : SA RAISON D'ÊTRE. Conférences de Notre Dame de Paris. Carême, 1897. Par le très Rev. Père Ollivier, des Freres Precheurs. Paris: Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette.

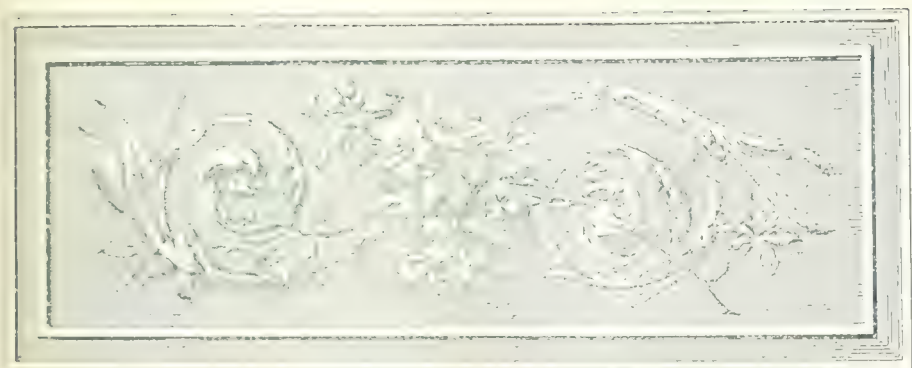
THE Lenten Conferences in the Cathedral of Notre Dame have brought before the world some of the most eloquent men the nineteenth century has produced. Lacordaire, de Ravignan, Felix, Monsabré, D'Hulst, spoke to the world when they were addressing their Parisian audience from the pulpit that was made illustrious by Bossuet and Bourdaloue. We could not think of placing Père Ollivier in the same rank with the more famous of those mentioned; but in the conferences before us he displays qualities and powers of a kind that are by no means common. One feels that he is listening to a man who has read much, thought and meditated a great deal, who knows the world and its ways in every variety of surroundings, but who has submitted all that he has read and seen to the severe scrutiny of his own judgment and common sense. In the preface

he tells us, amongst other things, that he aimed chiefly at simplicity and clearness, and that he avoided quotations as much as possible. He does not believe in frequent quotations even of the Holy Scripture. Better, he thinks, for a man to have read the Scriptures and pondered over them till he becomes filled with their spirit, but, to allow that spirit to utilize the preacher's organs and faculties and words in its action upon others. Cardinal Richard, he tells us, was persuaded that much of the hostility shown to the Church at the present day was due to misconception and to ignorance of the constitution, aims and action of the Church. He asked the preacher to endeavour to remove that prejudice and enlighten those who were walking in darkness. That is the object of the conferences.

They deal in succession with the nature of the Church, the object of the Church's teaching, revelation, the immutability and infallibility of the Church, the authority of the Church. The sermons of Holy Week are on the necessity of study in order to arrive at the truth in matters of religion, on the character of this study, the obstacles it has to surmount and the methods to be followed. Finally, there is an admirable sermon on the Passion of our Lord for Good Friday and an allocution on Easter Sunday.

In all this we can certify that there is nothing commonplace, nothing stereotyped, nothing stale. It is, on the contrary, fresh striking, and marked all through with the personality of the preacher. Some of the allusions to modern habits of thought, ways and customs of life, are contemptuous in the extreme, and border, perhaps a little too much, on cynicism or sarcasm to conciliate the audience. They are, nevertheless, honest and truthful, and Père Ollivier had great confidence in the truth, and felt assured that it would ultimately prevail.

J. F. H.



SECONDARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND

CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS

IT is now just twenty years since the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland was brought into existence, by Act of Parliament. The income placed at its disposal, in the first instance, was £32,500 a year, derived from a capital sum of £1,000,000, charged on the fund known as the Irish Church Surplus. Owing to a reduction in the rate of interest allowed, this income has been reduced, since the year 1897, to £27,500. But, on the other hand, the revenue of the Board has been increased, since 1891, by an annual grant, representing Ireland's share of the Local Taxation Duties. This grant varies from year to year, but shows a tendency to increase rather than to diminish. During the last three years, it has amounted, on the average, to somewhat more than £50,000 a year. We may, therefore, estimate the annual income of the Intermediate Education Board, as lying between seventy-five thousand and eighty thousand pounds.

That this endowment has been, on the whole, prudently and judiciously administered by the Board—hemmed in as they are by the strict limits of the Act under which they are constituted—few, I think, will be found to deny. It will be also generally admitted that the endowment has done much to promote secondary education in Ireland, and has improved in many respects, the teaching of the schools. But it has

long been felt that there are some radical defects in the system under which the endowment is distributed ; and an opinion generally prevails that the time has come for a careful consideration of this system, with a view to its reform.

The Board itself seems to share in this opinion. In the spring of the present year, they brought the subject under the notice of the Lord Lieutenant, and asked for the appointment of a Commission to inquire and report upon it. The result has been that the Lord Lieutenant, by a warrant dated May 30, has appointed the Board itself as a Commission, to 'inquire into and report upon the system of Intermediate Education in Ireland, as established by the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, and into its practical working ; also as to whether any reforms or alterations of the present system are desirable, and if so, whether further legislation is necessary for carrying them into effect.'

Thus a unique opportunity is afforded of dealing effectively with a problem of immense interest to the whole community. This problem may be very simply stated. It is nothing less than to devise a scheme for administering an endowment of £80,000 a year, in such a manner as shall best promote a sound and comprehensive system of secondary education in Ireland.

Though the problem is, no doubt, complex and delicate in itself, it is nevertheless free from all difficulties of an extrinsic character, such as usually surround educational questions in this country. The endowment is already provided ; the purpose to which it is to be applied is already defined ; the Government have practically undertaken to invest the Board with the necessary powers for carrying into effect whatever reforms may be agreed upon ; and the Board, acting as a Commission, has already sought the counsel and suggestions of the heads of schools, and other persons interested in education.

In these circumstances, it seems to me that the deliberations of the Commission will be greatly assisted by public discussion of the questions at issue. First, because public

discussion will help to bring into prominence those reforms of the Intermediate system which are most urgently needed, and most generally called for. And secondly, because no scheme of reform can eventually be successful, unless it meets the wants, and is supported by the general opinion, of the country.

As a small contribution towards such a discussion, I venture to submit the following pages to the judgment of those who are interested in the subject. If the tone of my remarks should appear somewhat dogmatic, I can say, with all candour, that I have no disposition to dogmatize in a matter on which, I am conscious, there are so many others who have a far better right than I can claim, to speak with authority. But I thought it well to express my views in a distinct and categorical form, so that those who might choose to discuss them, would have something definite and tangible to deal with, and, if need be, to controvert.

The observations and suggestions I have to offer, with respect to the system carried out by the Intermediate Education Board, may be conveniently grouped under three heads :—

- I. Criticisms on the practical working of the system ;
- II. Suggestions as to a general policy of reform ;
- III. Considerations on the mode of procedure ; that is to say, on the manner in which the scheme of reform suggested may best be introduced.

PART I.

PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

The system, considered in its practical influence on education, has a favourable side, and an unfavourable side. I will briefly point out what appear to me the chief features of each.

A. — THE FAVOURABLE SIDE

1. It is perfectly impartial in its administration ; and it is universally acknowledged to be impartial.
2. It has set up an independent and authoritative

standard, by which the educational work done by secondary schools is tested, so far as that work can be tested by written examinations.

III. It has given a great impulse to secondary education in Ireland; it has stimulated the zeal and energy both of teachers and pupils; it has promoted habits of steady persevering application to a definite task; and it has practically compelled the introduction of the best Text-Books into the schools.

IV. By means of its Exhibitions, it has enabled many clever boys of poor families to obtain a better education than they could otherwise have obtained, and thus to advance themselves in life.

V. By paying large Results Fees on all candidates who simply pass the examination, it encourages the heads of schools to devote special attention to pupils of moderate abilities. I have heard, from many quarters, that the beneficial action of this rule is largely frustrated by the character of the examination papers set to the pupils. It is alleged that the papers are too difficult and too puzzling to be fairly within the reach of the general run of Pass candidates. If this be so, it is deserving of the careful consideration of the Commission. I would observe, however, that the fault complained of is not inherent in the system, but is only an accident of administration, which can be easily corrected. The policy of giving Results Fees on mere Pass pupils, is undoubtedly calculated to secure careful attention to Pass pupils; and I place it accordingly to the credit of the system.

B.—THE UNFAVOURABLE SIDE

I. The system does not appeal to the higher instincts of the pupils, but only to their desire of gain. They are practically called upon to work earnestly and diligently at their tasks, in order that they may win large money prizes. The influence of this principle, emanating from high authority, pervading the whole country, and acting on the minds of all

pupils throughout the entire of their school course, I look upon as a real evil.

It is all very well, as an incident of school life, to offer for competition a moderate number of Exhibitions, Prizes, and Medals. Such rewards, under suitable conditions, furnish a useful and healthy stimulus to the pupils; and they form a part of the school system in most countries. But it is a very different thing, to flood the country with money prizes of large amount, and to make these prizes the mainspring of all youthful effort. This is what is done under the existing Intermediate system, and I think it has a lowering influence on the moral tone of the schools. And then, when the calculations come at the end of the year, and the newspapers ring with accounts of what this pupil and that pupil 'earned' at the examinations, it is impossible not to feel that the educational ideal of the country has suffered something like degradation.

II. The system presents to the country a false standard of education. It suggests that the aim and object of all education, is to pass examinations; and these, be it observed, only written examinations. If this end be attained, everything else follows: Results Fees, Exhibitions, Medals, honour and glory for the school and the scholars. The permanent maintenance of this ideal, in a palatable form, before the eyes of the whole country, cannot fail, in the long run, to have an injurious effect on the cause of sound education.

III. Moreover, this false ideal leads, in practice, to some startling realities. What can be tested by a written examination, is attended to. What cannot be so tested, is neglected: the saying runs 'that it doesn't pay.' Thus, for example, reading and elocution suffer: the correct pronunciation of foreign languages is held of no account. I have been informed that in some large schools which send up their pupils in French, no attempt whatever is made to teach French pronunciation. It is even said that pupils are encouraged to pronounce French as if it were English. This practice helps to impress the correct spelling on the ear: and spelling can be tested by a written examination.

iv. Again, in such subjects as Physics and Chemistry, a practical acquaintance with the work of a laboratory, as distinguished from mere book work, is of great educational importance and value. But, as a rule, it is only book work that can be tested by a written examination; therefore practical work 'doesn't pay,' and it is neglected.

v. The demoralizing principle represented by the phrase, 'It doesn't pay,' permeates the whole intermediate education of the country. I have indicated how it determines the *way* in which a thing is taught. But it also determines the *subjects* that are taught. In the choice of subjects, the ruling question is not, What subjects are best suited to the age, capacity, and future career of the pupils? but rather, What subjects will pay best? that is, what subjects will bring in the richest harvest of Result Fees, Exhibitions, and Medals. I do not mean to say that the heads of schools formally put this question to themselves, in its naked simplicity. But the heads of schools do not wish to fall behind, in the race for prizes; and I do think that the whole school course is practically guided and controlled by the dominating influence of this one idea.

vi. If, from any cause, a particular subject is found generally 'not to pay,' that subject, however important it may be from an educational point of view, is crushed out of the system of secondary education, over the whole of Ireland. This may easily happen without the Intermediate Education Board intending any such result, or even becoming aware of what is going on.

In a memorial addressed to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, last June, the Council of the Royal Dublin Society called attention to the way in which the teaching of science, in the intermediate schools, has been 'practically exterminated' by the operation of the present system. From this paper, it appears that the total number of boys that presented themselves for the examinations of the Intermediate Education Board, in the years 1887 and 1888, and the numbers that presented themselves in the

subjects of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, were as follows :—

	Total number	Nat. Philosophy.	Chemistry.
1887	4,613	2,611	1,376
1888	4,551	2,565	1,357

But, after the lapse of ten years, it is found that while the total number of boys presented for examination had considerably increased, the number presented in these two subjects had dwindled down almost to insignificance. The figures are :—

	Total number	Nat. Philosophy	Chemistry
1896	6,503	618	359
1897	6,661	596	312

It would seem, therefore, that something has occurred, in the working of the system, during the last ten years, which has practically killed the teaching of these two important subjects, in the intermediate schools of Ireland. The teaching of Natural Philosophy has fallen from 56 per cent of the total number of boys presented for examination, to somewhere about 9·2 per cent, and the teaching of Chemistry has fallen from 30 per cent to 4·6 per cent. This result I regard as a serious blot on the working of the present system.

III. I cannot but think that the influence of the present system on the methods and efficiency of the teaching in the schools must, in the long run, be injurious. When the teachers find, year after year, that the one obvious and conclusive test by which their work is judged, is the success of their pupils at the examinations, it is almost inevitable that they will direct their chief efforts to that object, and gradually lose sight of the higher aims and ends of education. They will be inclined to study the ways of examiners, rather than the special aptitudes and characteristics of their pupils; they will have little stimulus to develop their own individual powers and resources; and their teaching will tend to settle down into a dull monotonous grind. The human mind needs freedom for its healthy development

But there is no freedom for the teachers in the secondary schools of Ireland. They are bound fast in the fetters of a rigid system, which hampers every movement, and which must, in the end, enfeeble, if not paralyse their powers.

If this estimate of the harm done by the system of examinations carried out by the Intermediate Education Board, should appear to any of my readers overdrawn, I would ask them to read the following appreciation of the system, which has just appeared in an English scientific journal. The writer is engaged in reviewing a text book on Algebra, written with a view to assist teachers and pupils who are working for the Intermediate Examinations. His remarks are interesting, at least in this respect, that they will help us 'to see ourselves as others see us.' Speaking of the treatise in hand, he says:—

The book is avowedly written to help teachers to obtain 'results'; that is, to exploit their unhappy pupils for the purpose of scoring in examinations, and so getting grants, or scholarships, or some other kind of profit. A method is recommended because it will impress an examiner more favourably, and earn a greater number of marks; the student's attention is directed to this or that, not because it is important in itself, but because the candidate is very likely to be asked a question about it; and an enormous amount of misplaced ingenuity is wasted upon the solution of ridiculous and fantastic problems that ought never to have been set.

It would not be fair to lay the whole blame for all this upon [the author]. Like the poor Irish schoolboys, he is the victim of a most iniquitous system: that payment by 'results' which warps and corrodes every branch of primary and intermediate education in Ireland. That the plan was originally adopted with the best intentions, may be admitted; but it is a disgraceful scandal that it should be continued in Ireland, when it has been (reluctantly enough, it is true) abandoned in Great Britain. The evils of it have been exposed again and again; it has been denounced unanimously by all true teachers who have seen how it works; it puts a premium upon wrong methods, it encourages quackery and cruelty, it destroys sympathy between master and pupils; and the 'results' which it produces are a delusion and a sham. It is heartbreaking to think of whole generations of clever, docile, Irish lads, condemned to the soul-destroying slavery which this rotten system perpetuates.¹

¹*Nature*, Thursday, Nov. 10, 1898, p. 26.

VII. The Programme of the Intermediate Education Board is so framed as to favour what is called a Grammar-School education, leading up to a university career. Hence such a course is found 'to pay' best, and it is followed practically by all the schools. A course suitable for boys intended for a commercial or industrial career—such a course, for example, as is given in the German *Realschulen*, and in what is called the Modern Side in many English schools—would not 'pay' under the present system; and therefore no such course is given.

Now, while it is true that the Grammar-School course is well suited for the professional, the literary, and the leisured classes, a Commercial or Scientific course would be more suitable to the majority of boys receiving secondary education in Ireland, and would meet an urgent want that at present exists in the country. Hence it would seem that the splendid endowment of £80,000 a year, administered by the Intermediate Education Board, is largely applied in forcing on the whole of Ireland a particular kind of education, which is suited only to a comparatively small class; while the kind of education suited to the great majority of the pupils, is so discouraged as to be crushed out of existence.

A noteworthy example of the mischief done, in this way, is furnished by the case of the Christian Brothers' Schools. Previous to the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board, the Christian Brothers had begun, with no small degree of success, to give the elements of a commercial and industrial education in some of the larger towns of Ireland. This course was admirably suited to the position in life of the boys with whom they had to deal, and was greatly appreciated by the general public. With reasonable encouragement from the Intermediate Education Board, it might have been developed into an admirable form of secondary education, much needed in the country. But see what has happened. The Christian Brothers quickly found that nothing but a Grammar-School education would 'pay' under the present system: so they changed their hand, very much against their own judgment and natural inclination, to meet the requirements of the Board; and they are now

giving what is practically a Grammar-School education in all their Intermediate Schools.

IX. An incidental evil of the present system, is that by paying, under the name of Results Fees, a fixed sum of money for every subject in which a pupil passes, it exhibits the pupils in the light of *earning money for the schools*. A pupil that passes may 'earn,' according to his subjects and his Grade, £40, £30, £20; a pupil that does not pass, 'earns' nothing. In these circumstances, it is not unnatural that the parents of the pupils who pass, should think themselves entitled to a share of the money which their children have 'earned.' Hence they often come to the head-master, as I am informed, and claim a reduction of the pension, on this ground. And it is difficult for the head-master to resist such a claim. He knows that there are other schools, in keen competition with his own, which would make the concession without a moment's hesitation. Thus the endowment intended to promote the noble work of education, becomes the subject of undignified haggling between the teachers and the parents.

This is the natural outcome of a system which is sordid and venal in its practical working, as it is sordid and venal in its very conception. A market is opened for educational products, and a scale of prices is fixed for each article. Greek fetches £4 16s., per pupil passed, in the Senior Grade, £3 12s., in the Middle Grade, and £2 8s. in the Junior Grade: Chemistry fetches 40s. in the Senior Grade, 30s. in the Middle Grade, and 20s. in the Junior Grade: and so for the rest. When education is thus treated as a commercial commodity, by the highest authority, under the sanction and direction of the State, no wonder if it is treated in the same spirit by those who work under the system. Accordingly, we hear how head-masters bid openly or secretly for the pupils most capable of gaining Exhibitions and Results Fees; how the pupils soon discover their market value, and dispose of their services to the highest bidder; and how the parents then come and claim a share of the Results Fees which, as they truly say, have been 'earned' by their

children. I submit that this ignoble traffic is unworthy of a country that once shone as a bright beacon of learning to the nations of Western Europe.

PART II.

GENERAL SCHEME OF REFORM

It will be seen, at once, that the criticisms I have submitted, on the present working of the Intermediate system, cannot be met by any petty modifications of the existing Rules and Regulations. They assail the very foundation and essence of the system; and if they be valid, they call for a thorough and radical reform. I will proceed, then, to set forth the main heads of the reform I would suggest; observing only that it would not be desirable, in my opinion, to carry out such a reform by a sudden revolution of the system, but rather by a gradual process of growth and development. How a process of this kind may best be introduced, is a question which I reserve for the Third Part of this paper.

I. First, I would suggest that the Annual Examinations which form the basis of awarding Results Fees, Exhibitions, Book Prizes, and Medals, should be abolished.

II. Next, the whole system of Results Fees, Exhibitions, Book Prizes, and Medals, as at present awarded on the basis of the Annual Examinations, would of course also disappear.

III. A definite number of Exhibitions, of suitable amount, should be offered for competition each year, in each of the Grades. These Exhibitions should not be treated as money prizes, to be spent by the pupils according to their fancy; but should be treated rather as *giving a right to free education*. Hence they should be awarded subject to the condition that the successful candidates shall continue their studies in a school approved by the Board. For the purpose of these Exhibitions, it would be necessary to hold a special examination each year; and, in connection with this

examination, it would be open to the Board, if they thought fit, to offer a limited number of gold and silver medals, for special excellence in particular subjects.

iv. I think that the endowment administered by the Board, should, in the main, be allotted in the form of School Grants, based on inspection, combined with a limited examination of the pupils, by classes, in the schools. The object to be aimed at, is to distribute the endowment amongst the intermediate schools of the country, according to the *quality* and *amount* of the educational work done. Now it is generally agreed, by the highest authorities, that the educational work of a school *can* be tested by such a system of inspection as I recommend; whereas it can *not* be tested by any system of written examinations only. Moreover, it is always to be remembered that examinations conducted exclusively in writing, not only fail to test good educational work, but directly tend, as I have already shown, to encourage bad educational work.

The inspection ought to be carried out with as little inconvenience as possible to the school authorities; but it should be, at the same time, thorough and efficient. I would suggest that it should cover the following points. (1) The school buildings, the lecture halls, the recreation grounds; (2) the school furniture and equipment; (3) the teaching staff, the course of studies followed, the methods and efficiency of the teaching; (4) the number of pupils and the classes into which they are divided; (5) miscellaneous topics, such as, debating societies, vocal and instrumental music, gymnasiums, and so forth.

As regards the examination, which I propose should be combined with inspection, the object would not be to determine the individual proficiency of the pupils, but rather to test the methods and the efficiency of the teaching. Hence it would not be necessary to examine all the pupils, but only a few in each class taken at random; and the examination might be left, to a large extent, in the hands of the teacher, the inspector putting, from time to time, such questions as his experience might suggest. In certain

subjects, such as foreign languages, natural philosophy, chemistry, drawing, it would be desirable to associate expert examiners with the inspectors, for this part of their work.

v. In addition to the ordinary School Grants, there should be, I think, Special Grants for particular subjects, which are in danger of being neglected unless specially encouraged, or which involve special expenditure on fittings and appliances. For example:—(1) There should be a Special Grant for natural philosophy and chemistry, wherever a physical or chemical laboratory is established. This grant should be based on the report of the inspector or special expert, which should give particulars not only as to the equipment of the laboratory, but also as to the method of teaching followed: and it should also state how far the pupils are called upon to take part in the practical work of the laboratory. (2) There might with advantage be a Special Grant for English reading and elocution, a subject much neglected in most schools. (3) A Special Grant might also be given for vocal and instrumental music.

vi. Under the reformed system, I submit that equal encouragement should be given to every kind of secondary education suitable to the youth of Ireland: whether it be mainly classical, or mainly commercial, or mainly scientific. This principle is far-reaching, and, if effectively carried out, would cure what seems to me a great evil in the working of the Intermediate system. At present, the programme of the Board is so framed that the schools are practically compelled to give an education which, in the main, follows the lines of a Grammar-School course: whereas a commercial or scientific course would be better suited to the position in life of the majority of the pupils, and to the urgent needs of the country. What I advocate is, that the immense funds at the disposal of the Board, shall not be applied to the endowment of one particular kind of secondary education only, to the prejudice of other kinds, but that all forms of secondary education, suitable to the boys and girls of Ireland, shall have an equal claim to recognition.

VII. I would suggest that the Board should hold examinations, each year, open to all candidates who, having completed their school course, desire to obtain independent evidence, of an official character, as to their proficiency. These examinations would not be competitive, and they should be conducted both orally and in writing. In the subjects of natural philosophy, chemistry, and other natural sciences, they should include practical work in the laboratory. In connection with these examinations, the Board should issue Diplomas to the successful candidates, setting forth the subjects in which they have passed, and indicating their proficiency by a system of conventional words, such as, *sufficient, good, excellent*.

These Diplomas might be of three kinds, according to the particular group of subjects presented by the candidate: One for a Grammar-School Course, in which the classical languages and mathematics would constitute a prominent feature; One for a Commercial Course, in which, commercial geography, commercial arithmetic, good penmanship, as well as the writing and speaking fluently of at least one foreign language, would form a necessary part; and One for an Industrial Course, in which natural sciences, foreign languages, freehand and geometrical drawing, would occupy an important place.

Such Diplomas would be valuable to the pupils, as a passport to higher educational institutions, or to a career in life. They would correspond, in some measure, to the Diplomas given in Germany, on the occasion of the Leaving Examination (*Abiturienten Examen*), in the *Gymnasien*, and the *Realschulen* respectively; the importance and value of which are well known to all educational authorities.¹

It may be useful, before closing this branch of my

¹ For an account of the *Abiturienten Examen*, see Mr. Matthew Arnold's *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, chapter iv.; also the *Memorandum* of Mr. M. E. Sadler, presented to the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, and published by them in their Report, vol. v., p. 27.

subject, to sum up briefly the leading features of the scheme of reform that I propose.

First, *School Grants*, based on inspection of the schools combined with a limited examination of the pupils; the object of the examination being mainly to test the quality and efficiency of the teaching.

Second, A definite number of *Exhibitions*, offered annually to competition, with a view to enable promising boys to obtain free education.

Third, *Special Grants* for special subjects, such as Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, English Elocution, Vocal and Instrumental Music.

Fourth, *Equal Encouragement* for all kinds of secondary education suitable to the boys and girls of Ireland.

Fifth, *Diplomas* at the end of the School Course, to testify that the bearers have received a sound intermediate education, and to specify the subjects in which they have passed, and the degree of proficiency they have attained.

PART III.

MODE OF PROCEDURE

I now proceed to consider in what manner the scheme of reform I have submitted, may best be carried out, under existing circumstances. In the first place, it is evident that a new Act of Parliament would be necessary for the purpose. But such an Act is plainly contemplated in the warrant under which the present Commission has been appointed; and it will probably be required in any scheme of reform that may eventually be adopted. The Act should, in my opinion, give power to introduce all the changes I have suggested; but it should leave to the Board full discretion as to the time and mode of introducing these changes.

In the exercise of this discretion, the following considerations should, I think, be kept in view by the Board:—

(1) That nothing should be done that would tend to shake public confidence in the perfect impartiality with which the endowment is administered;

(2) That the reforms should be so introduced as not to produce any sudden wrench in the educational system of the country, and that ample time should be allowed for the schools to accommodate themselves to the changes made;

(3) It would be only fair that the schools which have hitherto worked with zeal and success under the existing system, should not suffer any serious financial loss by the changes introduced, provided they are ready to work with a like diligence and energy under the reformed system.

These considerations seem to me to lead to the conclusion that the reforms recommended, however desirable they may be thought in themselves, ought not to be introduced all at once, but gradually and tentatively. And this remark applies with especial force to the substitution of inspection for examination, as the basis of School Grants. It remains, therefore, to consider what are the reforms with which it is best to begin,—which will meet the most urgent needs of the present moment, and lead most smoothly to the development of the new system.

At the outset, we are met by the fundamental question: Is it desirable to abolish at once the Annual Examinations, which are the backbone of the present system, and which furnish the basis on which all money grants are paid to schools, and all prizes awarded to students? A great deal can be said on both sides of this question. But on the whole, I think it would be wise to retain, for some years, the present system of Examinations and Results Fees, and to introduce side by side with it, a system of Inspection, which, as times go on, may be extended and developed. By proceeding in this way, it will be possible to test the new principle, on a small scale, without abandoning the old; and to pass gradually from the one to the other, without any serious risk of forfeiting the public confidence which the existing system has so long enjoyed.

If this view be adopted, then I would propose that the following changes should be immediately introduced, as a first step towards the more thorough and complete reform recommended in the Second Part of this paper.

I. In the first place, I would recommend that the Results Fees should be reduced in a certain definite proportion, all round, say by about one-third. At present, the whole money grant received by a school, is paid on the result of a written examination only. Such an examination is a very imperfect test of sound and efficient teaching; and therefore I propose that a part of the available endowment should be reserved, to be awarded on the result of an inspection of the schools. The Board will thus be able to encourage many features of a good education which at present receive no recognition, and are therefore in danger of being neglected.

II. The written examinations should be supplemented by a system of inspection, to be conducted on the lines indicated above in Part II.¹ The detailed report of the inspectors should conclude with a classification of each school, according to some scheme of conventional terms fixed by the Board: such as, *Inferior*, *Sufficient*, *Good*, *Very Good*, *Excellent*. On this report, I would propose that a grant should be made to each school, in the form of a percentage, added to the amount awarded on the written examinations. For example:—

Mark obtained	Inferior.	Sufficient	Good.	Very Good.	Excellent.
Percentage to be added	0	20	30	40	50

Thus, if a school were awarded £300 on the written examinations, and got the mark, *Very Good*, from the inspectors, it would receive $£300 + 120 = £420$; if it got only, *Sufficient*, it would receive $£300 + 60 = £360$; and if it were marked by the Inspectors, *Inferior*, it would receive simply £300. I would recommend that no school should be subjected to inspection without its own consent. Schools not consenting would receive the Results Fees awarded on the written examinations; but, of course, they would not receive the increment which I propose should be awarded in the Inspector's report.

¹ See pp. 142, 143, *supra*.

III. In connection with the inspection, I would propose to set up a system of examination in the reading and pronunciation of foreign languages, for all schools claiming Results Fees in foreign languages. For this purpose, it would probably be necessary to associate with the Inspectors one or two expert examiners. The examination should be of the simplest kind; nothing more than reading a couple of sentences in any book presented by the school, with perhaps a little conversation for Senior Grade pupils. As the object is only to ascertain the methods of teaching followed in the school, it would not be necessary to examine all the pupils, but only a few of each class, taken at random. A report should then be drawn up with respect to each foreign language, in each school, and a mark awarded, as in the case of inspection.

On this report, I would make grants to each school claiming Results Fees in foreign languages, calculated in the following way:—First, I would ascertain the amount of the Results Fees awarded to a school, in each foreign language, on the written examination; and I would add to this amount a certain percentage according to the mark obtained for reading and pronunciation. For example:—

Mark obtained.	Inferior.	Sufficient.	Good	Very Good	Excellent.
Percentage to be added,	0	20%	30%	40%	50%

Thus, if a school were awarded £30 on the written examination in French, and got the mark, *Excellent*, for reading and pronunciation, it would receive $£30 + 15 = £45$; if it got the mark, *Good*, it would receive $£30 + 9 = £39$; and if got the mark *Inferior*, it would receive only £30. As in the case of inspection, I would suggest that no school should be required to submit to this examination, without its own consent. But schools not consenting should, I think, receive no Results Fees in respect of foreign languages.

IV. I think that the system of Special Grants recommended in Part II.,¹ might be at once introduced with advantage. Special Grants, for example, might be allotted to all schools provided with physical and chemical

¹ See p. 493, *supra*.

laboratories. These grants should be made on the report of expert examiners, who should report not only on the nature and amount of the apparatus provided, but also on the methods followed; stating, in particular, to what extent the apparatus is used for illustrating the instruction given, and how far the pupils take part in practical work. All these considerations should be carefully weighed in determining the amount of the grant.

Again, a Special Grant might be given for English elocution. Each school, for example, might be allowed, on the occasion of the annual inspection, to give a series of recitations, or to hold a debate, or to perform a play; and on the report of the Inspector, a suitable grant might be made, which would help to protect this important branch of education from complete extinction. In like manner, each school might be at liberty, on the occasion of the annual inspection, to give a vocal and instrumental concert; and a Special Grant might be given, if the report of the Inspector showed that vocal and instrumental music were carefully and successfully taught.

v. As I consider that the present system of distributing, broadcast over the country, large money rewards, under the name of Exhibitions, to the boys and girls of intermediate schools, offers an unhealthy stimulus to the pupils, and exercises a lowering influence on the moral tone of school life, I should naturally desire to see that system modified with the least possible delay. The following are the changes I would recommend :—

1. That the number and value of these so-called Exhibitions should be reduced. The money thus saved would go, of course, to the endowment of education; whereas it now goes to the endowment of the pupils.
2. That each successful candidate should get his Exhibition on condition of continuing his studies in a school approved by the Board; and that the money value of the Exhibition should not be paid until the Board is satisfied that this condition has been fulfilled.

3. That a *definite* number of Exhibitions be offered each year, in each Grade. Under the present rule, the number of Exhibitions rises and falls with the number of pupils that pass the examinations. Now I think it desirable that the number of Pass students should be greatly increased, in the manner provided for in the next section; whereas I think it desirable that the number of Exhibitions should not be increased but diminished.
4. That all candidates for Exhibitions should send in their names beforehand, and should be examined by means of papers set specially for themselves. The advantage of this suggestion is, that it would reduce the present huge competition of some 10,000 pupils to a simple competition of candidates for Exhibitions.
5. Candidates failing to gain an Exhibition, might be allowed a Pass in each subject, as at present, on 25 per cent of the marks assigned to the subject.

VI. All pupils, not candidates for Exhibitions, should be subject only to a qualifying examination, for a Pass; and this examination should be of such a character as to be fairly within the reach of pupils of moderate ability. The effect of this proposal, if adopted, would be, I think, to increase considerably the number of pupils brought under the operation of the endowment. It is generally said that, owing to the difficult character of the papers set, a large proportion of the pupils in each school are unable to face the examinations. The consequence is that they can earn no Results Fees, and are therefore liable to be comparatively neglected by the masters. Under my proposal, the bulk of the pupils, in each school, could be prepared for the examinations, and could earn Results Fees. The masters then would have a direct stimulus to pay due attention to the weak and the strong alike.

VII. I think that steps ought to be taken, at once, to

give more encouragement to the subjects of a commercial and a scientific education. The present programme of the Board, as I have already observed, greatly favours a Grammar-School course, and discourages, in a corresponding degree the teaching of commercial and scientific subjects. Now a Grammar-School course is chiefly suited to the professional and literary classes, which furnish only a small minority of the pupils in the intermediate schools; whereas a sound commercial and scientific education would be far more valuable to the great majority of the pupils, and would better meet the actual needs of the country.

Something will be gained, no doubt, in the direction of commercial education, by the Grants recommended above for the pronunciation and reading of foreign languages. And something will be gained towards the improvement of science teaching, by the Special Grants recommended for chemical and physical laboratories. But more than this is needed. As long as the teaching of classics and literary subjects, is found 'to pay' better than the teaching of scientific and commercial subjects, so long will the former be taught, and the latter neglected. As the Council of the Royal Dublin Society well says, in its memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, the schools cannot 'be expected to take up science and teach it properly, until the results-earning power, and the prize-earning power, of a science subject, are equal to those of a literary subject.'¹

This observation goes to the root of the question, and points to the real remedy of the existing evil. The marks allotted to the various subjects of the programme, must be so adjusted that the zeal of the masters, the diligence and capacity of the pupils, shall be equally well remunerated whether they be expended on a course that prepares for a university, or on a course that prepares for commercial and industrial pursuits. If this be done, the teachers will no longer be compelled, as they are at present, to follow one another, like sheep, in the narrow track of a Grammar-School course, but will be free to choose such a course of

secondary education for their pupils as they may find best suited to their position in life, and their prospects of a future career.

I will now conclude with two or three general observations on the recommendations I have made. First, it will easily be seen that the inspection I have suggested does not involve any disturbance of the ordinary work of the schools. On the contrary, the inspection should be carried out when the schools are in full working order, and the inspectors can visit the classes, observe the methods of the teachers, and put such questions, from time to time, to the pupils, as they may find necessary for the purpose of their report.

Next, it is only right to observe that the inspection recommended, during the period of transition from the old system to the new, will increase the cost of administration. The expenditure on inspection will, in fact, be added to the existing expenditure on the annual examinations. But I feel confident that the educational advantages of inspection, will be well worth any expenditure that may be necessary to carry it into effect. It will put a check on some of the worst evils that have sprung up under the present system ; and it will be, in itself, a much-needed improvement, even though the Board should not afterwards find it practicable to proceed further in the way of reform.

But I entertain a strong hope that the changes I have proposed for immediate adoption, would gradually smooth the way to that more thorough and complete reform which is set out in the Second Part of this paper. I believe that, after a little experience, the schools would find the system of inspection to be less irksome than the system it is intended to supplant ; that they would welcome a scheme which would allow them to choose their own curriculum of studies, unfettered by the consideration of the market value assigned to each subject : and that masters and pupils alike would rejoice at the prospect of being released from the unhealthy and enfeebling strain of perpetual preparation for examinations.

Lastly, I should mention that this paper has been

written chiefly with a view to schools for boys; because I wished, as far as possible, to avoid details, and to deal only with general principles. But if the principles laid down be accepted for boys' schools, I think it will not be difficult to apply them also, with certain obvious modifications, to schools for girls.

GERALD MOLLOY.

TWO PIONEER CONVENTS

TWO communities of nuns in the County Galway, the Sisters of Mercy of Portumna, and the Sisters of Mercy of Gort, are doing useful, if somewhat silent work to develop Irish industry. During recent visits to Gort and Portumna I carefully went into the details of what these communities have done and are doing to foster and develop the resources of the districts lying about their convents. The result was so interesting and suggestive that I wish to bring it under the notice of the priests of Ireland. I do so because I am thoroughly convinced that the work that is being done by these convents cuts close to the root of many evils under which Ireland labours at the present day. The priests of Ireland have always shown themselves to be in sympathy with the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of their flocks. Many a priest's heart is saddened by the depopulation which is going on every day before his eyes. If he has a 'father's' heart for his flock, he will spare no effort, to keep his people at home and make them prosperous. Let every priest make up his mind that he can make an effort, and a successful one, to improve the condition of his people, for the remedy lies at his door. Professor Long who did such good work for the relief of distress in Ireland this year, in a recent book called *The Story of the Farm*, says that the chief hope for the future of Ireland lies in technical instruction in industries and agricultural methods, not for men only, but, and principally,

for women. The Countess of Warwick convinced that this is true, even in England, is starting a college to give women the necessary instruction. The nuns at Portumna and Gort anticipated Professor Long, and are putting in practice for some years principles now advocated by him. Strong active girls were idling their time at home, waiting for the chance of a free passage to America or Australia. The nuns asked themselves could nothing be done to keep the girls in Ireland, and not only keep them but give them remunerative work to do. The answer was the founding of their technical schools.

The work of the two convents, or rather that portion of their work with which I purpose to deal, is supplementary one of the other. At Portumna the nuns are devoting themselves to improving the methods of butter-making, including under this head, the breeding, rearing, and feeding of cattle for butter producing; they also train cooks, laundresses and plain dressmakers. They are fitting up a poultry yard, that they may give practical instruction in poultry raising. After a while it is expected they will go in for floriculture, horticulture, and bee culture, all three opening up a wide field for woman's work. At Gort the people of the neighbourhood are taught the arts of weaving, lace-making, hosiery, embroidery, and other industries, for which Irish girls are showing such an aptitude. Portumna has only recently started in its career of usefulness. Gort has already reached an assured position as an industrial centre capable of turning out high class work.

Both Portumna and Gort Technical Schools began their work by aid of grants from the Local authorities under the Technical Instruction Acts, of 1889 and 1891. While many stood listlessly by, and let slip an opportunity of profiting by a free grant from Imperial funds, the nuns in Portumna and Gort took advantage of a chance too seldom given, and when given, with an all too niggardly hand, and secured for themselves an annual grant, half from the Government and half from the local rates, for the purpose of technical instruction. It must be generally known, though it would seem as if it were not from the little use that is made of the

knowledge, that any local authority in Ireland may make a grant from the local rate of a sum not exceeding one penny in the pound to be applied to technical instruction. Moreover the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, is empowered by law to supplement the sum thus given from the local rates by a sum equal in amount, provided certain conditions imposed by the department are fulfilled. In the hope that the example of the Sisters of Mercy of Portlanna and Gort may be more widely followed throughout the country, before I come to describe their work, I shall give a short *résumé* of the present state of the law by which they were enabled to start their schools.

Grants in aid of technical instruction in Ireland are regulated by the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891; by the Local Government Ireland Act, 1898; and by current minutes of the Science and Art Department. The chief provisions of the Acts, are :—

1. A local authority may make a grant for the purpose of technical instruction to a technical school, provided :

- (a) That the pupils attending the school be not at the same time receiving instruction in an elementary school in obligatory or standard subjects prescribed by the education department.
- (b) That the local authority be represented proportionately to its grant on the governing body of the school.
- (c) That the school be not conducted for private profit.
- (d) That the amount raised by a local authority in any one year for the purpose of the Act, does not exceed one penny in the pound.
- (e) That the managers of the school to which the grant is made render annually verified and audited accounts to the local authority.

2. A 'local authority' in the Acts of 1889 and 1891, meant in Ireland the Urban or Rural Sanitary Authority under the Public Health Act. According to the Local Government Ireland Act, 1898, it means a County Council, an Urban or District Council. By the same Act the local rate from which the grant is to be made is the poor rate. The charge shall be a county or a district one as the County Council districts.

3. Technical instruction according to the Acts means 'instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of science and art to specific industries and employments.'

Any priest, therefore, who thinks there is an opening in his neighbourhood for teaching industries, provided he is able to move the local Guardians, or in future, the Rural District Council, Urban Council or County Council, to use their powers, may obtain a considerable sum to help on his project. The procedure is simple enough. When the nuns at Portumna decided to ask the local Guardians for a grant in aid they first chose three of a list of one hundred and twenty subjects sanctioned by the Science and Art Department, as coming under the head of technical and manual instruction. To secure the grant from the Science and Art Department, three, at least, of the subjects sanctioned by it must be taught, though the teaching need not be confined to these three, but may extend to any number. The nuns made application to the Board of Guardians for a grant in aid for the teaching of these three, and some other subjects of which they submitted a list. The aid asked was one half-penny in the pound on the rateable value of the Portumna Union, and amounted to about £70 per annum. After some opposition the grant was made. This was confirmed by a minute of the Science and Art Department. The nuns were then in a position to commence work at once, with an assured income of £140 a year, the Guardians' grant of £70 being supplemented by an equal sum from South Kensington. The great difficulty in the way of starting a technical school is the want of suitable buildings. No provision is made under the Technical Instruction Acts for this purpose, so the nuns had to provide, at their own expense, all necessary buildings and appliances.

A visit to Portumna will show how the nuns are carrying out their project. To the rear of the pretty convent, with a frontage towards the Shannon, which can be seen from the doorstep, stands the new technical school. The school was specially designed by the eminent architect Mr. W. H. Byrne, and cost the nuns £2,000. It was thought that this money, or portion of it, would be given by the Government. But the Board of Works, though themselves willing, could not get the necessary consent of the Treasury to make a grant for building. It is to be hoped that the

Department of Agriculture, when that long-expected and very desirable Board comes into existence, will recoup the nuns for an outlay primarily intended to improve methods of production in Ireland—one of the principal functions of an Agricultural Board. The building is of plain masonry, with but little detail, yet in keeping with the convent. The dairy portion is constructed on the most improved modern principles. The dairy itself is well lighted and ventilated, with fittings all of the very best description, including a separator. The byre is a model of cleanliness, and the cattle are better housed than many human beings in less favoured parts of the country. The dairy teacher holds a certificate from the Munster Dairy School, and is a gold medallist in butter-making. A certificated laundress presides over the well-equipped laundry, up to date in every detail—boilers, sinks, rubber wringers, &c. By a new patent the furnace that heats the drying room opens into the ironing room, and thus serves a double purpose. A special feature of the Portumna technical school, which I believe makes it unique among schools of its kind in the United Kingdom, is that the nuns have made arrangements for boarding twenty pupils entirely free of charge during their course of instruction, which lasts twelve months. The pupils' dormitories are well lighted and airy; each girl has a cubicle to herself. The work rooms, refectory, recreation room, bath rooms, lavatory, are quite as good as one could get in any boarding school. To make their school thoroughly practical the nuns are getting up a poultry yard, and hope to form a co-operative egg and poultry society.

Everyone acquainted with the conditions of butter-making, and egg and poultry raising in Ireland, will see at a glance what a great boon the good sisters are conferring on the district about Portumna. It is generally admitted that Irish butter as made in the houses of small farmers, is not fit, as someone once said in a speech in the House of Commons, for adulterating butterine. While every other country has been making rapid strides in new and improved methods of butter producing, Ireland has stood still. The small farmer of to-day makes his butter as his forefathers

did a century ago, and that was badly. No attention is paid to the feeding of the cows; they are let out on bad pastures; they are winter-fed almost exclusively on turnips, with the natural result that the butter is badly flavoured. Milking is carried on under the most unfavourable conditions; the churning is barbarous. Ordinary dwelling houses, and in many cases sleeping rooms, are used as dairies, so that the milk is vitiated, and the butter is bad. To crown all these defects, the butter is over-salted, and sent to market in a dirty and slovenly state.

The Portumna dairy school will do much to remedy this state of things. Its pupils are the daughters of farmers, as a rule, and will take to their homes the lessons they get at school. Lectures are given them on the best pastures for butter producing, and on winter feeding. They are taught, both in theory and practice, the most improved methods of milking, creaming, churning, and packing. When those girls go home, and make butter as they are now making it at the technical school, we may well hope to see their fathers' butter getting a higher price in the English market than the very best Danish butter. As the nuns are getting the top market price for their butter at present, this is not an over sanguine hope.

At present there is a poultry yard attached to the technical school, and an egg and poultry society on co-operative principles is in contemplation. The great advantages of such a society are manifest. Irish eggs and Irish poultry are, like Irish butter, in disrepute. Proper breeds of hens are not kept; the right feeding stuffs are not used; hens are not made to breed at the proper season. The eggs are brought to the market dirty, stale, and packed in a very slovenly way. The egg and poultry society will remedy all this. In the first place, everyone that keeps hens may become a member of the society. The society will sell them young birds of the best breeds at cost price; or it will supply them with sittings of best eggs. The manager will teach the people whatever is necessary for keeping poultry with the greatest possible profit.

I have not dwelt on the cookery, laundry, and dress-

making classes which form part of the school curriculum; their advantages are self-evident.

The people of east Galway have reason to be grateful to the Sisters of Mercy for putting such advantages in the way of the young girls of the Portumna district. The nuns themselves may well be proud of their work. They have not spared money, and are sparing no labour in their efforts to improve the condition of their neighbourhood. It is a pity that such work should be left so much to private enterprise, that the Government should not give it greater encouragement. It is still more to be regretted that those who are always finding fault with the Government for not giving us poor overtaxed people subsidies from Imperial funds, should not take advantage of the grants that are made. It would be much better to lay hold of the remedies for national depression that are at hand than to be ever striving after the visionary and impracticable. The nuns at Portumna are working while other people are talking. If Ireland is ever to be made prosperous it will be by efforts such as theirs.

The industrial work of the nuns at Gort may be looked on as supplemental to that done at Portumna. While in Portumna the ultimate aim is to improve methods of agricultural production so as to ensure good saleable butter, poultry, and eggs, and in addition to make women good housewives, the aim at Gort is to provide work for the girls of the district either at the convent as a centre or at their own houses. Here as in Portumna the local authority and the Science and Art Department contribute towards the support of the technical school. The total amount received from both sources is about £150 a-year. And certainly even to a casual observer the money is not misspent. The convent grounds remind one of 'the garden beautiful,' with their well-laid-out flower-beds reaching down to the edge of the Gort river. The low murmur of the flowing waters, and the scent of sweet smelling flowers, and the blaze of colour and the pleasant shade of the spreading walnut trees, would lead one to think the place was given up to quiet contemplation or sweet do-nothingness. There is little indication

on the outside of the hives of industry within. Enter Sister Philomena's department and you will see fifty-five girls, all young and active, plying needle and tambour, and all manner of intricate implements that turn unsightly raw material into things of beauty which Gort Convent supplies to all who wish to have them.

Let me say here that the nuns are labouring under one great disadvantage. They have not sufficient buildings. The Government won't help them, and private help is slow to come. Like the Portumna nuns they have hopes that the Agricultural and Industries Bill promised next session will enable them to get a building grant. They have abundantly proved, by working their industries on a sound commercial basis, while, at the same time doing the greatest possible good for the surrounding poor, that they deserve any Government support that may be legally given.

The work done at the present moment at Gort includes woollen and linen-weaving, lace-making, Clones crotchet, embroidery, hosiery, ribbon work, children's clothes of all varieties, ecclesiastical vestment-making, and plain needle-work of every description.

Gort lace has reached a very high stage of perfection. The nuns do their best to encourage the artistic inclinations of the girls, providing them with first-class teachers of drawing and designing. As a result, the work is original and pleasing to the eye. Both kinds of Limerick lace, tambour and run, are made. Tambour lace, as the initiate know, is a somewhat close pattern worked on net with a tambour needle. Run lace is done with an ordinary needle also on net, but with a looser stitch.

What struck me as far the most beautiful lace made at Gort is a kind called Clones crotchet. It is extremely pretty, of two varieties—flat and raised. It stands any amount of rough usage, and retains its beauty to the end. In Paris, where it is much worn, it is looked on as the characteristically Irish lace, and is called 'point d'Irlande.'

All kinds of children's clothes are made, from the simplest to the most elaborate. I also saw some excellent homespun socks, and cycling and shooting stockings.

The embroidery is of the most artistic description. I saw some exquisite work for curtains and mantel borders, being done on a base of Gort coloured linen, from designs after the old Spanish by Lady Gregory. The embroidery on chasubles is exquisite in design and perfect in technique. Albs, cinctures, corporals, purifiers, and all kinds of linen ecclesiastical work are made of Gort linen, and could not be excelled for fineness and texture and durability.

The chief Gort industries are woollen and linen weaving. All kinds of woollen goods are made, though the nuns are very much handicapped at present for want of a suitable house for their looms. The most striking of the woollen goods are the Colleen Bawn and Claddagh cloaks, which are completely finished off in the school. Here the wool is spun, woven, subjected to the raising gig, cropped, dyed, and made into those charming cloaks which are commanding a large sale in fashionable circles. The Colleen Bawn cloaks are red, with hoods, and are extremely pretty; the Claddagh are red or navy blue, with the old Irish cape gathered in the centre by a rose of ribbons. The weaving of coloured linens, which command a ready sale, is a speciality. Last summer linen dresses were very much worn, and the looms were kept going from morning till night trying to finish orders.

I have insisted on the excellence of the work done at Gort to show what energetic effort can do among people, who, five or six years ago never saw a linen or a woollen loom, or a piece of real lace. The dexterity of the children is simply marvellous, and the aptitude they have for the most delicate and tasteful work is shown at a glance. Girls are able to make lace after five or six weeks' teaching who were previously totally unskilled. The advantage of the Gort industries to the surrounding district cannot be too highly estimated. The girls trained in Gort can teach their mothers and sisters, and thus highly remunerative work may be done in the cottages of the people—work for those odd times and for those idle hours that always exist with an agricultural community.

What I have said of the work of the nuns at Portumna

and Gort may stimulate others to imitate them. They are certainly proving that the condition of the people, and that mainly through the women, may be raised ; but, of course, if the result is to be widespread, a general effort must be made throughout the country. If priests would take up the matter, and put the Technical Instruction Acts into force in their several districts, much good would be done. Hitherto women did nothing at home except the roughest household drudgery. Now the opportunity is given them of work at once pleasing and profitable. It has the further advantage of keeping girls at home in Ireland, and stopping the drain of emigration which is sapping this country, and taking all the strong healthy Irish girls to America and Australia in the hope of earning a livelihood denied them at home.

J. O'DONOVAN, C.C.

A CURRENT CONTROVERSY IN MORAL SCIENCE

IT is not without misgiving that we open up for the readers of the I. E. RECORD a current problem in moral science that recalls great names and involves great issues, concerning, as it does, the meaning of human life and action, and the ground and purport of the moral law. Indeed, were it not for the issues it involves, had current controversy not centred round it, we should be extremely slow to touch on it at all. But thither the battle that was so long fought on surface issues has gradually receded, and it would be very imprudent at such a crisis to yield one tittle of our philosophy even as an amenity to soul and heart. For we grant that the theory we are about to expound has been a refuge to many religious minds from the critical and atheistical philosophies of the day ; and if we attack it now, we do so under the firm conviction that it is vital to no Theistic principle, and flows from none, and is connected with none. Nay, more ; we are

convinced that whilst the theory in question serves, and has served, as an *argumentum ad hominem* against a school of moralists that is happily fast becoming extinct (that, namely, of Hume), it undermines what we must regard as the root and basis of the Philosophy of Law.

The theory before us is as old as the *Analogy*, but during the course of controversy in recent years it has come to the front in a new form. Readers in current ethical literature might scarcely recognise in the starved abstractions given by Seth and the Neo-Hegelians in England and America the semblance even of that heart-filling defence of the moral law, given in the *Analogy* and in the heated literature of the Oxford movement, enriched as it was with the warmth and glow of Wordsworth's pen. It will be our business to show that the modern problem is only the old one in a new form.

To understand this controversy aright we must go back more than a hundred years—to the year 1736—an epoch-making year in morals, the year that Butler published his *Analogy*. It was the most unexpected of all the contributions to the heated controversies of that interesting era. But it was very well timed, for the mind of England was nervously active and sensitive to a degree. There were high interests in the balance then. Hobbes and Mandeville had set England aflame. Woolaston and Collins were worrying theology almost to death, and Deism was spreading everywhere. 'I have lived,' says Warburton, speaking of that period, 'to see the fatal crisis when religion has lost its hold on the mind of the people.' The time was ripe, therefore, for the appearance of a work like the *Analogy of Religion*. Its effect was electrical. It was a new method, and no one could handle it but Butler himself. Butler's genius was of a peculiar type. Expansive and bold beyond all measure, he drew his illustrations and collected instances from the most unconnected and distant sources. Sweeping, however, as his conceptions were, they were correct to a degree. His mind was critical rather than constructive. He was essentially a logician, equipped, that is, not with old-world, academic forms, but with all the weapons of the logic of controversy. He was a master of subtle standpoints and

refined analysis. He effected the most delicate transitions, was never inconsistent in protracted argument, and could take his bearings, quite at his ease, in its most complicated stages. He excelled in that most delicate of arguments—retort. He took common ground with the most varied schools, and engaged them with their own weapons.

Here, we think, is the secret and source of all that is best and also of all that is most fatal in Butler. To close with an adversary he took up common ground with him, but he seems to have been sometimes indifferent to the fact that if once he proceeded to positive construction, what had been selected to serve as a polemic hypothesis became now the basis of a positive system. Could anything be more dangerous to the science concerned, or the truths at stake? That the system was undertaken in the interest of truth matters but little. Doctrine and religion have suffered more from controversy started in their sole defence than from the open attacks of infidelity. It was in defence of theology that Berkeley undermined its essential principle. It was in defence of a dogmatic creed that Kant became responsible for a century of scepticism. It was in answer to a charge of the slavery of doctrine that Hooker unsettled the theological loca, and now we contend that it was in the interest of morals and moral beliefs that Butler and Schopenhauer, Coleridge and Seth, and a number of Anglican and Catholic divines have been cutting unconsciously at the very foundations of the Science of Ethics.

What was the work to which Butler addressed himself in those portions of the *Analogy*, *Essays*, and *Sermons* that treat of virtue and the moral law? When at the end of the fifteenth century the philosophy of Hobbes made everybody sceptical about all that was out of the reach of sense, it was natural to expect that those three elements, that are known at present as the ideal factors in the moral world, moral law, namely, duty and right, should be viewed askance by the philosophy of the day. The method of Hobbes was 'introspection.' On close analysis he thought he discovered that duty and law had really no place amongst the springs of

action working on the will ; that the will was moved in one way only, by the cold and complicated mechanics of pleasure. He claimed, moreover, that the ideas of duty and moral law were nothing more than a nervous development, a highly sensitive parasitic growth, on a delicately constructed nature. He naturally concluded that there was no such thing as duty at all or moral law, as distinct from pleasure—that they were only a fallacy, a false interpretation of other ideas, a working hypothesis, or a superstition. This was the theory rife in England in Butler's time. And as with the populace the idea of God is limited to that of a moral governor, it augured ill for the future of Theism that what had long been regarded as the voice of God speaking within their heart and mind, was put now on no higher level than the voices of the night, heard by imaginative or frightened children. This theory Butler set himself to refute. He worked by retort. He made his own of his opponents' weapons, ratified their method, and conceded their suppositions. As Hobbes had disregarded the moral law and the reality of duty, because on reflection he found none working consciously within him, so Butler claimed for it reality and title and legal worth, because on reflection the eyes of his soul were filled with the light and splendour of a court ruling within his heart and mind, from whose presence he could no more escape than he could disregard his own existence : whose adjudications he could not gainsay ; whose peremptory voice and mien bore witness at once to its character and mission as the priest of the Most High.

Here, then, within his heart and mind, as a fact and a truth more intimately perceived, more cogently felt than the phenomena of nature, was the voice of a lawgiver impressing the inward depths of his soul with the ineradicable conviction of the truth of his claim, and himself shrinking by the force of nature with all that he was, into dutiful acknowledgment of the justice of his enactments. Here, then, were the three *ideal* elements which Hobbes had removed psychologically revealed—first, a law and a lawgiver, an eternal, all-pervading force, demanding and exercising supremacy of power over

every other part of man, the highest claimant in his complex nature ; as inalienable and original in its constitution as it was independent and peremptory in its acts. Second, the element of right, given and guaranteed with the law itself. Third, the element of duty impressed deeply on the lines of his heart, holy and imperishable, and definite and palpable, as plainly discernible to sense and thought as was the colour of the sea or of the heavens. 'This moral discernment,' he writes, speaking of what he discovered within himself, 'implies in the notion of it a rule of action and a rule of a very particular kind, *for it carries with it authority and right of direction*, authority in such a sense that we cannot depart from it without being self-condemned.' And again, in his Sermons :—

It has been proved that *man is by nature a law to himself*, without the particular distinct consideration of the sanction of that law, the rewards and punishments which we feel, and those which from the light of reason we have ground to believe are annexed to it. Therefore, your obligation to obey this law is its being a very law of your nature. That your conscience approves of and attests to such a course of action is itself alone an obligation. Conscience does not only offer itself to show us the way we should walk in, but it *likewise carries its own authority with it*, that it is our rational guide, the guide arranged by the Author of nature.

This theory, so beautifully set forth by Butler, that conscience is itself a lawgiver to our minds, a part *and original principle of our nature*, protesting by its ineradicable strength, and by the persistency of its assumptions, that its function is to rule with sanction from on high, we shall now put into another form as given in the current controversy of the day ; for, as we have already said, it is because discussion is closing round it that we attempt to expand it or touch on it at all. We have said that many who meet the problem in contemporary literature, might be quite at a loss to see anything in common between the abstractions of current Ethics and the concrete expression of the very same problem given in the *Analogy*. But if the reader will have patience to read it now in its abstract form, we hope to render the connection plain, and shall return at once to more

tangible conceptions. It is claimed for Kant that until his time the essential element in the moral world was quite unknown ; that until the discovery of the moral imperative (which is nothing more than *law* or *command*) there was no such thing as Ethics at all. The imperative or command within the mind, *given* by the mind, given therefore *by* man to his own reason, was thought by Kant to re-establish an indisputable ground for the Science of Morals, that his critical method had so subtly undermined. We do not intend to explain this fact, but we wish the reader to bear it in mind. It is important for the problem we are now expounding. Suffice it to say that to Kant's reason the world had gradually dissolved from view, had melted into a hollow dream, an absurd vision, fantastic and contradictory, shapeless and substanceless. But as soon as he grasped the conception of law, of moral command, given and felt within the mind itself, as soon as he felt the impression of duty marked on his soul under pressure of the law, at once the old world reappeared in its strength and substance, as figures start from metalized plates at the touch of our breath. It was the same conception that made Wordsworth exclaim that 'the ancient heavens were fresh and strong, through the idea of duty, stern daughter of the voice of God.'¹

For Kant, therefore, it was in the moral imperative psychologically revealed, that the mysteries (if so I might style the antinomies) of the world were severally solved. At once the vital question arose:—Are the problems of Metaphysics to be solved ultimately on ethical lines, or do the ethical phenomena of the human mind, as seen by Kant, need to be grounded on admitted principles of Metaphysics? What guarantee had Kant himself that these phenomena had any

¹ In passages of great beauty, Kant pictures the solemnity and force of these enactments in language that recalls the eloquence of Newman. Whether Newman studied the Critiques in detail, we cannot say. Their style and matter were foreign to his tastes, and he seems not to have taken to the German philosophers. But he certainly was acquainted with the main conceptions of *The Critique of Practical Reason*, if not directly from Kant's own work, at least through Coleridge. Speaking of the Tractarian movement in the *British Critic*, 1839, Cardinal Newman reckons him (Coleridge) one of its predecessors, 'as providing a philosophic basis for it, as instilling a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept.'

validity beyond himself? What proof had he that the phenomena of 'law' that seemed to issue naturally from mind was anything more than an unhealthy growth on a highly-strung and tender nature? So Evolutionists thought it afterwards. But granted it was innate there, could he ground all morals on nothing deeper than the simple fact that within his mind a voice was heard, and a command given, that its author contrived to hide his face, and claimed supremacy without guarantee or proof of his right? At once Fichte declared against Kant. He received the law, but only when grounded on a higher principle. Schopenhauer declared in favour of Kant—the ethical world needed no grounding; and in modern times Caldwell and Seth and a number of others are contending masterfully for the same principle. 'The method of Ethics,' says Seth, in the peculiar language of the Neo-Hegelians, 'is that of Philosophy, not of Science,' which simply means that in Ethics we encounter the final meaning of things, and that therefore a scientific method is inadequate to it, that is, the reduction of primary Ethical facts to higher principles. And Caldwell writes, 'the very underived and ultimate character that moral obligation seems to have in Kant infuses a reality and a meaning into life which causes sceptical and agnostic prejudices to dry up and wither away.' This, now, is the current problem in Ethics. Let us follow it up.

We have just adduced two different statements of a single problem, the one concrete, the other abstract. One setting out with colour and force the thrilling of a soul in the presence of its Maker; the other severing with cold precision from a knot of phenomena two permanent factors in our mental life, imperative or law, and the idea of duty; but both maintaining that there in the soul, psychologically revealed, as permanent and empirical fact, are a moral nature and moral law, duty and right, and enforced sanction; and that on that fact, and on that alone, the science of Ethics may build as on a rock, with as much certainty as chemistry or physics, or any other empiric science. And here let me say that the one great element in human life that carried away the mind and heart of many of the Oxford men of '33, was

the very phenomenon we have just described—the ethical element in the human soul. For many amongst them it was a living solace for heart and mind, bewildered, as they confess they were, with the mysteries of life, its entanglement and waste, and the killing darkness that lay everywhere upon it. Thither some, on their own confession, were glad to retire from the hopeless confusion of an insoluble world, that had become for them one vast antinomy. And they sometimes thought that in resting there they were resting on the bosom of God Himself, in Whose law and will the conflict of elements was more than harmonized. And this is why, as we said, we write with misgiving in spite of the issues that press us to the task.

From what we have said, the reader will probably have made up his mind that a problem, such as we have indicated suggests most naturally a dissertation on the Philosophy of Law. We think, however, that as the present paper is only critical, we ought rather deal with what law is not, than lay down positively what it is. Now, broadly speaking, there are two very widely divergent views on the nature and essence of the moral law. One is empirical, the other rational. One is given in jurisprudence, the other is assigned in metaphysics. Contemporary jurists see nothing whatever, and claim it is not their business to see, anything in law but legislation. The positive and successful enactment of a law is at once the measure and principle of its claims and the exponent of its right. Its enactment is its authority. Its strength is its right and its guarantee. Thus Holland¹ writes : ‘ Leaving, therefore, on one side the rules which are set by God,² we come to those that are set by a definite human authority ; and in this sense a law is a general rule of external human action, enforced by a sovereign political authority.’ But metaphysicians see more in law. They claim the right to question the title and pretensions of a law, and reserve submission to its ordinance until it assign a deeper ground in token of its claim than the look and

¹ Jurisprudence.

² The sphere, that is, which Thomasius would have no jurist enter—‘*ne falcem hic imitamus in campum venerandæ Theologiæ.*’

voice even of sovereignty. It may well be asked how far such inquiry may rationally extend. That the right exists there can be no question. We do not think we are at all rebellious for refusing submission to any voice however strong, however thrilling, or to any person however holy, or to any court however solemn, if it cannot establish its right to rule and duty in others towards its enactments. And here we have entered the heart of our discussion. If the existence of God, or the existence of law, or the existence of a tribunal are based solely on the hearing of a voice, thrilling and deep, if the authority of a tribunal set up in man, and its right to rule are accepted because of the sanctity of its look and the spontaneous outgoing of our soul to its decrees, and the melting of heart that follows its reproaches, in what are we better than contemporary jurists? Our moral nature may be a part, an innate an inalienable element in our constitution; it may work on my heart electrical effects, but without a passport and with claims uncertified, how can I know that it has more authority than the town-fool, dressed in monarch's robe, with crowbar and carabine in his two hands, and 'the acknowledged strongest' written on his breast? If the fact that it enacts, and judges, and reproaches, be the primary token of the rights of conscience, if the fact that I shrink from and am dissolved at its voice, be duty itself or the proof of its presence, will it not be true on such supposition that the only rule of right is might, and of duty the want of it? There is more in law than legislation, and if we might announce a principle that ought be made the final expression of any just theory on law or right, we should assign this—'legislation itself, no less than conduct, can be made the subject of moral criticism.' It is not final, though it runs up finally into higher ground.

And here we are confronted with a popular objection that was first used in reference to the evolutionary theory, and which on account of its rhythmic form has come to be regarded almost as an axiom. It assumes, as a rule, some form like this—'the first principles of ethics must themselves be ethical.' We willingly concede the truth of this

principle, but only in the very definite sense in which it is opposed to the 'evolution' theory; and in that connection we interpret it thus—'only ethical factors can be built up finally into ethical products.' That certainly is self-evident truth, and in that sense alone we accept it here. But the phrase is used in a different sense, and has been applied to the problem now before us, by no less an authority than Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour uses it in support of his theory, that the science of ethics is perfectly independent, and could not, if it would, cast anchor in any other. He contends that it is impossible to bring back ethics into metaphysical ground, for 'propositions expressing obligation can only be grounded on other propositions of the same kind.' If, therefore, a science of ethics is to exist at all, it must take its start in an ethical arena, given and granted as a fact in nature. It is the same contention as Seth's and Caldwell's. We should be slow, indeed, to criticize unfavourably an able work, undertaken in defence of natural law, and real morals. But the principle before us has become so common that in analyzing it we can scarcely be said to have any particular work in view. We have assigned a sense in which this principle may be accepted as true; we cannot admit it in Mr. Balfour's sense. The factors that make up an ethical product must themselves be ethical; but why should the principles that prove and establish an ethical truth be ethical themselves? Nothing but movements, physical and real, can make up motion physical and real, but is not the existence of motion sometimes established merely by the use of mathematical formulae? 'If a proposition,' writes Mr. Balfour, 'announcing obligation require proof at all, one term in the proof must always be a proposition announcing obligation, which itself requires no proof.' We answer, that the term 'obligation' forms part of a proposition, does not of itself make the proposition ethical, as the term 'virtue' would not make it ethical. 'Virtue is a quality,' is not an ethical but a metaphysical truth. We are not now discussing how ethics is grounded; we are only criticizing an abstract principle, and we only contend that in a particular sense

that abstract principle is not self-evident as it is claimed to be.

Let us pass on now to a further point. The theory before us regards the 'imperative,' or moral law as issued within the mind itself. An act of command is experienced there. On the lawgiver's name the ethicists of this school are not agreed. Some call it 'conscience,' others 'reason,' others 'will,' others the Deity; but all agree that the lawgiver is a part of human nature. Experience, they contend, expressly reveals that it is 'I' that rule or a part of me. That, certainly, is Butler's theory; it is also Kant's, and it is Martineau's. 'It has been proved,' writes Butler, 'that man is by nature a law to himself.' At once we recur to the very same principle given in Kant, that the human mind is a law to itself; or, as it is put by Green, 'it is essential to the very idea of obligation, that it be laid immediately by a man on himself.' For if the legislator is a part of me, a part, that is, of my mental constitution, is not the human mind a law to itself? Butler can scarcely have realized to the full the meaning and drift of that conclusion, strictly as his theory bound him to it. It is a startling consequence, the more seriously so, that it is logically deduced. Let us take it for granted that the moral law is issued from the mind—we do not say 'is interpreted there,' but 'is issued there, and enacted there.' Let us admit that a voice is ruling there; that it is one of the functions of conscience to command, that it is endowed with authority like any monarch, and that therefore its authority as an ethical faculty is something more than its validity as perceptive. If we grant all this we immediately encounter Kant's conclusion, that man is made up of two separate worlds, the one ruling, the other ruled. As lawgiver he belongs to that hidden domain, called 'noumenal' by Kant, whose character and substance shall never be known. As subject to law, as creature of duty, he is only phenomenon, a form of sense, a phantom of the imagination or substanceless shadow. 'The same thing,' Kant argues, 'cannot issue a law and receive the same.' The full meaning of that principle is not on the surface, its adequate exposition would require a lengthy and

close analysis of the act of reflection ; but we should have no difficulty in admitting its truth. If we do not admit it we are jeopardizing sacred doctrines ; it is the stronghold of our attack on the Neo-Hegelians. Grant, therefore, we repeat, that the same thing cannot *issue* and *receive* one law, and grant to Butler that it is the very same mind that issues a law and is subjected to it, are we not involved in an evident paradox ? Kant stumbled on it and was stunned for the moment. But he discovered there was just one means of escape, and we contend that is the only one. He made of the mind two worlds in one ; the one noumenal, the other phenomenal : the one sovereign, the other subject. 'There is not,' says, Kant, 'the smallest contradiction in saying that a thing as phenomenon is subject to certain laws on which the very same thing as a being in itself is independent. We need not say that we could never harbour such a conclusion. It is opposed to the very first principles of our philosophy. If this is so, neither can we admit the premises that yield it. This is but one of the many strange, and startling conclusions, that logically arise from the theory before us ; so many are they that it can scarcely be called an expedient at all. It checked a particular line of attack : that line has changed : to maintain the theory would be worse than useless.

The reader will notice that we have refrained altogether from the ordinary criticisms of Butler's theories, Schopenhauer's, and Kant's, given in our schools. We have insisted rather on a remarkable connection between those theories that seems to have escaped the notice of ethicians. The psychological theory, as Butler's doctrine is usually styled, has been hotly maintained by some of our divines. We believe its difficulties have not been weighed ; we believe it would never have been so popular were it not so successful and manageable an expedient in the battle of faith against agnosticism. But expediency is not a test of truth. We are not now where we were a century ago, or fifty years ago, and if we are not to suffer hopelessly in the fray, we must be quite prepared to reject old weapons, and forego old methods.

We wish it to be remembered that it was no part of

our purpose to construct a theory, or open up novel lines of inquiry. We have done nothing more than indicate a school, and label it 'dangerous.' It is easy for a troubled or sceptical mind to be carried away with the glowing rhapsodies this theory has inspired, and to rest assured in the hearing of a voice, and with the sanctity of submission, as a fact in his nature present to the very eyes of his soul, long before tradition and moral discipline, and the researches of science have improved the reason; and in that intimacy and long precedence he may very easily accept a pledge of their right to outlive and even to overrule the efforts, and weaknesses, and failures, and suspicions, of every positive subsequent inquiry; but if we look calmly and with dispassionate eyes upon the nature and heart and constitution of man, instead of the presence and voice of a ruler, his solemn court, and majestic mien, we think we shall discover nothing there, but the cold unsympathetic light of reason (and that is conscience), looking out upon an objective order, and a law issued from far away, and borne into the heart like all other truths, by processes of inference and traditional faith, and along with reason a number of passions of varied colour, rising and falling responsive to its reports.

M. CRONIN, D.D.

THE NEW LEGISLATION OF THE INDEX

SECOND PERIOD : COUNCIL OF TRENT TO BENEDICT XIV.

THE Constitution of the Council of Trent gave a new life to the Index. It lasted from the pontificate of Paul IV. to that of Benedict XIV., a period of nearly two hundred years. Two reasons induce us to mark the pontificate of Benedict XIV., as an epoch in the history of the Index : first, because he made a very considerable change in the internal organization of the Congregation of the Index ; second, because that change has been permanent, and is part of the present constitution. The changes made in the Index during this period affected merely the list of proscribed books of Paul IV., and the Congregation of the Index.

The first change effected in this period was the Institution of the third and last department of the Index—the Congregation of the Index. Some controversy seems to have existed about its origin. Cardinal de Luca, Vanespen, and Spondanus assert that it was instituted by Sixtus V. Benedict XIV., however, and St. Alphonsus attribute its origin to Pius V. It is probable that Pius V. increased the Commission appointed by the Council of Trent for the examination of dangerous literature, and gave it the name of the Congregation of the Index. Gregory XIII., Sixtus IV., and Clement VIII., developed it, and enlarged its scope. Clement VIII. increased the list of proscribed books published by Pius IV., and annexed a few remarks to rules 4 and 9 of the Council of Trent. Alexander VII. made a slight change in the order of inscribing books on the list of Paul IV. Benedict XIV. laid the Congregation of the Index on a firm and lasting foundation by his bull *Sollicita et Prorida*, published in the year 1753. Since this bull has been allowed to stand by Leo XIII., it will be necessary to explain its substance, in order that the entire present legislation on the Index may be fully understood. Moreover, as we will not have occasion to speak hereafter of the

Congregation of the Index, we embrace this opportunity of explaining its internal organization and working, and showing what extreme care is taken lest any book may be unjustly condemned.

It is not necessary for us to weave the eulogies of Benedict XIV., or show how well his training fitted him to make this great reform. Those who are competent to judge, assert that he was one of the greatest, if not the very greatest canonist, that Italy has ever produced. Although his pontificate extended only over a period of about eighteen years, yet by his foresight and his tact he seems to have spanned many centuries. The many laws he made for some of the most important departments of the Church's legislation, and which still subsist with all their youthful force, are sufficient testimony of this. As the ancient Romans built not for themselves alone, but for succeeding generations, so Benedict XIV. did not legislate for the requirements of his own day alone, but also for those of future ages. From his youth he had been bred to ecclesiastical business. He had been first trained in the University of Bologna. There his statue stands on the main entrance stairs with that of St. Thomas Aquinas, beside the hall where Mezzofanti taught—illustrious members of this once famous school—striking and rebuking contrasts to Carducci, and the degenerate and godless crowd that now frequent those halls. When he came to Rome his abilities soon asserted themselves. He himself tells us in the opening paragraphs of his bull *Solicita et Provida*, that while still a private priest in Rome he had been made consultor for two different congregations—the Congregation of the Holy Office, and the Congregation of the Index, and that in that capacity he had examined several books. Subsequently, when he had been co-opted into the College of Cardinals he was raised to the position of Inquisitor-General; and when elected Pope, he brought to the papal throne a great love of business, and an intense interest in the working of the Congregations. He had, therefore, all the knowledge and experience required to effect a great change in the Index. How successful was his effort, the present bull of Leo XIII.

testifies; for whilst all other legislation has been levelled down and cleared away by the *Officiorum ac Munerum*, the *Solicita et Provida* has been allowed to stand—a solitary monument.

Benedict XIV. divided the officials of the Congregation of the Index into various grades or orders. In the first rank come the cardinals. They are all men eminent in some department of sacred learning; some of them illustrious for their knowledge of theology, others for their knowledge of canon and civil law; some of them remarkable for their skill in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, others conspicuous for their prudence and probity. Next come the prefect, the master of the sacred palace, and the secretary, who is always a Dominican and elected *pro tempore* by the Pontiff himself. Next come the ‘consultores,’ selected from regular and secular clergy; and last come the ‘relatores.’ If a ‘relator’ gives two or three satisfactory proofs of his ability in his remarks of books submitted to his criticism, a petition is presented to the Pontiff to have him enrolled amongst the “consultores.”

The members of the congregation meet in two different assemblies. The consultores meet by themselves, and theirs is called the ‘Congregatio Praeparatoria.’ This preparatory meeting is held at least once a month, and oftener if there be need. ‘The Magister Sacri Palatri’ always presides; the meeting is generally held at the Dominican Convent, ‘Sopra Minerva.’ Their decision is submitted to the higher Congregation of Cardinals. The decision of the cardinals is submitted to the Pontiff by the secretary for approval.

The following is the manner of procedure:—The person who wishes to have the book in question examined or proscribed (Delator) presents it to the secretary, together with his reasons for doing so. The secretary then takes counsel with two consultores as to whether the matter deserves consideration or not. If affirmative, the book is given to a relator for revision and criticism. When his investigation is ended, he reads his report before the Preparatory Council of consultores. If they deem the book worthy of censure,

the matter is sent on to the Congregation of Cardinals; and if they too be of opinion that the work deserves condemnation, their decision is submitted to the Pontiff for approbation.

Special care, however, is taken lest any injustice be done a Catholic author. The decision of one relator does not suffice to have the matter brought even before the Preparatory Council. If the first relator be of opinion that it deserves proscription, it is given to another, and not till two relators coincide in their decisions is the matter brought before the Preparatory Council. Still more, even when a final adverse decision is given, an absolute prohibition is not pronounced, but one having annexed to it the clause, 'donec corrigatur,' or 'donec expurgetur.' Meanwhile, the author is requested to make the desired change. If the author fails to comply, the decree of proscription is published.

The strictest secrecy is enjoined on all the officials of the Congregation in reference to the business transacted therein. The secretary, however, has power to make known to the author or his deputy, the decisions arrived at—always, however, concealing the names of the relators or consultores concerned, in order that he take measures to comply with the wishes of the congregation.

The following four rules, Benedict XIV. laid down for the guidance of the relators and consultores:—

1. They are to bear in mind that their duty is not to strive by every means, fair and foul, to discover errors and flaws in the book submitted to them, but to give a faithful account of its contents to the congregation after a careful and unprejudiced examination of it.

2. Care must be taken that the book be given to a relator skilled in the science of which the book treats. If, however, anyone should discover that from the peculiar nature of the book he is unable to pass a just criticism on it, let him bear in mind that he is not free from sin if he does not make this known at once to the Congregation. Such conduct instead of lowering his estimation in the eyes of the Congregation will tend greatly to augment it.

3. In passing judgment on certain opinions advanced in books, the greatest possible care must be taken. Different countries, different religious congregations, different schools of thought must needs have various prejudices. Now, all party

strife must be laid aside. The standards to be kept before the mind are:—the dogmas of the Church, the common teaching of Catholics, the decrees of the general councils, the constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs, and the tradition of the fathers. Any opinion that does not come in conflict with any of those must be allowed to pass.

4. They must also bear in mind that a right and proper judgment cannot be passed on the true sense of an author unless the whole book be read. The different parts of the book must be carefully collated, the opinions and design of the author carefully examined. Nor is judgment to be passed on any proposition quite independent of the context in which it is found, for it frequently happens that the different parts of a book mutually lend light to one another, and that an author expresses himself more clearly in one place than in another.

Benedict XIV. then directs his attention to a certain complaint made against the mode of procedure in the Congregation, and gives orders with regard to a twofold class of dangerous books. Sometimes authors have complained that their books have been condemned without their having had an opportunity of appearing before the Congregation and defending them. Benedict XIV. asserts and shows that such complaints are quite unreasonable. For why should authors appear before the Council? Is it to defend their persons and their reputation against the imputation of crime? It cannot be so, for no charge is imputed to their persons, and if their character or reputation be tarnished by the condemnation of their book, it occurs indirectly and unintentionally. Is it to defend before the Congregation the opinions advanced in the book? Such a proceeding could not be tolerated for a moment. A private individual to appear before the Congregation to instruct its members on what is right and wrong! No; the book itself is the individual that must stand before the tribunal; the opinions as therein expressed are the charges to be brought forward; as it will be read by the public without a commentator, so it must stand or fall by its own merits without a defender.

He grants, however, one slight indulgence. It had previously been customary for a length of time to take special precautions lest the work of any Catholic author should be

unjustly condemned, and the more so, if the work was likely to confer some signal benefit on society, or if the author enjoyed a high and unstained reputation. In such a case the author had been permitted to appear in person before the Congregation and defend his book; or, if he so preferred, he might have chosen a champion from among the consultores to plead his cause. This laudable custom Benedict XIV. approves and confirms.

There are two classes of books to which he calls the special attention of the consultores. The first are those books which, under the guise of historical narration, state doctrines or systems of thought destructive to faith and morals, without assuming the obligation of refuting them. This is an insidious style of composition. The authors assume that they are not blameworthy and exposed to censure because they do not advance such opinions or theories as their own, but merely narrate them historically as the tenets of others. Whatever be the sentiments we entertain of authors who write in such a style, the books we must condemn, because they poison the minds of the unwary without applying an antidote.

The second class are the books of those who with excessive zeal thrust themselves forward as champions of Catholic truth. Such authors frequently defend opinions, not because they are true, but because they are their own. The opinions of others that have not yet incurred the censure of the Church, they condemn in unmeasured terms. On schools and men who hold opinions different from their own, they heap reproach and insult—to the great scandal of Catholics and to the great delight of heretics, who view with pleasure Catholic schools thus rent asunder, fight and enfeeble one another. Vain is the plea of those authors who say they employ this mode of writing out of veneration for the early writers of the Church, who held and taught such opinions. There is an old commentator who has left an unfinished work on the Gospel of St. Matthew. In the fragment he says:—

If you hear anyone praising the writers of the days of yore, see what be his sentiments towards the writers of his own day.

If he honours and defends those with whom he lives, undoubtedly he would have honoured those of former days if they had been his contemporaries ; but if he despises his contemporaries, you may rest assured that he would also have despised the men of former days if he had lived with them.

To all defenders of Catholic truth, the Pontiff proposes the example of the prince of the schools—the Angelic Doctor. In writing his wonderful books, which are far beyond all praise, St. Thomas necessarily came in contact with doctrines of philosophers and theologians, which were contrary to the express teaching of the Church. Yet, to his honour, be it said, that he never despised an adversary, never vilified or traduced an opponent, but treated all with whom he came in conflict humanely and with courtesy. If he happened to find anything rigorous, ambiguous, or obscure in their writings, he interpreted it with lenity and benignity, he softened and explained it away. If, however, Catholic truth demanded the refutation of any opinion or system, he went just as far to meet it as Catholic truth permitted him ; and he expressed his own opinion with such modesty, that he deserves our praise and admiration as much in the manner in which he introduced his opinion as in the way in which he afterwards proved it. Let all, then, who boast to follow the teaching of such an illustrious doctor, strive also to imitate his manner. The manners of the saints are proposed to us by the Church for our example. Though St. Thomas is a saint, we are not bound to accept everything that he teaches. But though we may hold opinions contrary to his we must not adopt a manner contrary to his. Let, therefore, the consultores direct their especial attention to this class of writings. Let them zealously endeavour as far as ever their power extends to restrain and coerce them ; for it is of the highest interest to the public peace, to the edification of the faithful, and to charity towards our neighbour, that all hatred, all bitterness, and all scurrility be far removed from everything in connection with the Catholic faith.

THIRD PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE INDEX

The third period of the history of the Index is short, and uneventful. We may really consider it as all along a gradual

slope leading to the present Leonine constitution. During this period no material change was made in the old list of books of Paul IV.; and Benedict XIV. had set the Congregation of the Index on such a firm basis, that it required no further consideration. But it was not so with the rules of the Council of Trent: with the advance of years, they sadly required emendation. The progress of the age far outstripped their limits. Science had made gigantic strides since the days of the Council of Trent, and literature, which is always the voice of the age, had extended with it far beyond the boundaries conceived by those who drew up the rules. They had become antiquated, and entirely unsuited to the class of literature that now poured from the press day after day. Indeed, from the very beginning they had not been able to be put in force in Protestant countries. With the lapse of time, some of them had become quite useless, others excessively severe, and some even quite impossible to be observed. Pius IX. perceived this, and endeavoured to render them more efficient. In 1848 he published an encyclical, in which he in great part mitigated the tenth rule. That rule had prescribed that the bishop or his vicar should visit every printing-press within their diocese, and see that no proscribed book should be published; that all booksellers should keep a list of the books they had in stock, with the signature of the bishop or his vicar written after the name of each book; and that the penalty for violation of this regulation would be forfeiture of the books themselves, and the payment of a fine imposed according to the discretion of the bishop. This rule had now become quite useless and impracticable. It might have been put in force while the Church and State were espoused, as they were at the time it had been framed—under the Emperors Charles V. and Philip II. But now that the Church and State were divorced, the Church had not the power to coerce obedience. Besides, so wide had the range of literature become that bishops could not have attended to this regulation even had they no other duty attached to their office. One book-stall alone would have exhausted their energies. Pius IX., therefore, mitigated the rule. He

limited the scrutiny of bishops to works on Sacred Scripture, Sacred Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Canon Law, Natural Theology, Ethics, and all other works treating of Religion and Morals.

This innovation, however, did not remedy the general defect; accordingly, shortly before the Vatican Council, the whole matter was laid before a commission of learned and experienced men. All were unanimous that the rules required to be changed. But what was to be the nature of this change, or how was it to be effected? Two opinions prevailed amongst the members of the commission. Some, actuated by veneration for the fathers of the Council of Trent, proposed that the then existing rules should be left intact, and that certain additions and annotations should be made. Others, however, contested that this was full of difficulties; and besides, would prove quite useless. In the first place, they urged the rules had become quite effete, and could never again be made effective; secondly, the proposed additions could never be successfully made, for, notwithstanding all their efforts and their care, the annexed parts would never square with the existing rules; thirdly, various antilogies and contradictions would necessarily arise notwithstanding every precaution; and lastly, it was no derogation, they said, to the fathers of the Council of Trent to abrogate their rules, for as they had been made to meet the requirements of the times, they were never meant to stand, in an age entirely out of touch with them. They, therefore, proposed to draft a completely new set of rules. This opinion prevailed, and it is cited by Leo XIII. in his bull *Officiorum ac Munerum*.

In 1895 Leo XIII. took up the question of reform. He entrusted the matter to the Congregation of the Index. The Congregation, in their turn, elected four of their number to draft two schemes of a new code of rules. Those chosen met frequently, and discussed amongst themselves the relative merits of the two schemes. At length they presented the two schemes to the Congregation. Thereupon four other 'consultores' were chosen by the Congregation to criticize the schemes, and submit their

criticism to the authors. The authors slightly changed the rules according to the recommendation of the critics. The rules were then publicly discussed, examined, and reformed by the entire body of the Congregation, and finally submitted to the Pontiff for approval, and promulgation. The promulgation of these rules in the February of 1897 is the last event in the history of the Index.¹

In narrating the history of the Index, our chief intent has been to lay in order before our readers the principal changes and vicissitudes in the Index. We have not brought into special prominence the various departments of the Index, nor insisted very much on the characteristics of the three periods into which we have divided its history. Yet, the Index has its departments; each department has a special duty to perform; and there exists a very substantial relation between the character of the period and the form the Index assumed during that period. We would, therefore, now invite our readers to accompany us, and stand at the three epochs we have marked, and survey the chief events of the three periods as they pass in rapid review before us.

In the first period we shall perceive no special institution whose duty it would be to supervise and examine each new publication; we shall perceive no set of rules to act as standards in the judgment of books; we shall seek in vain for a detailed list of the books condemned by the Church. The condemnation and proscription of the books of Origen, of Arius, Nestorius and Eutyches; of the books of Photius, Scotus Erigena, Berengarius, and Abelard; of Wicliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were to be found only in the archives or great libraries, together with the acts of the great councils, and the constitutions of the Roman Pontiffs. Here the learned became aware of the Church's condemnation, and through them that knowledge filtered down to the very lowest grades in the Church. Towards the waning of this period we shall first perceive, however, a gradual change occur—the first germs of rules formulated and published by the two Pontiffs Alexander VI. and Leo X. Hitherto

¹ Cf. Pennach, i., p. 25.

the mind of the Church had been directed to the past—to the bad books that had already seen the light; now it began to look towards the future. Not only the works of the heretic were condemned, but the very fœtus of his mind was doomed before it was given birth. And just as the period ends, a second department of the Index begins to take form—a regular list of the books condemned by the Church, drawn up and ultimately published by Paul IV.

In the second period we shall perceive two departments of the Index work with perfect organization and outfit. The Council of Trent had formulated a definite code of rules to be used as standards in the judgment of books, and had revised and reformed the old list of Paul IV. Ere long the third and last department of the Index comes into view; it is modelled, shaped, and brought to perfection by Benedict XIV.

Thus we see three departments of the Index in full working order: the list of proscribed books, the rules of the Index, and the Congregation of the Index—all three mentioned by Leo XIII. in the *Officiorum ac Munerum*. But the Index had always been intended by the Church to be the standard, the rule and *norma* by which the faithful were to know what was good from bad in the published literature of the day. Science, had now spread beyond premeditated bounds, and the literature of the day which was its faithful expression, had expanded with it. The Index did not cover all; the state of knowledge, and the state of the civil powers had changed since its rules had been first formulated; its rules had become antiquated, and had fallen out of joint with the times.

With the Leonine Constitution we shall perceive a perfect renovation. There, we shall see the character of the times studied; the science and literature of the day examined; every mode of writing provided for; every danger averted; we shall perceive a new blood infused into every department. Everything that was old is cast aside; anything that was fresh is still preserved; everything comes forth clear and new, full of youthful life and vigour.

The growth of the Index has, then, been gradual. The

same relation exists between the character of the times and the form the Index then assumed, as there exists between a tape and the cloth that is measured by it: for the times were the *mensura*, the Index the *mensuratum*. The times, modelled the Index; the Index did not model the times. The character of the times is impressed on the form of the Index, as the history of art is inscribed on the decorated walls of one of our grand mediæval cathedrals.

III.

But from a study of what is past and gone, we will now invite our readers to what is living, and what will be of future interest—the Leonine Constitution. We now intend, as we first proposed, to give the general characteristics of the present constitution, the end the Pontiff had in view in framing and publishing it, and to lay down certain general canons, which must be observed in interpreting the present rules.

The chief characteristic of the present rules, is their leniency in comparison with the old rules. No one is to suppose, however, that they are entirely different from the old rules. The Pontiff states, that it was his wish to preserve the groundwork of the old rules, but to tone them down, and mollify them, so that no one who was well disposed could find it severe or difficult to observe them.

He says, that he had two ends in view when he first began the reform of the Index:—to present a set of rules suited to the requirements of the times, and to publish a new list of the books from which the faithful were to abstain. All previous legislation made by his predecessors on the Index, he has abrogated, with the sole exception of the *Sollicita et Provida* of Benedict XIV. We may inquire what were the reasons of the Pontiff to wipe out the long list of decrees, instructions, admonitions, and constitutions passed by the long line of his predecessors, back to the Council of Trent. No doubt, the report of the commission appointed before the Vatican council, to examine the whole organization of the Index, influenced him in this respect. That commission had reported, that annexations could not

be made to the rules of the Council of Trent, without endless contradictions and oppositions of terms arising. If all the laws, decrees, and constitutions passed by previous Pontiffs on the different departments of the Index, had been allowed to stand, what a difficult and tedious task it would have been to interpret the present code of rules? No two laws on the same matter could well contradict one another. To determine, therefore, the meaning and extension of any term in the present rules, we should have to examine the same word in all the previous regulations; we should first have to discover its meaning, then to determine its extensions what was included what was excluded by any decree or by-law of any of the previous Pontiffs. The simplest rule would have presented insurmountable difficulties. The rules could scarcely ever have been made practical as the afore-said commission remarked. Leo XIII. has obviated all those difficulties. The present set of rules stand by themselves; they must speak for themselves; they are to act as their own interpreter.

Now what do we find in the rules themselves to determine their meaning and extension? We find two things: first, the wording of the rules; second, the end the legislator had in view! His end was to lay the rules of the Index within the reach of everybody. Now, do we find in any place, an opposition between the present rules and the old rules? the present rules must be judged to be more liberal, and more lenient. Is there any rule of the present code that admits of a two-fold meaning? the more lenient is always to be accepted according to the wish of the present legislator.

Will the old rules in any way assist us in our present task? The old rules though abrogated, will assist us to understand the present ones in two ways. Though the rules have been abolished, and their binding-force destroyed, yet the words that occur in them have not been deprived of their native original meaning. If therefore we know the meaning of any term in the old rules, we can divine its general signification in the present rules—always, however, having in mind that it will bear a wider and more liberal interpretation

in the new rules. Not only the wording of the old rules, but sometimes their substance also, will assist us in determining the nature and extension of the present rules. We will illustrate how this can be by a reference. Before the *Apostolicae sedis* of Pius IX. there existed a large number of censures. Indeed, according to the saying of a distinguished Irish prelate, if a person were to raise his foot he could not know but he would lay it on a censure. Hence bishops and priests who had to use the laws on censures were beset on all sides with interminable difficulties and anxieties. Pius IX. remedied this abuse. He annulled all censures not included in the *Apostolicae sedis*. But some of the censures that had previously existed he included therein. We may therefore know the meaning and extension of any of the preserved censures by examining the constitutions by which they had been first inflicted. The present Leonine constitution presents almost a parallel example. Some of the old rules have been annulled ; but some of them have been also in part preserved. The meaning, therefore, of some of the present rules may be determined from an examination of the wording of the former ones.

Now, what is the extent of the binding-force of the present rules? Regarding the extent of the binding-force of the old rules, there was reasonable ground for doubt. Indeed, canonists and moralists, we believe, notwithstanding all their efforts, failed to prove to a certainty that the rules bound in many parts of Europe. In fact, Leo XIII. admits as much in his *Officiorum ac Munerum*.¹ 'Plures Regularum' 'Indicis praescriptiones, inquit, quae excidesse opportunitate priestina videbantur, vel decreto ipsa sustulit, vel more usuque alicubi invalescente antiquari benigne simul ac provide sivit.' In the letters addressed by the bishops of Germany, France, and Italy to the Holy See, similar sentiments were expressed, and seem to have met with the approbation of the Holy See, as would appear from the attention that was subsequently paid to their

¹ We would call attention to the word 'plures' used by the Pontiff. Hence not all the rules fell into disuse. St. Alphonsus proves in *loco citato* that the rules bound one and all in the kingdom of Naples, and Dr. M'Donald proved in the I. E. RECORD that at least parts of the rules bound in Ireland.

demands, and from the manner in which they are mentioned by Leo in the present bull. The French bishops stated, that although the rules had suited the requirements of the times at which they were framed, still owing to the advance and change of literature and science they were now no longer apt for their end. Some of them they observed, had become useless, some extremely difficult, and some quite impossible to be observed. The German bishops urged with similar force, that some of the rules had never been able to be brought into force, especially in mixed countries, and that others, owing to the great change in literature could no longer be observed. This state of things, they said, was causing the faithful endless anxieties, and confessors endless doubts. Hence they earnestly requested a complete revision and reform of the rules of the Index. Whatever be our opinion about the old rules, very little doubt can be entertained about the extent of the binding force of the present rules.

In order to determine the extent of any law, we must first examine the extension of its terms; then we must see if there be any place or any class of persons exempted or excused from its observance; and lastly, if any dispensation has been granted by explicit, tacit, legal, or presumed consent. Now the extension of the words of the present legislation are—(a) universal: ‘*quibus idem sacrum concilium posthac utatur unice, quibusque Catholici homines toto orbe, religiose pareant.*’ (b) There can be no reasonable excuse for non-observance, as he states elsewhere, ‘*Praeterea ad ipsas Regulas mentem adjecimus, easque decrevimus, incolumi earum natura, efficere aliquanto molliores, ita plane ut iis obtemperare, dummodo quis ingenio malo non sit, grave arduumque esse non possit;*’ and certainly (c) no dispensation by explicit, tacit, legal, or presumed consent has yet been granted to any country. English-speaking countries may, perhaps be inclined to presume on the tolerance granted to them with regard to the observance of the previous rules, but they cannot be excused from the observance of the

² C.F. Pennacchi, pp. 24, 25.

present ones; for the law is general; they can claim no exemption; they can assign no excusing cause; and they can show no dispensation of any kind. A decision, however, of the Congregation of the Index, in the month of May of the present year, may set the minds of all at ease on this point; for it is an authentic interpretation. The following question had been proposed to the Congregation for solution:

Utrum dicta constitutio (scil., 'Officiorum ac Munerum') vim obligatoriam habeat etiam pro regionibus britannici idiomatis quas tacita dispensatione frui quidam arbitrantur?

Res: Affirmative.

Datum Romae en Secretaria ejusdem Sacrae Cong. Indicis die 23 Maii, 1898.

A. CARD. STEINHUBER, *Praef.*

FR. M. A. COGNANI, O.P., *Secret.*

To be continued.

T. HURLEY.

MR. MAHAFFY ON IRISH INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION

IN the November number of *The Nineteenth Century* is an article on Irish Intermediate Education which will excite indignation against the system in readers who are acquainted neither with it nor with the writer of the article, Mr. Mahaffy.

Irish readers who know the Professor would as soon look for sober history in the pages of *Punch*, as expect Mr. Mahaffy, when treating of a matter of even national importance to Ireland, to teach by facts rather than to amuse by caricatures. Mr. Mahaffy is not, it is said, a malignant man. Nobody who knows him accuses him of entertaining on any subject (except, perhaps, one) a conviction so strong that its general acceptance or rejection would cause him pleasure or anger. Even when he accuses Catholic examiners of ignorance, and flings a sneer at 'narrow and bigoted Irish patriots,' who will not join him in making all Irish students West Britons, his insults are not, say his friends, the expression of malice, but a bid for that popularity and appreciation in England which he misses in Trinity.

To many who thought they were acquainted with the Intermediate system and its origin, it will be news to learn that the system was devised by 'the first Lord Cairns and other clever persons,' as a means by which 'a considerable portion of the money obtained by the Disendowment of the Church of Ireland might be transferred to the Roman Catholics without alienating the votes of the English and Scotch Nonconformists.'

We had thought that the disgracefully backward state of Intermediate Education in Ireland generally prior to the Act of 1878 was motive strong enough to determine honest legislators to apply a remedy. We had thought, too, that until the results of the first examinations held under the new system were published in 1879, Mr. Mahaffy and his friends chuckled at the prospect of adding the bulk of the new endowment to the already considerable income of the Protestant schools. Indeed the poor Catholic teachers were looked upon with pity by their Protestant fellow-workers, who were certain that the spoils would mostly fall to themselves. For how could these Papist schools, 'which,' says Mr. Mahaffy, 'were supposed to be languishing and inefficient for want of endowment,' and whose methods of teaching were modelled on the ignorant system that prevailed at Maynooth, cope with the schools of the dominant race and creed which had been for long generations in the enjoyment of ample funds, and where the enlightened and up-to-date methods of Trinity College were in active force? The results of the very first examinations came upon the pampered offshoots of Trinity as an amazing disappointment. Some of the 'languishing' Catholic schools proved that they were certainly not 'inefficient,' and some of the wealthy Protestant schools were shown to be utterly incompetent. The test has been applied in twenty successive years, and Mr. Mahaffy says: 'So far as I know, the Roman Catholics have every reason to be satisfied with the result.' So they have, inasmuch as the result is the outcome of fair and open competition.

Mr. Mahaffy tacitly admits that, as far as rewards for pupils and teachers are concerned, the Protestants got at

least fair play and the Catholics certainly got no favour. But no similar test was or could be applied in selecting the officials who were paid for working the system; and in the absence of a test, how could the absurdity be tolerated of giving Catholics a place among these officials? Here is what vexes the Professor:—

Of the Assistant Commissioners one is Roman Catholic, and one Church of Ireland. Of the Examiners, two Protestants are not to be trusted to examine in Greek and Latin; there must be one Roman Catholic, whether he knows Greek or not.

And again:—

Their [Catholic] examiners preparing papers conjointly with Fellows of Trinity College and other such people, appear to the public on a level with the rest.

Now here is the same arrogant and ignorant assumption of the superiority of the Protestant examiners to which we were accustomed in reference to Protestant schools and scholars, until the test was applied. If the same impartial test which was applied to the scholars in 1879 could be applied to the examiners in 1899, the result might possibly spread similar consternation among Mr. Mahaffy's friends. But until an effective test can be applied, why should not the Professor assume in the meantime, that the Catholic examiners are ignorant, and why should he not have a fling at them as such?

'I believe I stood almost alone,' writes Mr. Mahaffy, 'in proclaiming from the outset that the whole system was vicious, &c.' Now it was *not* very well known in educational circles, at the time when the Intermediate system was being organized, that Mr. Mahaffy was stoutly opposed to it. Some people even thought, and not without reason, that if Mr. Mahaffy had got a gracious message from the Lord Lieutenant, inviting him to accept the position of Assistant Commissioner, with the salary of £1,000 attached thereto, he would have overcome his aversion for the 'vicious system,' and loyally made the sacrifice demanded. Before the Irish people rise in indignation to strangle the 'vicious system,' the country will require some more reliable proofs of its viciousness than those contained in Mr. Mahaffy's article.

Before examining Mr. Mahaffy's accusations against the Intermediate, it may be well to seek in a less tainted source for some genuine information concerning its success or failure.

The most reliable test of the working of the Intermediate system is the progress or decay of Intermediate and Higher Education among the population generally, and in particular among the Catholics, whose secondary schools were absolutely without endowment before 1879. Prior to the Act of 1878 superior instruction was rapidly decaying. The Report issued by the Census Commissioners in 1871, says, 'one hundred and fifty-five Intermediate schools must have become extinct between 1861 and 1871;' and the Report adds that this fact 'argues something worse than mere stagnation in that department of teaching.' The Census Reports are made only at intervals of ten years, and we may fairly assume that the Intermediate schools continued their downward course after 1871, until the Act of 1878 broke their fall, and gave them an impetus in the right direction. Between 1871 and 1891 the number of students receiving superior instruction increased thirty-nine per cent., though there was a decrease of thirteen per cent. in the population.

Within the same twenty years (during thirteen of which the Intermediate system was infusing vigour into the schools) the number of Catholic students receiving superior instruction increased sixty-one per cent., though the Catholic population decreased 14·5 per cent.

The Census Report for 1891, adds: 'The number of pupils and students engaged in the higher studies' shows a very satisfactory increase notwithstanding the large diminution in the population.'

The Reports of the Intermediate Board also furnish evidence that the system has roused our Intermediate schools and rescued them from a state of 'something worse than mere stagnation.' It was only in 1885 that the Reports began to state the number of Intermediate schools to the managers of which results fees were paid. In that year the number

¹ As engaged in 'higher studies' or 'superior instruction' the Commissioners reckon all whose education goes farther than a mere 'primary' or exclusively English education, from the pupil who is taught a single foreign language to the student who is preparing for the highest university degree.

was 244. In 1897 it had reached 367. The number of pupils examined under the system in 1885 was 5,181; in 1898 it had risen to 9,073. These figures do not argue either unpopularity or failure.

In Mr. Mahaffy's indictment against the Intermediate system, the first crime with which he charges it is that 'it encourages cramming against sound education.' Indeed the title of his article is 'How to circumvent Cramming in Irish Secondary Education.' 'It encourages cram' is the stock accusation hurled against the system by countless persons—pupils, parents, teachers—who have reasons to be more or less dissatisfied with the results of the system. Though, as Mr. Mahaffy admits, 'the great mass of people who repeat the phrase can give no explanation of it,' still its utterance relieves their feelings. In the reports of the Intermediate Commissioners we find cram defined as a 'hasty and superficial preparation of a subject.' To prevent cram as thus defined the Board takes pretty effective measures. It suppresses altogether, as being no evidence of real preparation, the first 25 per cent. gained by a pupil of the total marks assigned to a subject. Thus if a pupil scores 51 marks in a subject to which 200 marks are assigned, he gets credit for one mark only. Again, every mark gained above 75 per cent. in a subject counts as two. The effect of this rule is to encourage a thorough mastery of the subjects presented for examination.

In the Languages much importance is attached to composition and unseen translations, which cannot certainly be crammed. We find among the Rules a special provision which not only has 'spun' many a young crammer, but has been for many, owing to its extraordinary wording, as great a puzzle as the 'conundrums in Arithmetic' of which Mr. Mahaffy complains. Here it is:—

In the award of marks, in Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, Spanish, or Celtic, the number of marks gained by a student in any of these subjects, in which he may not have obtained 35 per cent. of the marks assigned to Grammar and Prose Composition taken together, will be reduced by one-half of the number of marks which he has gained above 25 per cent. of the total number of marks assigned to the subject in question.

Mr. Mahaffy's definition of cram is different from that given by the Board, and much more philosophical. He tells us what the vile thing is by giving a very forcible and clear explanation of the difference between the crammer and the teacher: The teacher has for his object the permanent improvement and development of his pupils; competition and rewards are for him only a means. The crammer has for object the rewards attached to successful scoring; the pupil is but the material or means by which he achieves his end. The Intermediate System *compels* the teacher to become a crammer, for it does not allow his higher principles to assert themselves. His liberty is controlled 'not by the rude compulsion of law but by the not less cogent compulsion of bribes—scholarships, exhibitions, result fees—held out to needy and greedy parents, underpaid and ambitious schoolmasters, &c.'

All this is eloquent; but what does it mean? If there was never an Intermediate system there would be in every good school an authority which would prescribe a programme of studies for the different classes: and that authority would need to be watchful and strong to prevent individual teachers from rambling outside the programme, and wasting the pupils' time. It should guard particularly against the faddists and theorists who are always most ready to assert with Mr. Mahaffy that efficient teachers must have liberty to follow their own course, and choose their own books. Unfortunately, only a small percentage of the teachers of any country are Arnolds or Thrings. The majority do their work the better for being directed and controlled by men of more educational experience and sounder views. Assuming that a programme of studies is sound and judicious, who will assert that the most competent teacher is unduly hampered by being obliged to confine his work within its limits? He will, of course, have perfect freedom to apply his own methods of teaching to the mastery of that programme. The more interesting he makes his teaching by references and illustrations that have a real bearing on his subject the better for his class. He may and he should teach his pupils to see around the subject as well as into it and through it;

but is there any reason on earth why, when a year's work comes to be tested by a competent examiner, the pupils of the best teacher should not score the highest marks? How can the prizes and result fees which are offered compel the teacher to become a crammer, or affect the issue at all, except in stimulating other teachers to bring to their work similar methods and similar zeal? Would a Professor's lectures in Trinity be prepared with less care, if his classes had an occasion, once a year, in open competition, to prove their superiority over similar classes in Oxford or Belfast? If his salary was to be measured by the success of his pupils, his teaching might gain in efficiency what it would lose in discursiveness, salt and freedom; and the loss might be a blessing in disguise.

Few will maintain that the eminent scholars who compose the Intermediate Board, and the Assistant Commissioners who aid them, even though they are not all Fellows of Trinity, are not more reliable guides in selecting a judicious programme of studies for the different grades of our Intermediate schools than individual teachers or individual theorists. The guidance of the Board shackles the freedom of the teacher, and, to use Mr. Mahaffy's words, 'ought to do so, so far as it represses random license, and points out the normal course of a proper education.'

The lashing which is so often administered to the 'crammers' even by writers who are Intermediate teachers, and hence, necessarily 'crammers' themselves, would be particularly fine and wholesome if the pictures they drew were not fanciful, or if the system of cram, in the exaggerated form in which they describe it, ever actually came under their notice, or anywhere exists. Teachers and pupils who go down in the intellectual contest are too apt to seek consolation in invective against the successful 'crammers.' If, because of competition, education in Intermediate schools must be, and is in reality, the debasing system of cram which some describe it; if, as a critic who is also a crammer puts it, 'the master who desires his pupils to succeed in the Intermediate competition must cast away from him all scruples, and allow himself to degenerate into

a crammer,' then Irish teachers generally are a more unscrupulous and selfish lot than the country gives them credit for being.

Competition does not necessarily beget cram, whereas absence of competition invariably begets stagnation. The best schools in the old days were those that made competition and emulation between the classes of the school, and between individuals of the class, as sharp and exciting as possible. Why should competition be essentially evil when extended from individuals and classes to schools?

There may be a strong temptation to cram in schools which present pupils for competition only in the preparatory and junior grades; but sense and selfishness combined will prevent cram in schools which aim at leading its pupils up to the middle and senior grades; for every teacher knows that a boy who is crammed in the lower grades becomes what has well been called a 'mental cripple,' and is worthless even as an instrument of success in the higher grades. It may be objected that the success of 'grinders' in preparing students for the civil service and other examinations proves that success is best secured by cramming. The answer is obvious; the 'grinder' would never succeed in preparing students for difficult examinations if these students had not got a previous education. It is education that fashions and tempers the weapon of intellect; grinding gives the sharp edge for immediate use.

In forming an opinion on this matter, it is well to weigh the words of such an experienced and wise educationist as the present Chairman of the Catholic Headmasters' Association, who is also President of University College, Stephen's-green. At the end of 1883, when the new system had been in operation for five years, the Rev. Dr. Delany, then Rector of Tullabeg College, combating the views of some masters who thought that, after all, they would prefer inspection to competition, said that—

Far from thinking that examinations tended to encourage cramming and superficiality, he was led by reason as well as experience to a directly opposite conclusion, and believed that frequent judicious examinations are of the greatest advantage

even to the best teaching : the contact with extern minds involved in these examinations forcing both teachers and pupils to think round their subjects, and to master them more completely and intelligently.

Mr. Mahaffy's remedy for cram is inspection, not as a substitute for public examination, but as a supplement and check. 'However bad the examiners, however absurd the papers, however loose the supervision, . . . we must not attempt to abolish examinations,' says the Professor, 'but to reform them.'

To inspection, whether as a substitute or as a supplement for public examinations, there are some obvious objections. In the first place, how will inspectors be chosen? By the Lord Lieutenant? or by the Board? or as a result of open competition?

Surely this last mode must be rejected; for though high scoring at an examination may be a proof of knowledge and scholarship, it certainly is not a proof of character and general competence.

If the appointments are *not* the result of competition, there will begin, in the history of Irish Intermediate Education, a period disgraced by a scramble for position, by jealousy and suspicion, by jobbery and favouritism; a period which will end by placing us in the old slough of despond from which the present system has raised us.

If the position is to be in the gift of the Viceroy, we all know how numerous and how forcible are the agencies that will at once be put in operation to enlighten His Excellency as to the choice he should make. Political considerations will generally, if not invariably, determine the educational fitness of the inspector.

If the gift lies with the Board, and if the religious complexion of that body remains unaltered, then the religious views which are represented by the members of the Board, will be proportionately mirrored in the inspectors they choose; and, since the majority of the Board are non-Catholic, Catholic inspectors will be in a minority, simply because they *are* Catholic, or, possibly, under certain contingencies, there may be no Catholic inspector at all.

The inevitable result would be that the entire Catholic population would withdraw from the system, as the entire Protestant population would withdraw from it, if, in the constitution of the Board and of the body of Inspectors, proper allowance was not made for the Protestant religious sentiment. It is a fact too well known to need mention, that, in order to make the machinery of education in Ireland workable at all, every suspicion of religious favouritism must be eliminated from the system. Wherever open competition is not the arbiter of merit, the principle of proportionate religious representation must prevail from top to bottom of our popular educational systems; and where it will not prevail, the systems will cease to be popular, and become the monopoly of a sect. Mr. Mahaffy may denounce this principle with all the indignant eloquence he can command: but if he were a practical man, and not a theorist, he would admit that it must be retained.

Here, then, is one great difficulty which the advocates of inspection must overcome. Mr. Mahaffy very rightly says:—

All the advantages of inspection will be lost if inspectors are appointed to satisfy private interests, or the clamour of creeds, or the demands of a false patriotism. If the main object of appointing inspectors is to obtain state salaries for a certain number of hungry applicants, if competence and independence of character be not secured, there will only be more money wasted, and no real benefit secured by the change. Indeed, it seems almost vital that in the first instance some first-rate English and Scotch inspectors should be appointed who . . . are strangers to the various jealousies which beset all provincial societies.

Again, where are the salaries of the inspectors to be found? If inspection implies oral examination also, the inspectors must be picked scholars, must be specialists; and the services of such men are not secured except by liberal remuneration. When the Intermediate Bill was passing through the House of Commons, it was computed that, at the utmost, only £10,000 of the Endowment would be annually required for administering the Act, and that all the rest would go directly to the schools or to the pupils. At present a sum considerably above £17,000 is spent annually in administration. Are we willing to withdraw from the schools a still larger amount?

'Three hundred and sixty-seven schools were awarded results fees in 1897. It is certain that many more competed; for, in Dublin, and probably in other large centres, the pupils of several distinct schools combine and send their names to the Board in the same list, as if they all belonged to one school. The pupils of the Intermediate schools probably number more than twenty thousand, and the contention of the advocates of inspection seems to be that *all* the students should be orally examined, and not merely the moiety of them that are now admitted to written examinations. To inspect all these schools, to examine all these pupils, and to draw up reports, would be a laborious and expensive work.

The more closely the practical difficulties that beset inspection are examined—and only a few have been mentioned here—the more likely is the project to be rejected.

But, I may be told, the system of inspection works well in other countries. That may be true, but has it ever been introduced successfully into a country where there are so many, and such sharp divisions—racial, religious, social, and political, as exist in Ireland? Is there any country in the world, the history of whose secondary schools is at all similar to the history of our Irish schools? The tendency to alter and patch our system, so as to bring it into harmony with the system which prevails in other countries, is replete with mischief.

Many persons who have no faith in inspection as a panacea for the evils of the Intermediate, are strongly of opinion, that, without any radical change, much may be done to improve the system by the agency of the examiners.

As a judicious programme 'points out to the teacher the normal course of a proper education,' so a judicious examination guides him in the manner in which he should teach that programme. We pedagogues, whether Intermediate crammers paid by results, or Fellows of Trinity paid independently of results, frequently entertain about our own methods of teaching opinions which are pitifully erroneous. How many of us fancy that our knowledge and powers of exposition are exceptional, and fancy too that our pupils are making exceptional progress, while all the time

the work done is imperfect and superficial? Apply the test of a fair, judicious examination, and our illusion is painfully dispelled, unless we break out in angry exclamations against the examiner, and put the blame of our failure upon him. Have we not known teachers, even teachers of repute, to exercise after an examination more research and ingenuity in finding material for an indictment against the examiner than they had previously employed in mastering the subject they had to teach?

An examiner may be, and ought to be, a guide for the teacher. It is hardly too much to say that the Intermediate education of the country is what the examiners have made it. They have it in their power to direct the work of teachers and pupils along true or false educational lines, to ignore or even encourage vicious methods of teaching, or to detect and punish them: to lower the standard of the schools, or to keep education on a high and healthy level.

Let us consider the single case of an examiner who has to set a paper on the text-book of a language. We will suppose him to have the qualifications of a really good examiner. Not only is he well acquainted generally with the author's writings, but he has mastered this particular one thoroughly. He has recently gone over the ground again carefully and minutely. His thoughts have rested on every page, until he has penetrated the whole meaning, and seen the working of the author's mind. He sees the order, the elevation, and the beauty of the writer's thoughts; he has discovered the principles which underlie and animate his style and character. He knows the passages in which the author is at his best, and the passages in which he nods. He knows the circumstances in which the writer lived, the conditions under which he wrote; he is familiar with the political, social, and literary life of the time, and sees the fitness of every illustration. Being equipped in this way an examiner is a guide. His questions will deal with the author's thoughts, especially his cardinal thoughts: with beauties of expression that are characteristic, not with exceptional slips; with passages that are the genuine mirror of the writer's style, not with those of exceptional construction or of doubtful authenticity. In

a word, the paper he sets will show the lines upon which the work should have been studied; it will elicit a knowledge or ignorance of the mind of the writer, and of the text, not of the slipshod commentaries of annotators.

But, I may be told, all this is very well in the abstract, and it would be very well in practice if we had ideal examiners; but are our examiners what they ought to be? Instead of setting papers which test the knowledge of the pupils in the essentials of the text-book, do they not frequently pick out what is exceptional, what is eccentric, what is unimportant or absurd; and so, in effect, tell teachers and pupils 'these are the things you should have insisted upon, these are the points you should have mastered'? Who are the examiners? Read over the long list of names from which they are chosen, and say if, along with many distinguished ones, there are not many others, Protestant as well as Catholic, that have no claim whatever to our confidence as educational guides. In the lists you find the young man or woman who has just ceased to be a student, and who is totally without experience: the busy barrister, or solicitor, or clergyman, who has only what Australians would call a 'gentleman's knowledge of his subject,' but for whom a cheque from the Intermediate Office is a desirable thing at the approach of vacation. Is it fair, is it well, to ask the teacher to accept such guidance, or to accept as a just estimate of his year's work the judgment of such examiners?

There is much truth in these objections. But if, in this point and many others, half the talents and energy that are now expended in advocating dangerous experiments with the broad principles of the present system, were employed in preventing the existing system from being abused, there would be no need of revolutionary changes.

Have the head masters made any real effort to protect themselves against the incompetency of examiners? The list of examiners is published every year: is it scrutinized, is it criticized by the head masters? Are the examination papers studied, and their defects mercilessly but truthfully exposed? Now and then, it is true, a solitary voice has been raised against particular papers: but, on the whole,

the masters remained dumb. They have now an organization and a standing committee charged to watch over their interests; a little vigilance and energy on their part will weed out incompetent examiners, and put an end to meaningless and foolish questions.

Mr. Mahaffy finds that 'the existing system of examinations tends unduly to shackle the freedom of both teachers and scholars.'

He proves his statement by instancing ways in which the system 'restricts the liberty of education!' The first way is this: 1. The limits of age imposed by the system induce teachers to retard unduly pupils who are exceptionally precocious, and to urge unduly, or else to neglect altogether, students who are exceptionally backward. By the rules of the Intermediate Board children under thirteen are excluded from the examinations, though Mr. Mahaffy could point to brilliant children of eleven who could successfully compete in Preparatory Grade, and he asks indignantly, 'are these children of genius to be held back in order that they may win scholarships for themselves and results fees for their masters?' We can imagine with what vehemence Mr. Mahaffy would denounce the cruel system that would subject tender children of eleven to the torture of being 'crammed' for public examinations!

Even if Intermediate teachers were the soulless slave-drivers which some critics represent them, and had no higher aim than to exploit their pupils for selfish ends, the teacher would foolishly defeat his own interests who would not advance that child of genius from class to class of the different grades, till he made him a Senior Grade Exhibitioner at the age of thirteen! Such a unique distinction would attract to his school all the young brilliants in the country.

There was never yet invented a system of education in which there was not a tendency to neglect dull pupils. But the pupil must be dull, indeed, and woefully backward for his age, to whom his master cannot even hope to impart that modicum of information in a few subjects which will enable the boy to secure a mere 'pass,' and so win results fees for the teacher. Moreover, in every school there is a master of studies, who, if he has not a conscience, has at least sense

enough to see that it is for the interest of the school that dull boys should not be neglected.

But no system of education can be specially moulded for exceptional geniuses or for exceptional dullards. Dr. Delany may be again quoted :—

A scheme intended to deal with the education of a nation should not be fashioned to the special requirements of individuals, or limited to the production of Arnolds or Mahaffys, or rhetoricians, however brilliant ; but should, whilst unduly fostering none, offer scope and stimulus for the development of the tastes, aptitudes and capacities of boys of all classes, and should at the same time hold out inducements to the masters to exercise their best energies in the producing of this result. . . . He believed that the Intermediate scheme . . . was in the main well adapted to the requirements of the educational problem to be solved in Ireland.

2. Another way in which, according to Mr. Mahaffy, the system ‘restricts the liberty of education,’ is this :—

Pupils quite fit to go to practical work, or to study in universities, are kept in the Senior Grade by the system which refuses to recognise any other test than the Senior Grade Examinations for the retaining of exhibitions already won.

Mr. Mahaffy’s meaning is, that a pupil who has won a Middle Grade Exhibition of £30 must, if he wishes to retain it, present himself for examination the following year in Senior Grade. Mr. Mahaffy would let the Middle Grade Exhibitioner become a tailor, and retain his exhibition as such, if the boy gave promise of using the needle and lap-board with dexterity, or he would let him enter Trinity and pay his tutor with the £30. And if the Intermediate Board do not lend themselves to this they ‘restrict the liberty of education’ !

On this particular point, it may be mentioned that Mr. Mahaffy is not the only university man who would wish to see a slice of the Intermediate endowment cut off to feed the poor starving universities. As the proposal in its undisguised form would not commend itself to Intermediate teachers, it is modified into a demand to increase the number, if not the value, of the senior grade exhibitions, so that the money thus awarded may help students to meet the expenses of a university education.

A few figures dealing with the proposal may be instructive. In 1898 substantial prizes (£20 and upwards) were awarded in Senior Grade to 14·6 of those who passed; in Middle Grade, to 33·2 per cent.; in Junior Grade, to 10 per cent.; and in Preparatory, to 10 per cent. If the calculation is made with reference not to those who passed, but to those who were examined, the figures would be 30·4 per cent. in Senior Grade; 24·8 in Middle Grade; 5·8 in Junior, and 6·8 in Preparatory. If we include in our calculation *all* the prizes, substantial and minor (except Medals), which were awarded in '98 in the different grades, we find that the amount given in Preparatory Grade would average £2 2s. 6d. for every pupil who passed in that grade. In Junior Grade the average sum would be £2 7s. 4d.; in Middle Grade, £8 1s. 9d.; and in Senior Grade, £14 1s. 1d. These figures show that comparatively liberal encouragement is already given to enter the higher grades. Any increase of rewards in the higher grades, which has not a corresponding increase in the lower grades, would be **unfair and out of proportion.**

3. The third way in which the system is said by Mr. Mahaffy to 'restrict the liberty of education' is, by 'encouraging a multitude of subjects instead of high answering in a few.'

Mr. Mahaffy would seem not to have read the rules for years. He lays down a plan by which high answering might be encouraged and low answering punished, and apparently does not know that such a plan is in active operation already. His charge would have been a proper one to make at the time when students were free to dabble in every subject on the programme. But at present a student who selects for his studies Classics, Mathematics, English, and French, has exhausted his right to choose, and will not be examined in any other subject. In the lowest grade the programme is still more contracted. No teacher will say the range of subjects is now too great.

Not even Mr. Mahaffy could invent a plan better calculated than that which is actually in force to encourage teachers and pupils to take up a moderate number of subjects and to master these well.

4. Again, Mr. Mahaffy finds that the liberty of education is hampered by the Intermediate system inasmuch as it retains on its programme some useless subjects.

Euclid should go, as being a 'cumbrous and most uninteresting text-book;' and the Board, if wise, will accept Mr. Mahaffy's opinion on this matter rather than the 'rampant old prejudices' of mathematical critics. 'Modern works, less precise perhaps in their logic, but far more interesting and suggestive to the young,' should be adopted.

Arithmetic should give way to Algebra in the higher grades; the Civil Service Commissioners who retain higher Arithmetic in the examinations for their important departments are as benighted, in this particular, as the Intermediate Board.

Italian and Spanish should disappear. Irish should be wiped out ignominiously; for not only is it a 'perfectly useless subject,' but it panders to 'mischievous sentimentalism.'

There can be little doubt [says the Professor] that 90 per cent. of Irish parents and teachers, and (let us hope) all the Commissioners themselves, are of this opinion, and yet the subject is paraded every year to please the outcry of a few enthusiasts, who are at best only sentimental, at worst actively employed in maintaining what separation they can between Ireland and Great Britain.

It will be interesting to see how many additional pupils will be attracted to the study of Irish because of these taunts.

We are at one with Mr. Mahaffy in thinking that the absence of an efficient check upon faulty and absurd methods of teaching modern languages is a serious defect in the Intermediate system. Though it is hard to see why the mere silent perusal of Racine, as well as of Euripides, should not afford *some* intellectual pleasure and profit; still, nobody will maintain that French ought to be studied otherwise than as a living language.

The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 suggests that the Assistant Commissioners should act as inspectors also, and it empowers the Board to appoint 'such other officers as they deem necessary for the purposes of this Act. With-

out new legislation, and without much expense, the Board might send officers to visit the schools, to hear the students read aloud in the different languages ; and from the reports of these officers the Board could gather authentic information as to the methods employed in the teaching of languages. If these methods are found to be faulty to any considerable extent, the Board might then seek powers to punish vicious methods, and to reward good ones. The visits of the officers, even though their reports cannot affect the results of the written examinations, will not fail to exercise a beneficial effect on the teaching of languages.

The critics of the Intermediate have for years kept the evils of the system pretty well before the public, and have displayed remarkable ingenuity in discovering new defects and in magnifying old ones ; but, strange to say, Mr. Mahaffy is the first to detect and expose the most vicious defect and the most dangerous tendency of all. Lurking in the system for the last twenty years is the cloven-footed spirit of disloyalty. Silently but effectively the fiend has been instilling into the minds of the young, instincts and sentiments which are not English, and has been preparing the way for ' long and disastrous years of political strife.' The unsophisticated reader might expect that the Professor would have begun his attack on the system by dragging this monster into the light, and despatching him before his own strength was exhausted in fighting enemies less worthy of his steel. He chose different tactics for a characteristic reason. Let Mr. Mahaffy explain :—

There is a larger and deeper objection [he says] to be brought against the whole system, which should naturally have come in the first place, but has been postponed till now, because many narrow and bigoted Irish patriots will think it anything but an objection, and would, therefore, lay aside this paper at the outset if the objection encountered them there ; and, yet, it exposes the most serious flaw in the whole system.

One would imagine [continues the Professor] that any such system of examination must have been directed not to separate the instincts and sentiments of Irish children from those of other British subjects, but rather to bring them all into harmony.

It is a pity that Mr. Mahaffy's researches in German

Philosophy and in Grecian History did not give him time to study the history and fate of the systems—religious, political, and educational—which aimed at bringing the instincts and sentiments of Irish children into harmony with those of other British subjects.

But where precisely in the system does the evil lurk? Why, to be sure, in a certain rule which exacts from a student, as a condition to his being awarded a prize, that he must have previously studied during seven months in Ireland. Now this stipulation is, in the eyes of the loyal Professor, simply outrageous; and the Board are guilty of conduct as disloyal as it is stupid in not inviting the picked young geniuses of the English, Scotch, and Welsh schools to swoop down on Ireland once a-year, and carry off a share of the Intermediate spoils.

Those readers who naturally look to Mr. Mahaffy for guidance in arriving at a correct opinion concerning the evils of the Intermediate will be puzzled when, having read his article, they try to classify those evils in the order of their magnitude. 'Cram,' he says is 'the objection which is heard everyday in everybody's mouth,' and, accordingly, it gets first place. We then read that '*the most serious flaw in the whole system*' is, that it does not tend to make Irishmen West Britons. Again, '*the great blot in this and other systems of secondary instruction is the setting of the learned professions as the highest goal before the eyes of the humbler and poorer classes.*'

Many persons who will not shed tears over 'the most serious flaw,' and who consider that 'cram' is but a bogey spirit, not so very real and mischievous that it may not be exorcised by the examiners, will join the Professor in deploring what he calls 'the great blot.' The Intermediate system ought to take up pupils who are quitting the Primary schools, and convey to the university those among them who desire it. But to those students who consider the journey to a university degree too long and expensive, the system ought to afford easy opportunities not only of gaining the entrance to the professions (which it does well enough), but also of attaining to Commercial and Civil Service

positions, or of reaching some of the other countless avocations for which a solid secondary education is required. This it does not. To make it do so, it is only necessary that along with the ordinary course, and co-ordinate with it, should be established a Commercial course. A separate Commercial course was tried in 1891 and in 1892, but it was tried in a manner and under conditions that must of necessity have made its success impossible. Perhaps there are no acts of the Board so obviously open to hostile criticism as the bungling which took place about this Commercial course.

The programme of this course should be so framed as to comprise the subjects in which competitors for the more popular minor Civil Service positions are examined; and it should be a preparation for Second Division Clerkship.

When the Intermediate Act was passing through Parliament in 1878, Lord O'Hagan was able to say that 'since 1871 there were 1,918 places in the Excise and Customs disposed of by public competition. For these places there were 11,371 candidates; 11 per cent. were Scotch, 46 per cent. English, 43 per cent. Irish; Scotch competitors won 6 per cent. of the places, English 38 per cent., and Irish 56 per cent. Of every 100 Scotch candidates, 9 passed; of every 100 English, 14 passed; of every 100 Irish, 22 passed.' An examination of the lists of the candidates for these posts who succeeded and who failed in recent years, would show that the English and Scotch competitors have more reason to bless the Intermediate system than the Irish competitors have. This Commercial course which is here advocated would be a preparation not for Civil Service only, but for countless business avocations also.

The total number of Intermediate students who presented themselves for examination during the past three years was, 26,661. 83 per cent. of these were examined in the two lower grades; and, in spite of the comparatively large and numerous rewards offered in the Middle and Senior Grades, only 17 per cent. were examined in these two grades combined. It is not the chance of Exhibitions that will induce the bulk of Irish parents to let their children

complete the Intermediate course, but the fitness of the course to lead the children into permanent positions.

That the present Intermediate system has defects—some inherent, some remediable—few will deny. But, with all its faults, it has one great virtue which covers a multitude of sins : with the exception of a few abuses in superintendence, the system is absolutely impartial. The alternative system of inspection, even if it were workable at all in practice, would give rise to endless suspicions and complaints. If public money is to be given to the schools in proportion to the work they do, the test must be competition. Some remedy should be found for the absurd way in which modern languages are said to be taught in many schools. For this one abuse, the proper check may be an oral test ; but the basis of the system must be examination, competitive and written.

Remove from the system any of its three constituent principles—Public Examinations, Rewards to pupils, Result fees to teachers—and the system will drift into one of partiality or stagnation.

Though the system has not, perhaps, done all that it is capable of doing, it has done all that it was expected to do by its authors. When pleading for its establishment in 1878, Lord O'Hagan said :—

The Bill commends itself to me as an honest effort to supply an unquestionable want in a just and judicious manner. . . . It is absolutely impartial in dispensing with an equal hand the public bounty amongst the subjects of the realm. It will encourage the enterprise of teachers, and . . . supply some means for the increase and improvement of scholastic establishments, *without vexatious meddling in their internal administration*. It will stimulate honourable ambition, and give humble merit, striving against adverse circumstances, opportunity of recognition, and assistance to success.

L. HEALY.

THE SEASONS: A PICTURE OF HUMAN LIFE

REFLECTIONS SUGGESTED BY THE CLOSING OF THE YEAR

NOW that you are gone, Old Year, we cannot but look back to you as a dear lost friend, and sigh to think of the many favours you brought us, and the little gratitude we felt; the many kind admonitions you gave, and the little attention we paid to them. How often have you called on us to contemplate, and shown us, as in a mirror, the shortness of human life, well pictured, indeed, by your own brief existence! How often during your rapid course have you pointed to the funerals of earth's children, hale and vigorous at your birth, but who now sleep the unbroken slumber of the tomb! There was serious warning in your very smiles, for we felt they were but the melancholy forerunners of your after tears and sorrows. A sunbeam had scarcely shone forth in spring till it was followed by a shower; we scarcely knew that summer was, until it was gone; and we were but admiring the rich exuberance of autumn, when winter breathed over the landscape, shook the withered leaves from the trembling branches, blighted the fair tint of the blushing rose, robbed the carnation of its perfume, and scattered to the winds the thin robes of the light anemone. And such, you say, is man's existence, made up of a few years like that which is just flown, beginning with tears, interspersed with joys and sorrows, and ending in the wintry gloom of old age.

In spring he is a child, and from his tears and smiles in that season of youth we think we can read his future career. From his strong self-will, or his gentle and yielding nature, we try to presage his character in the coming years; but how vain, as a rule, are our prognostications! Trifles excite his joy, and trifles call forth his tears, and everything is a source of wonder. In the early April he delights to gather

the star-like primrose and purple violet, which image so well the guileless pleasures of childhood; but the primrose and the violet, and the snowdrop and the early crocus, are the children of spring, and die with it; thus man's first happiness like these spring flowers fades and dies.

But spring has ushered in the summer, and the country is fair and rich with green waving crops. Every tree is covered with foliage, and the busy insects hum amid their clustering blossoms; the little birds, which so lately built their nests and hatched their young, are now teaching their fledglings to fly from branch to branch; the hills are purple with heath-bells, and the white sheep browse quietly along their slopes; buoyant youths plunge into the shining river, or bask along its verdant margin; pleasure boats are on the rippling waters, spreading their tiny sails to allure the coy breezes to their embrace; everything on mountain, plain, and tremulous sea looks bright and fair and beautiful, for there is sunshine above and verdure below, and melody in the surrounding air.

And man is now in boyhood, with brilliant hopes before him, and with pleasures and temptations around him. That summer landscape, lovely though it be, has thorns beneath its roses, and there are found in it rugged ravines which only the traveller knows. Some even of its brightest flowers are poisonous, and its very pleasures are often sickening. One storm can crush its frail beauties, and destroy the fruits its fair aspect promised. And such are the years of boyhood—all sunshine and flowers to the eye, but pregnant with danger and latent evil. Just at the moment it seems most delightful the storm of some young passion sweeps over it, and blights its flowers, and withers its verdure, and reduces the Elysian prospect to a mere earthly picture. Vice creeps in, and its companion, remorse, and these feed upon man's happiness, leaving him but the outward semblance of pleasure, like those insects that consume the heart of the rose, without, apparently, destroying its exterior loveliness. Childhood's thoughtlessness, which hitherto warded off the shafts of care, has vanished, and dreams of young ambition fill his soul instead. The future appears not half so golden as he

once thought it, and difficulties arise where least expected. Care as yet sits lightly upon him, for the warm blood of boyhood is coursing in his veins, and the sunshine of youth is around him ; still care is beginning to be felt, for summer is now merging into autumn, and boyhood is assuming the cast of manhood.

The fields are still rich, but the flowers are gone, and now are come the fruits. The trees have lost their freshness, and their leaves are seared with tints of yellow. It is a season of toil and labour, and the quick eye and thoughtful brow of the husbandman bespeak anxiety. It is only now we can realize the extent of the havoc which the storms of summer made on the landscape ; but, as we cannot recall the untarnished beauty of the vanished season, nothing remains but to mourn the loss. We can only store up for the winter what remains of the blighted harvest, and make up for the deficiency by our frugality.

And he whom we have traced from childhood to boyhood is now a man. The gay wild flowers that delighted his infancy are now forgotten ; the song that soothed his young days' sorrows is remembered but as a dream of other times ; and the fond associations of his boyhood have vanished. No longer is he engaged in juvenile pursuits, no longer does he listen with admiration to the tales he once loved to hear. He finds coldness where he thought unselfish friendship alone resided ; he sees the speculations of his young mind blasted, and, though the fruit of early virtue and life's experience may yet remain, still he cannot but mourn over the vices that have sadly blighted them. Care now fills his mind and lines his brow, and schemes of ambition possess him. But the winter is coming on, and the face of the landscape again is changed.

The verdant hue of spring has long since faded, and the teeming exuberance of summer is gone ; autumn's mellow richness is no longer visible, but a bleak, desolate aspect pervades the scene. The cheerless sun beams coldly on the very places where so lately he fertilized into existence such varied beauty ; chill breezes scatter the decaying leaves on the ground, and sigh through the naked branches ; frost

glistens over the fields, and forms fantastic fretwork on the window pane ; there is a stillness, a loneliness, a desolation around which freeze up the buoyancy of life ; nor do the comforts of the domestic circle compensate for the change.

And man is now in old age, the winter of life. Homer has said, with much truth and beauty :—*Οιη γαρ φυλλων γενεη, τειηδε και ακδρων.*

Frail as the leaves that quiver on the sprays,
Like them man flourishes, like them decays.

We have seen him in spring, fresh as the flowers he plucked ; we have seen him in summer, gay and blooming as the meadows through which he wandered ; we have seen him in autumn, when the stamp of manhood adorned him, and made him lovelier than the golden harvest around ; and now we look on him in the winter of old age, when the year—emblematic of his life—is drawing to a close. All the witching graces of childhood, all the light-hearted joy of boyhood, and all the bold daring of manhood, are gone. The frost of age is on his locks, and the sunlight of youth, which beamed in his eye, is cold and dim. He has perchance outlived his early companions, and has wandered on through the desert of life far beyond his first associates. He is now laden with years, afflicted with infirmities, and with few, if any, to enter into his views or understand his feelings. The hopes that gilded the future in his boyhood have either been realized or have melted away like a vision : the early friends have dropped one by one from his side into the grave ; and he is now in the evening of life, like a solitary and blasted oak which marks the site of a once wide-waving forest. There is a sense of utter desolation about him, a loneliness in his heart that nothing can remove, and as he totters along he seems to be knocking with his staff at the door of mother earth, and asking her for a lodging below. This is the period which Ecclesiastes so beautifully pictures in the poetic imagery of the East :—‘ When the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall stagger, and the grinders shall be idle in a small number, and they that look through the holes shall be darkened ; and they shall shut the doors

in the street, when the grinder's voice shall be low ; and they shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of music shall grow deaf.'

Shakespeare, too, essays to picture this sad period, when man has lost his vigour, and the decrepitude of age has stolen upon him, when

His big, manly voice,
Turning again towards childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound : last scene of all,
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion ;
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.¹

Time has all but frozen up the springs of life, and the few drops that trickle from the congealed fountain of the heart barely support his tottering frame. The thoughts of past follies fall colder and heavier on him than the winter's storm ; and the dread of that eternity on whose brink he stands is more piercing than December's sleet and snow.

The year closes as it began, with one exception. At its opening we overlooked its inconveniences, because we expected many blessings from it. We knew that spring would come, and summer, and autumn, and we promised ourselves many a sunny hour for the few dull weeks that followed its birth : but in winter, when the other seasons are gone, we have no more to expect from it. So it is with man. He bears with the ills of youth in hopes of a rich compensation from the joys of after life. In spring he looks forward to summer ; but the summer is brief, and he finds not there all he wants. He then rests his hopes in the coming autumn ; but autumn, alas ! is too closely allied to winter, and he feels that he has fallen again into second childhood before having tasted sufficiently the joys of the other seasons of life. He may, indeed, look back on the path he has trodden, but he cannot retrace it. He may sigh to see that it lay through gloomy moorlands, where nothing is visible but a black, naked waste, or the unprofit

¹ *As You Like It*.

able heath of sin, while just below him lay the vale of virtue, whose entrance was merely obstructed by the thorns of every-day trials. If, then, the power were given him to re-touch the picture of life,

How little of the past would stay,
How quickly all would melt away !

But the year is flown, and man, now in second childhood, goes with it. All his high hopes and ambitious projects are at an end; the little jealousies, and narrow-mindedness, and deceptive wisdom of the world no longer avail him, for the hand of death is on him, and the grave-worm calls him brother, and the earth embraces him as her child.

As dies the year, so man dies; and as the old year succeeds the new, so young generations follow in the wake of those that are gone, and fill their places. Each year like that which has just expired, teaches its annual lesson, and sees it despised. But whilst others heedlessly linger amidst the vanities of life, let us not forget that for us the sands are quickly passing through the glass of time, and that they no sooner shall have ceased their motion than we shall be ushered into another world.

✠ J. K. O'DOHERTY.

DOCUMENTS

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.
ON THE LAWS, RIGHTS, AND PRIVILEGES OF THE
SODALITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA DE LEGIBUS IURIBUS AC PRIVILEGIIS
SODALITATIS A SS. ROSARIO.

LEO PP. XIII.

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Ubi primum, arcano divinae providentiae consilio, ad supremam Petri Cathedram fuimus erecti oblato conspectu ingruentium in dies malorum, Apostolici muneris esse duximus expediendae salutis agitare consilia ac studere, quibus maxime modis Ecclesiae tutelae et catholicae fidei incolumitati prospici possit. Inter haec ad magnam Dei Matrem eandemque reparandi humani generis consortem ultro animus convolvavit, ad quam trepidis in rebus confugere catholicis hominibus praecipuum semper ac solemne fuit. Cuius fidei quam tuto sese crediderent, praeclara testantur ab ipsa collata beneficia, inter quae plura constat fuisse impetrata per probatissimam illam precandi formulam titulo *Humili* ab eadem invecam et Dominici Patris ministerio promulgatam. Solemnis autem honores eo ritu Virgini habundos summi Pontifices decessores Nostri haud semel decreverunt. Quorum Nos etiam accumulati studia, de Rosarii Mariæ dignitate ac virtute satis egimus copiose, Encyclicis Litteris pluries datis, vel inde a kalendis Septembribus anni MDCCCLXXXIII., cohortantes fideles, ut, sive publice sive suis in domibus, subarratum hoc pietatis officium augustissimae Matri persolverent et Mariæ ab eo titulo Sodalitatibus sese aggregarent. Ea vero omnia superrime, datis litteris die v Septembris huius anni, veluti in unum collecta, paucis memoravimus; simulque consilium Nostrum patefecimus edendae *Constitutionis* de iuribus, privilegiis, indulgentiis, quibus gaudent qui pia isti Sodalitati dederint nomini. Nunc vero ut rem absolvamus, votis obsecundantes Magistri generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum, Constitutionem ipsam edimus, qua leges de huiusmodi Sodalitate

latas, itemque beneficia recensentes a summis Pontificibus eidem concessa, modum decernimus quo in perpetuum salutifera haec institutio regatur.

I. Sacratissimi Rosarii Sodalitas in eum finem est instituta, ut multos fraterna caritate coniunctos per piissimam illam precandi formulam, unde ipsa consociatio nomen mutuatur, ad beatae Virginis laudationem et eiusdem patrocinium unanimi oratione impetrandum alliciat. Quapropter, nullo quaesito lucro aut imperata pecunia, cuiusvis conditionis excipit homines, eosque per solam Rosarii Marialis recitationem mutuo devincit. Quo fit, ut pauca singuli ad communem thesaurum conferentes multa inde recipiant. Actu igitur vel habitu dum ex instituto Sodalitii suum quisque pensum recitandi Rosarii persolvit, sodales omnes eiusdem societatis mentis intentione complectitur, qui idem caritatis officium ipsi multiplicatum reddunt.

II. Sodalium Dominicanorum Ordo, qui, vel inde ab sui initio beatae Virginis cultui maxime addictus, instituendae ac provehendae Sodalitatis a sacratissimo Rosario auctor fuit, omnia, quae ad hoc genus religionis pertinent, veluti hereditario iure sibi vindicat.

Uni igitur Magistro generali ius esto instituendi Sodalitates sacratissimi Rosarii: ipso a Curia absente, subeat Vicarius eius generalis; mortuo vel amoto, Vicarius generalis Ordinis. Quamobrem quaevis Sodalitas in posterum instituenda, nullis gaudeat beneficiis, privilegiis, indulgentiis, quibus Romani Pontifices legitimam verique nominis Sodalitatem auxerunt, nisi diploma institutionis a Magistro generali vel a memoratis Vicariis obtineat.

III. Quae anteacto tempore Sodalitates sacratissimi Rosarii ad hanc usque diem sine Magistri generalis patentibus litteris institutae sunt, litteras huiusmodi intra anni spatium expediendas curent; interim vero (dummodo hoc uno tantum defectu laborent) sodalitates ipsas, donec eadem litterae expediantur, tamquam ratas et legitimas, ac privilegiorum, beneficiorum et indulgentiarum omnium participes, auctoritate apostolica benigne declaramus.

IV. Instituendae Sodalitati in designata aliqua ecclesia Magister generalis deputet per consuetas litteras sacerdotem sui Ordinis: ubi Conventus Sodalium Dominicanorum desint, alium sacerdotem episcopo acceptum. Eidem Magistro generali ne liceat facultates, quibus pollet, in universum et absque limitatione

committere Provincialibus, aliisve aut sui aut alieni Ordinis vel Instituti sacerdotibus.

Facultatem revocamus a fel. rec. Benedicto XIII Magistris Ordinis concessam,¹ delegandi generatim Provinciales *transmarinos*. Indulgemus tamen, rei utilitate perspecta, ut earumdem provinciarum prioribus, vicariis, praepositis missionalibus potestatem faciant instituendi certum Sodalitatum numerum, quarum accuratam rationem iis reddere teneantur.

V. Sodalitas a sacratissimo Rosario in omnibus ecclesiis publicisque aediculis institui potest, ad quas fidelibus accessus libere pateat, exceptis monialium aliarumque piarum mulierum vitam communiter agentium ecclesiis, prout sacrae romanae Congregationes saepe declararunt.

Quum iam ab Apostolica Sede cautum sit ne in uno eodemque loco plures existant sacratissimi Rosarii Sodalitates, Nos eiusmodi legem iterum inculcamus, et ubique observari iubemus. In praesenti tamen, si quo in loco plures forte existant, rite constitutae, sodalitates; facultas sit Magistro generali Ordinis ea de re pro aequitate iudicandi. Ad magnas vero urbes quod attinet, plures in iis, uti iam ex indulgentia provisum est, haberi possunt titulo Rosarii Sodalitates, ab Ordinariis pro legitima institutione Magistro generali proponendae.²

VI. Quum nulla habeatur sacratissimi Rosarii Sodalitas princeps, cui aliae minores aggregentur, hinc nova quaevis huiusmodi consociatio, per ipsam sui canonicam institutionem particeps fit indulgentiarum omnium ac privilegiorum, quae ab hac Apostolica Sede aliis per orbem sodalitatibus eiusdem nominis concessa sunt. Eadem ecclesiae adhaeret, in qua est instituta. Quamvis enim Sodalitatis privilegia homines spectent, tamen indulgentiae complures, eius sacellum vel altare adeuntibus concessae, uti etiam privilegium altaris, loco adhaerent, ideoque sine speciali Apostolico indulto neque avelli possunt neque transferri. Quoties igitur Sodalitas, quavis de causa, in aliam ecclesiam deduci contigerit, ad id novae litterae a Magistro generali expetantur. Si autem, destructa ecclesia, nova ibidem aut in vicinia aedificetur eodem titulo, ad hanc, quum idem esse censeatur locus, privilegia omnia atque indulgentiae transeunt, nulla requisita novae sodalitatis institutione. Siubi vero, post institutam canonicè in aliqua ecclesia Sodalitatem, Conventus cum ecclesia Praedica-

¹ Constit. *Pretiosus*, die 26 Maii, 1727.

² S. C. Indulg., 20 die Maii 1896.

torum fuerit extractus, ad ecclesiam eius Conventus Sodalitas ipsa, prout de iure, transferatur. Quod si, peculiari aliquo in casu, de hac lege remittendum videatur, facultas esto Magistro generali Ordinis pro sua aequitate et prudentia opportune providendi; integro tamen sui Ordinis iure.

VII. Ad ea, quae supra decreta sunt, quaeque naturam ipsam et constitutionem Sodalitatis attingunt, quaedam accedere poterunt, quae ad bonum societatis regimen conferre videantur. Integrum est enim sodalibus *statuta* sibi condere, sive quibus aliqui ad *peculiaria* quaedam christianae pietatis officia, collata, etiam pecunia, si placuerit, saccis assumptis vel secus, excitentur. Ceterum quaevis horum varietas non obest quominus indulgentiae possint acquiri a sodalibus, dummodo ea praestent, quae iis lucrandis ab Apostolica Sede praecepta sunt. Addita tamen huiusmodi *statuta* episcopo dioecesano probentur, eiusque moderationi maneant obnoxia: quod Constitutione Clementis VIII. *Quaecumque* sancitum est.

VIII. Rectorum electio, qui nempe Sodalitatis membra in piam societatem recipiant, eorum rosariis benedicant. omnibus denique fungantur muneribus praecipuis, ad Magistrum generalem vel eius Vicarium, uti antea, spectet; de consensu tamen Ordinarii loci, pro ecclesiis clero saeculari conceditis.

Quo autem Sodalitati conservandae melius prospiciatur, Magistri generales ei rectorem praeficiant sacerdotem aliquem, in ecclesia, ubi est instituenda Sodalitas, certo munere fungentem vel certo fruentem beneficio, illiusque in hoc sive beneficio sive munere in posterum successores. Si, qualibet ex causa, desint; Episcopus, uti iam est ab hac Apostolica Sede sancitum,¹ facultas esto ad id muneris deputandi parochos *pro tempore*.

IX. Quum haud raro peropportunum, quin etiam necessarium videatur, ut sacerdos alius legitimi rectoris loco nomina inseribat, coronis benedicat aliaque praestet, quae ad ipsius rectoris officium pertinent, Ordinis Magister rectori facultatem tribuat subdelegandi, non generatim quidem, sed in singulis casibus, alium idoneum sacerdotem, qui eius vices gerat, quoties iusta de causa id opportunum iudicaverit.

X. Item, ubi Rosarii Sodalitas eiusque rector institui nequit, Magistro generali facultas esto designandi alios sacerdotes, qui fideles, indulgentias lucrari cupidos, Sodalitati propinquiori aggregent, et Rosariis benedicant.

¹ S. C. Indulg., die 8 Ian. 1861.

XI. Formula benedicendi Rosarii, seu Coronae, usu sacrata, inde a remotis temporibus id Ordine Sodalium Dominicanorum praescripta et in appendice romani Ritualis inserta, retineatur.

XII. Etsi quovis tempore nomina possint legitime inscribi, optandum tamen ut sollemnior illa receptio, quae, sive primis cuiusque mensis dominicis, sive in festis maioribus Deiparae solet, apprime servetur.

XIII. Unicum sodalibus impositum onus, citra tamen culpam, est Rosarium unaquaque hebdomada cum quindecim mysteriorum meditatione recitandum.

Ceterum sua Rosario genuina forma servetur, ita ut coronae non aliter quam ex quinque aut decem aut quindecim granorum decalibus coalescant: item ne aliae cuiusvis formae rosarii nomine appellentur; denique ne humanae reparationis mysteriis contemplandis, usu receptis, meditationes aliae sufficiantur, contra ea quae iamdiu ab hac Apostolica Sede decreta sunt, id est, qui ab his consuetis mysteriis meditandis recesserint, eos Rosarii indulgentias nullas lucrari.¹

Sodalitatum rectores sedulo curent ut, si fieri possit, quotidie, vel saltem quam saepissime, maxime in festis beatae Virginis, ad altare eiusdem Sodalitatis, etiam publice Rosarium recitetur, retenta consuetudine huic Sanctae Sedi probata, ut per gyrum cuiuslibet hebdomadae singula mysteria ita recolantur: *gaudiosa* in secunda et quinta feria; *dolorosa* in tertia et sexta; *gloriosa* tandem in dominica, quarta feria et sabbato.²

XIV. Inter plures Sodalitatis usus merito primum obtinet locum pompa illa sollemnis, qua, Deiparae honorandae causa, vicatim proceditur, prima cuiusque mensis dominica, praecipue vero prima Octobris: quem morem, a saeculis institutum, S. Pius V. commendavit, Gregorius XIII. inter *laudabilia instituta et consuetudines* Sodalitatis recensuit, multi denique summi Pontifices indulgentiis locupletarunt.³

Ne autem huiusmodi supplicatio, saltem intra ecclesiam, ubi temporum iniuria extra non liceat, unquam omittatur, privilegium a Benedictio XIII. Ordini Praedicatorum concessum, eam transferendi in aliam dominicam, si forte ipso die festo aliqua causa

¹ S. C. Indulg., die 13 Aug., 1726.

² S. C. Indulg., die 1 Iul., 1829 ad 5.

³ S. Pius V. *Consecravit*, die 17 Sept., 1569; Gregorius XIII. *Monet Apostolatus*, die 1 Apr., 1573; Paulus V. *Piorum hominum*, die 15 Apr. 1605.

impediatur,¹ ad omnes Sodalitatum sacratissimi Rosarii rectores extendimus.

Ubi autem propter loci angustiam et populi accursum ne per ecclesiam quidem possit ea pompa commode duci, indulgemus, ut, per interiorem ecclesiae ipsius ambitum, sacerdote cum clericis piaë supplicationis causa circumeunte, Sodales, qui adstant, indulgentiis omnibus frui possint eidem supplicationi adnexis.

XV. Privilegium Missae votivae sacratissimi Rosarii, Ordini Praedicatorum toties confirmatum,² servari placet, atque ita quidem ut non solum Dominiciani sacerdotes, sed etiam Tertiarii a Poenitentia, quibus Magister generalis potestatem fecerit Missali Ordinis legitime utendi, Missam votivam *Salve Radice Sancta* celebrare possint bis in hebdomada, ad normam decretorum S. Rituum Congregationis.

Ceteris vero sacerdotibus in Sodalium album adscitis, ad altare Sodalitatis tantum Missae votivae celebrandae ius esto, quae in Missali romano pro diversitate temporum legitur, iisdem diebus ac supra et cum iisdem indulgentiis. Harum indulgentiarum sodales etiam e populo participes fiunt, si ei sacro adstiterint, culpisque rite expiatis vel ipsa confessione vel animi dolore cum confitendi proposito, pias ad Deum fuderint preces.

XVI. Magistri generalis cura et studio, absolutus atque accuratus, quamprimum fieri potest, conficiatur index Indulgentiarum omnium, quibus romani Pontifices Sodalitatem sacratissimi Rosarii, ceterosque fideles illud pie recitantes cumularunt, a sacra Congregatione Indulgentiis et SS. Reliquiis praeposita expendendus et Apostolica auctoritate confirmandus.

Quaecumque igitur in hac Apostolica Constitutione decreta, declarata, ac sancita sunt, ab omnibus ad quos pertinet servari volumus ac mandamus, nec ea notari, infringi et in controversiam vocari posse ex quavis, licet privilegiata causa, colore et nomine: sed plenarios et integros effectus suos habere, non obstantibus praemissis et, quatenus opus sit. Nostris et Cancellariae Apostolicae regulis, Urbani VIII aliisque apostolicis, etiam in provincialibus ac generalibus Conciliis editis Constitutionibus, nec non

¹ Constit. *Pretiosus*, die 26 Maii, 1727, § 18.

² Decr. S. C. Rit., die 25 Jun., 1622; Clemens X. *Caelestium munerum*, die 16 Febr., 1671; Innocentius XI. *Nuper pro parte*, die 31 Iul. 1679, cap. x., nn. 6 et 7; Pius IX. in *Summarium Indulg.*, die 18 Sept. 1862, cap. viii., nn. 1 et 2

quibusvis etiam confirmatione apostolica vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis statutis, consuetudinibus ac praescriptionibus: quibus omnibus ad praemissorum effectum specialiter et expresse derogamus et derogatum esse volumus, ceterisque in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationi Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo octavo, sextos nonas Octobris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

C. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Pro. Dat.*

A. CARD. MACCHI.

Visa

De Curia I. De Aquila e Vicecomitibus.

Loco ✠ Plumbi.

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CUGNONIUS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LIBELLUS FIDEI EXHIBENS DECRETA DOGMATICA ET ALIA DOCUMENTA AD 'TRACTATUM DE FIDE' PERTINENTIA. Auctore, Bernardo Gaudeau, S.J., in Universitate Catholica Parisiensi Dogmatices Professore. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux.

THIS book is guaranteed by its author to be a manual of positive theology on the question of faith. Its object is to give us in full the Church's notion of faith, as expressed in her decrees; while its special aim is to render less difficult the psychology of the act of faith. We are told, in passing, that if all goes well with this volume, it will be the first of a series with the same object and according to the same plan.

The nature of the work calls for diligence and research in an unusual degree. In this respect, however, the author is not found wanting; and were no other qualification required, the success of the book would be certainly secured.

Having said so much in its praise, we feel constrained to state that, to our thinking, its value as a theological treatise ends here. To begin with, it shows great lack of judgment in the selection of documents. Father Gaudeau declares in the preface that he intends to allow himself a wide margin in this respect. We would not narrow this margin unduly. Accordingly, we do not intend to find fault with the wholesale introduction of documents dealing with man's elevation to the supernatural state and with the justification of the sinner, though the appositeness of a great many of the individual decrees and canons may be fairly questioned. But relevance and common sense demand that we should draw the line when we are brought face to face with decrees dealing with the temporal power of the Popes,¹ or with Christian matrimony,² or with scores of other documents which have just as little connection with any prose treatise on faith.

Such shortcomings are more or less accidental in character, and may be easily amended; but there remains a defect which is vital. The aim of the work being what it is, we should expect that the author would take up the different phases of the question of faith, but particularly the different factors presented in

¹ Page 185.

² Page 191.

the psychology of the act of faith, and give us the ecclesiastical documents which naturally fall under those respective headings. But Father Gauleau takes an entirely different view of the situation. From the first page to the last he is a historian rather than a theologian, setting before us, with the greatest historical accuracy and with the most consistent historical sequence, the different documents, great and small, relevant and irrelevant, from the time of the Apostles until now. Such a mode of procedure can have only one result. As a historical production the book deserves all praise; but we have failed to convince ourselves that it merits the title of a contribution to scientific theological literature.

D. D.

THE DIVINITY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, FROM PASCAL. A Commentary. By William Bullen Morris, of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: Gill & Son.

THAT Pascal was a genius few thinking men will be found to deny. But it is by no means so clear that he is a model to be followed in all his ways of reasoning. Many, we suspect, will deny him the right to such homage. He reasons by flashes, and as a result his thoughts sometimes run too quickly to allow him an opportunity of looking around and counting the cost of going forward. From the book before us we might cite more than one instance of the danger attending such brilliancy. For example, Pascal is so anxious to get into immediate personal contact with his Divine Master, that he does not hesitate to give expression to the following sentiment:—

Thus, without the Bible, which has Jesus Christ for its sole object, we know nothing, and see nothing, but obscurity and confusion in the nature of God and in our own nature.’¹

Again, that touch of weirdness peculiar to prophecy seems to have had a fascination for him, and we can only admire the marvellous art with which he links together the various prophetic testimonies in favour of Christ’s divinity. But, when we remember that our Blessed Lord, even when addressing the Jews, whose minds were especially swayed by prophecy, appealed to the works which He wrought in the very same breath in which He referred them to Moses and the prophets, we fail to see on what ground Pascal comes to the conclusion that after the time

of our Lord, miracles, as proofs of Christ's divinity, take second place, and yield the palm to prophecy. It is true that St. Matthew, in his Gospel, appeals chiefly to the prophecies; but, on the one hand, we must not forget that this Evangelist wrote primarily for the lineal descendants of the prophets; while, on the other, St. John, in his writings, seems to ground his faith almost exclusively on the miracles wrought by his Master.

Father Morris freely admits the difficulties attaching to the task he proposes to himself. To abstract various gems of thought from their natural setting, and try to fit them side by side with more regard to logic than to æsthetics, must be an invidious undertaking. Even in the hands of Pascal himself, the gems should have lost by the exchange. With all that, Father Morris has succeeded in writing an exceedingly interesting book, though it may not be always Pascal.

In the first and last chapters, principally, the author, with set purpose, gives us something of his own mind. When he does so both the matter and the manner are such that we are only sorry we have not been treated to a great deal more.

What we admire most in the book is its spirit. Pascal did not know what fear was in so far as it concerned the future of the Catholic faith. He pitied those who erred unwittingly; but for the pseudo-philosophers, who would not see, he had nothing save contempt. His commentator is of a like mind as regards the pseudo-philosophers of the present day, though he is rather slow to make a formal declaration to that effect. He is not one of those—and they are not a few—who are inclined to tremble for the faith because Mr. Herbert Spencer, taking it for granted that a Personal God is an impossibility, launches into rhapsodies on the unknowable; or who grow pale if Mr. Grant Allen proves, to his own entire satisfaction, that wasps found their teeth by operating on the bark of trees with their unaided gums, and thence concludes, with equal intellectual relish, that there is no necessity for a God. Spiritual writers tell us that one of the best weapons we can use against the devil is contempt: why not employ it likewise against his minions? As Father Morris says: 'There are limits to literary and philosophic courtesy.' And, surely, the limits are reached when we have to deal with philosophers of the Kant, and Spencer, and Huxley school? 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God.' But to make fools of others is the office of a rogue, and the rogue must take the consequences.

D. D.

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V. III

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